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Indo-European Perspectives

Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies

EDITED BY

J. H. W. Penney

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Editor's Preface

This collection of papers on Indo-European themes is presented to Anna Morpurgo Davies to mark her retirement from the Chair (now the Diebold Chair) of Comparative Philology at the University of Oxford, a position that she has held with signal distinction since 1971.

At that time comparative philology was offered by a few Oxford undergraduates as a special subject in Classical Honour Moderations, and the Diploma in Comparative Philology attracted just the occasional graduate student. Over the last thirty-three years, under Anna's direction, the subject has come to exert a wide appeal, with ever-increasing numbers taking philology options at all levels in the Classics courses and a substantial group of graduate students reading for the specialist taught M.Phil. or a doctorate in some aspect of Indo-European studies. Characteristically, Anna has never been content merely with the formal teaching of her graduate students; in 1972, for instance, she instituted 'Philological Lunches', which have since taken place weekly during term before the Comparative Philology Graduate Seminars, at which staff, students, and visitors meet in relaxed surroundings to discuss not only philological news but also matters of greater moment such as the relative merits of different national styles of cake.

Anna has also vigorously promoted the study of General Linguistics within the University, being largely instrumental in the establishment of the Chair in that subject (and in its preservation during difficult times), and she has also fought many battles at the national level to safeguard linguistic specialisms within the university system. Her achievements on behalf of Linguistics as a whole were recognized by the award in 2000 of an Honorary DBE. Nor has this been the limit of Anna's activities within Oxford: she has been, among other things, an active and valued member of several Boards, a Curator of the Bodleian Library, and a Delegate of the Oxford University Press.

Anna's retirement thus provides a suitable occasion for this volume, yet a glance at the contents will at once show that this is not simply an internal Oxford tribute. Ever since the appearance of her *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon* in 1963, Anna has enjoyed an international reputation as a rigorous and perceptive scholar. Her many publications—principally on Mycenaean Greek, other dialects of Ancient Greek, Hieroglyphic Luwian,

and the history of nineteenth-century linguistics—have transformed whole areas of Indo-European studies.

All of this has earned Anna the respect and admiration of Indo-Europeanists and other linguists throughout the world. Even more strikingly, Anna's warmth and encouragement and sense of fun have also won her their affection. When I was approaching potential contributors to this volume and having to explain that there was a very tight schedule, time and again the reaction was at first a cry of despair at the impossibly short notice but then an instant capitulation—'but of course I must do it for Anna'. These then are papers by former pupils and colleagues, who are all proud also to be able to call themselves Anna's friends.

Some of those who would very much have liked to contribute to this volume were in the end unable to do so (for a variety of reasons, ranging from ill health to the editor's failure to make early enough contact because his address book was out of date); they include Andrew Garrett, Theo van den Hout, Stanley Insler, Alex Leukart, and Elisabeth Rieken, whose names may be taken to stand here as the nucleus of what would have been an immense *tabula gratulatoria* had we decided to print one.

I should like to express my warm thanks to John Davey, of Oxford University Press, who has offered enthusiastic encouragement and ready help from the very first mention of this book as a project, and to John Waś, who as copy-editor and typesetter has throughout provided invaluable editorial guidance in addition to showing the most scrupulous care for detail.

Oxford J.H.W.P.
June 2004

Two Notes from OUP

Anna Morpurgo Davies was the Delegate responsible for linguistics in the Delegacy—the body charged by the University with the task of vetting the books proposed for publication by its press—for twelve years from 1992 to 2004 and, by her advocacy, advice, and judgement, did more than any other to advance OUP's publishing in the subject. Endlessly knowledgeable, undogmatic, critical, constructive, perceptive, good-humoured, and tolerant, Professor Davies was the kind of asset publishing editors dream of. She will be very much missed.

John Davey

Anna's formal involvement with the *Oxford English Dictionary* began in 1994, when she was invited to become a member of the dictionary's Advisory Committee. The Advisory Committee consisted of a number of eminent language specialists, and had a dual function: firstly, to assist the editors of the dictionary in the formulation of editorial policy for the new edition; secondly (and more generally), to ensure that the University Press's extensive investment in the dictionary was properly managed.

In both of these areas Anna was expertly qualified. As a Delegate of the University Press, and as a member of the Press's Finance Committee, she was well used to seeking solutions which ideally married scholarly ideals with practical resources. As a linguist her natural interests lie with the etymological component of the *OED*, but the rigour of her approach to etymology carries over easily into other editorial fields: semantics, pronunciation, defining style, etc.

What has perhaps surprised the editorial team most about Anna's characteristic approach is not so much her academic precision as her concern for the well-being of the dictionary's staff. Her many years of teaching and supervision convinced her that you cannot conduct a major dictionary research project simply by tight planning, highly skilled editors, and excellent resources. Throughout the long process the editors must be well motivated and well managed, and Anna has consistently been at pains to ensure that this was precisely what happened. The initial fruits of her long

and continuing association with the *OED* were seen in March 2000, when the first entries of the new edition were published online, and she will leave her mark on the dictionary for many years to come.

John Simpson

Notes on Contributors

Albio Cassio is Professor of Greek and Latin Grammar at the University of Rome 'La Sapienza'. He has worked on Attic Comedy, the language of the Greek epics, and the ancient dialects of Sicily and Magna Graecia. He is the author *of Commedia e partecipazione: la* Pace *di Aristofane* (Naples, 1985) and the editor of *Katà Diálekton* (Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Greek Dialectology, Naples, 1997). He is currently working on the latest phases of Homer from a linguistic perspective.

James Clackson is Senior Lecturer in the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge. He studied at Cambridge under Robert Coleman, and his Ph.D. thesis was the basis for his 1994 book *The Linguistic Relationship between Armenian and Greek*. He is currently collaborating with Torsten Meißner on a book on Indo-European linguistics, and with Professor Geoff Horrocks on a book on the history of Latin, as well as preparing a reader in Italic inscriptions.

Stephen Colvin studied Classics and Comparative Philology at Oxford, writing his doctoral thesis (1993) under the supervision of Anna Morpurgo Davies. He was a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at University College, London in 1994–6. He is currently Associate Professor in the Department of Classics at Yale, but in September 2004 returns to University College, London as Lecturer in the Department of Greek and Latin. His research interests include Greek dialect and Greek literature, sociolinguistics, stylistics, and the Koine; his publications include *Dialect in Aristophanes* (1999).

Emilio Crespo is Professor of Greek Philology at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. He is also President of the Fundación Pastor de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid) and Vice-President of the Sociedad Española de Estudios Clásicos. He has published on Homeric prosody, on Ancient Greek dialectology and phonology, and on the syntax of Indo-European and Ancient Greek: he is co-author of *Sintaxis del griego clásico* (2003).

Eleanor Dickey studied at Bryn Mawr College before reading for her doctorate at Oxford, where she was fortunate to be supervised by Anna Morpurgo Davies. She is now an Assistant Professor of Classics at Columbia University in New York and has also taught at the University of Ottawa, as well as holding research fellowships at Merton College, Oxford, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Center for Hellenic Studies. Her publications include *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) and *Latin Forms of Address* (2002).

Paolo Di Giovine studied linguistics at the University of Pisa before teaching dialectology at Basilicata University; he has been a Professor of Linguistics at La

Sapienza University in Rome since 1991. His work encompasses Indo-European and Romance linguistics, and his book and article publications, such as *Studio sul perfetto indoeuropeo* in three volumes (1990–6), deal with aspects of phonology, verbal morphology, and etymology.

Yves Duhoux was born in Brussels in 1942 and is now Professor at the Catholic University of Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium). His main scholarly interests are: the Greek language (from Linear B to the classical period); Prehellenic languages from Greece; Greek, Prehellenic, and other scripts; Indo-European linguistics. His many publications in these areas include *L'Étéocrétois: les textes—la langue* (1982), *Introduction aux dialectes grecs anciens* (1983), and *Le Verbe grec ancien: éléments de morphologie et de syntaxe historiques* (2nd edn., 2000).

George Dunkel, since learning Sanskrit and hearing É. Benveniste's 'Introduction to Comparative IE Grammar' in 1968/9, has devoted his life to Indo-European linguistics. After training in Philadelphia, the LSA Institute (1972), and Erlangen, he taught at Johns Hopkins (from 1975) and Princeton Universities (from 1978), before moving to Zurich in 1986: there he is responsible for Indo-European, Vedic, Greek, and Latin linguistics. He is currently editing a *Lexicon of Indo-European Particles and Pronominal Stems.*

José Luis García Ramón has been Professor of Indo-European Comparative Philology at the University of Cologne since 1995, having previously been Professor of Greek Philology at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid from 1988. His publications include *Les Origines postmycéniennes du groupe dialectal éolien* (1975) and a wide range of articles on Indo-European, Greek, and Indo-Iranian philology. His current projects are a volume *Morphosyntax des Verbums* for the *Indogermanische Grammatik* founded by J. Kuryłowicz, a book on Mycenaean personal names, and (with Br. Helly) a grammar of Thessalian.

Ivo Hajnal studied Indo-European linguistics and Classics at the University of Zurich and subsequently taught there and at other universities before becoming Professor of Indo-European Linguistics in Münster in 1998. Since 2001 he has been Professor of Linguistics at the University of Innsbruck. He has published numerous articles and monographs, including *Studien zum mykenischen Kasussytem* (1995), *Der lykische Vokalismus* (1995), *Sprachschichten des mykenischen Griechisch: Zur Frage der Differenzierung zwischen 'Mycénien normal' und 'Mycénien spécial'* (1997), and *Troia aus sprachwissenschaftlicher Sicht: Die Struktur einer Argumentation* (2003).

Gillian ('Jill') Hart was born in 1934 and died on 8 February 2004. She read Classics at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, followed by the Diploma in Comparative Philology. From 1960 to 1969 she was Lecturer in Classics at Aberystwyth, from 1969 to 1993 at Durham University. She began learning Hittite in 1965, completing a B.Phil. at Oxford in 1967. Her publications include a number of important papers

on Hittite and Indo-European grammar. After retirement she lived in Oxford, 'enjoying the rare opportunity to teach Hittite', and was an Honorary Research Fellow of the Oriental Institute.

David Hawkins graduated in Literae Humaniores at Oxford in 1962, and then took a postgraduate diploma in the Archaeology of Mesopotamia at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, 1962–4. A research fellowship at SOAS, University of London, followed, to teach Akkadian and to learn Hittite with a view to teaching it. He has been lecturer at SOAS from 1967, and in 1993 was appointed Professor of Ancient Anatolian Languages. His special research field has been Hieroglyphic Luwian, leading after many preliminary studies to the publication in 2000 of his *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, i/1–3.

Henry Hoenigswald was a founding member of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, the first modern linguistics department in the USA, and taught there until his retirement in 1985. He is best known for his ground-breaking book *Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction* (1960). He died on 16 June 2003. The note that he drafted himself for this volume records that he 'underwent the powerful influence of the American linguistics of the forties. He devoted much of his energy to formalizing the procedures of classical historical linguistics, attempting to rescue that magnificent body of substantive work from the misguided theoretical treatment it had had at the hands of its own practitioners. He counts the intellectual stimulation which he derived over the years from Anna Davies and her work among the most precious gifts to his scholarly existence.'

Geoffrey Horrocks completed his Ph.D. in Cambridge, where he was Research Fellow of Downing College, before taking up a post as Lecturer in Linguistics in London in 1977. He returned to Cambridge in 1983 as University Lecturer in Classical Linguistics and Philology, and was elected Professor of Comparative Philology in 1997. He has published widely in the fields of historical linguistics and syntactic theory, particularly with reference to the history and structure of Greek, and is the author of *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (1997).

Javier de Hoz studied Classical Philology at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, receiving his doctorate in 1966, and he has been Professor of Greek Philology there since 1989, after holding chairs at Seville (1967–9) and Salamanca (1969–89). His publications on various Greek authors include *On Aeschylean Composition* (1979). His interest in the ancient languages and scripts of Spain is reflected in numerous articles, three books in collaboration with colleagues, and a three-volume linguistic history of the Iberian Pensinsula and Southern France in antiquity that is nearing completion.

Jay Jasanoff received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from Harvard in 1968. He has spent most of his academic career at Cornell and Harvard, where he is currently Diebold Professor of Indo-European Linguistics and Philology and Chair of the

Department of Linguistics. His publications include *Stative and Middle in Indo-European* (1978), *Hittite and the Indo-European Verb* (2003), and numerous articles on Indo-European linguistics and problems in the history of the individual Indo-European languages.

Joshua Katz is an Indo-European historical and comparative linguist with a particular interest in the languages, literatures, and cultures of Greece and the Near East in the second and first millennia BC. Educated at Yale, Oxford, and Harvard, he is Assistant Professor of Classics at Princeton University, where he is also a member of the Program in Linguistics. He is the author of a forthcoming book entitled *Studies in Indo-European Personal Pronouns* and numerous articles, many of them about animals.

John Killen is Emeritus Professor of Mycenaean Greek and Fellow of Jesus College in the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of the British Academy. He has published many articles in journals and conference proceedings on the interpretation of Linear B texts and on the Mycenaean economy, and his publications as co-author include *The Knossos Tablets: A Transliteration* (3rd, 4th, and 5th editions, 1964–89) and the *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (4 vols., 1986–98).

Charles de Lamberterie is Professor of the History of the Greek Language at the University of Paris IV—Sorbonne and Director of Studies at the École pratique des Hautes Études, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques (grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes). He is editor of the Reviews fascicle of the *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris* and a member of the publications committee for the *Revue des études grecques* and the *Revue des études arméniennes*. His publications include a book, *Les Adjectifs grecs en -υς* (2 vols., 1990), and some seventy articles on Indo-European comparative grammar, with special reference to Greek, Armenian, Indo-Iranian, and Germanic.

David Langslow studied and subsequently taught classical and comparative philology and historical linguistics in Oxford. Since 1999 he has been Professor of Classics at the University of Manchester and Emeritus Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford. His publications centre on the Latin language, paying particular attention to technical, especially medical, Latin, and including *Medical Latin in the Roman Empire* (2000). He is preparing the first edition, with commentary, of a late antique Latin medical book and a new, English edition of Jacob Wackernagel's *Vorlesungen über Syntax*.

Michael Meier-Brügger has been Professor of Comparative and Indo-European Linguistics at the Freie Universität in Berlin since 1996. After receiving his doctorate from the University of Zurich in 1973, he became Ernst Risch's Assistent there before going on to postdoctoral research in Erlangen, Paris, and Harvard, and then spending three years as a lecturer at Zurich and Fribourg. In 1984 he joined the editorial team of the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, becoming 'verantwortlicher

Redaktor' in 1987 (responsible for fascicles 12 (1987) to 20 (2004)). Among his publications are *Griechische Sprachwissenschaft* (2 vols., 1992) and *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft* (2nd edn. 2002; English version, *Indo-European Linguistics*, 2003).

Torsten Meissner studied Indo-European Philology, Classics, and Scandinavian Studies at the University of Bonn, graduating in 1991. He wrote his 1995 Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 'S-stem Nouns and Adjectives in Ancient Greek', under the supervision of Anna Morpurgo Davies. He was elected to a Drapers' Junior Research Fellowship at Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1994, and in 1998 he was appointed University Lecturer in Classics (Philology and Linguistics) at Cambridge. His research has mainly dealt with word-formation, and he has published articles on various Indo-European languages, especially Ancient Greek.

Craig Melchert received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from Harvard in 1977. He is Professor of Linguistics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he has taught since 1978. He has published extensively on the Indo-European languages of Anatolia, including *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology* (1984) and *Anatolian Historical Phonology* (1994).

Norbert Oettinger wrote his dissertation (1976) at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg under Karl Hoffmann; a revised version was published in 1979 as *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums*. From 1977 to 1986 he was Akademischer Rat in Munich, with Klaus Strunk, writing a prize-winning Habilitationsschrift, *Untersuchungen zur avestischen Sprache am Beispiel des Ardvisur-Yasht*. In 1986 he became Professor at Augsburg, and in 2000 Professor of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg. His work has mainly been concerned with Hittite, Iranian, Anatolian–Greek contacts, and common innovations in North-Western Indo-European.

John Penney is University Lecturer in Classical Philology at the University of Oxford (appointed in 1972) and a Fellow of Wolfson College. He read Classics at Oxford and studied for a year at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was introduced to Indo-European linguistics by Henry Hoenigswald. His Oxford D.Phil. (1978), on problems of Greek and Indo-European ablaut, was supervised by Anna Morpurgo Davies. His research interests include Indo-European phonology and morphology, the languages of pre-Roman Italy, and Tocharian, and he has published articles on these topics.

Martin Peters is an Indo-Europeanist and Hellenist from the University of Vienna. There he started out as a student of Manfred Mayrhofer and Jochem Schindler, and was tenured as a lecturer in 1990. Favourite subjects in his published work to date have been Proto-Indo-European laryngeals, Ancient Greek goddesses, Homer, Carl Barks, and Jimmy Webb.

Massimo Poetto studied Indo-European linguistics at the University of Milan and Anatolian languages at the University of Pavia, and is now full Professor of

'Glottologia e Linguistica' at the University of Bari. He has worked on various Indo-European tongues—mostly in relation to etymology and semantics—and above all on the Anatolian group, with special focus on Hieroglyphic Luwian.

Philomen Probert was an undergraduate and graduate student at Oxford, where work for her D.Phil. on Greek accentuation was supervised by Anna Morpurgo Davies, and where she is now a University Lecturer in Classical Philology and Linguistics and a Fellow of Wolfson College.

Don Ringe earned his Ph.D. in Linguistics at Yale in 1984 under the direction of the late Warren Cowgill. He taught Classics at Bard College from 1983 to 1985; since 1985 he has been on the Faculty in Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, where he has been a full Professor since 1996. He is the author of numerous articles and a book, *On the Chronology of Sound Changes in Tocharian*, i. *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Tocharian* (1996).

Helmut Rix received his doctorate from the University of Heidelberg (1951). After holding teaching appointments at Tübingen and Erlangen, from 1966 to 1993 he was Professor of Comparative Philology at the Universities of Regensburg and (from 1982) Freiburg im Breisgau; he became Professor Emeritus in 1993. In 2001 he was awarded the Premio Galileo Galilei of the University of Pisa. His many publications include *Das etruskische Cognomen* (1963), *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen: Laut- und Formenlehre* (1976), and *Kleine Schriften* (2001).

Kees Ruijgh studied at the University of Amsterdam and at the École Pratique de Hautes Études in Paris. After holding a succession of teaching appointments in Amsterdam, he became Professor of Ancient Greek Linguistics there from 1969 until his retirement in 1995. He died on 16 April 2004. His numerous publications include *L'Élément achéen dans la langue épique* (1957), *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien* (1967), *Autour de 'τε épique'* (1971), and *Scripta Minora* in two volumes (1991–6).

Paul Russell is Lecturer in Celtic languages and literature in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic in Cambridge. He previously taught at Radley College, Abingdon, and was a Visiting Lecturer in Celtic in Oxford. He studied at Oxford for his undergraduate degree in Classics and subsequently for the M.Phil. in General Linguistics and Comparative Philology and a D.Phil. (in Celtic). He has published widely in Celtic philology and linguistics, notably *Celtic Word Formation* (1990) and *Introduction to the Celtic Languages* (1995).

Rüdiger Schmitt is Professor of Indo-European Comparative Grammar and Indo-Iranian Studies at Saarland University in Saarbrücken. His publications include *Dichtung und Dichter in indogermanischer Zeit* (1967) and, more recently, various studies of Old Iranian personal names; he edited the *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* (1989) and has published editions of the Old Persian inscriptions of Bisutun, Persepolis, and Naqsh-i-Rustam.

Peter Schrijver studied Indo-European linguistics, Caucasian linguistics, and classical philology at the University of Leiden, where he completed his Ph.D.in 1991 and became a university lecturer in 1997. He is now Professor of General and Indo-European Linguistics at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich and publishes on Indo-European topics, focusing on Latin (*The Reflexes of the Indo-European Laryngeals in Latin*, 1991) and Celtic (*Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology*, 1995; *Studies in the History of Celtic Pronouns and Particles*, 1997); he is preparing an etymological dictionary of Welsh. In recent years, language contact in prehistoric and early historic Europe has become one of his main fields of interest. He is co-editor for linguistics of the *Journal of Indo-European Studies.*

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Patrick Stiles read English at Oxford, choosing Germanic philology options; he was then lured by Anna Davies to read for the Diploma in Comparative Philology (Germanic and Greek), which led to a doctorate ('Studies in the Germanic *r*-stems'). His subsequent publications have all been in the field of Germanic. His chief interest is historical and comparative linguistics, principally Indo-European, in particular Germanic and Balto-Slavic.

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PART ONE

INDO-EUROPEAN

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1

Il perfetto indoeuropeo tra endomorfismo ed esomorfismo

Paolo Di Giovine

1 Introduzione

Nel campo degli studi di linguistica storica si sono raggiunti importanti risultati per quanto riguarda la ricostruzione morfologica in riferimento alla fase indoeuropea preistorica da un lato, e alla storia dei diversi gruppi linguistici dall'altro. In questo senso, l'illustrazione di categorie flessionali come il presente (nelle sue diverse forme atematiche e tematiche, dal presente radicale a quelli con infissi e suffissi), l'aoristo (radicale, sigmatico, raddoppiato), il causativo, il perfetto, ecc., ha consentito di tracciare un quadro organico, pur se in vari punti controverso, della morfologia verbale indoeuropea comune;[1] contributi di analogo interesse sono venuti nel campo della morfologia nominale.

Una volta acquisita—nei limiti consentiti dal procedimento della ricostruzione linguistica—la conoscenza del punto di origine delle diverse categorie flessionali, è più agevole operare nel senso opposto, e vedere come ciascun gruppo linguistico abbia modificato, formalmente e funzionalmente, le caratteristiche proprie delle categorie originarie. In questo senso, mi pare ancora poco indagato un aspetto particolare del mutamento dalla fase preistorica alle singole lingue storiche indoeuropee: quello che attiene alla struttura formale, in rapporto alla distribuzione del carico funzionale tra i diversi morfemi (radice, infissi, espansioni della radice, affissi—prefissi e suffissi—e desinenze). È uno sviluppo molto interessante anche da un punto di vista tipologico, in quanto permette un confronto tra fasi linguistiche nelle quali si manifestano ricorrenti fenomeni di spostamento del carico funzionale dal nucleo verso la periferia (o addirittura verso l'esterno) della forma considerata.

[1] Non è possibile, nei limiti del presente lavoro, elencare i numerosissimi contributi relativi al sistema verbale apparsi in riferimento all'indoeuropeo ricostruito o alle lingue storiche maggiormente conservative; per una bibliografia—ovviamente non più aggiornatissima—rinvio a Di Giovine (1996: 277–305).

Nel presente articolo cercherò di indagare sotto questa specifica angolazione una fra le tante categorie flessionali di cui è possibile seguire le vicende lungo un arco cronologico sufficientemente ampio, e con buona cognizione di causa anche riguardo alle fasi più antiche, protostoriche e preistoriche: il perfetto indoeuropeo. Naturalmente, la scelta è anche influenzata dalla ricerca per più anni compiuta su tale categoria flessionale, ricerca che permette di disporre di una serie di dati verificati personalmente; ma, in questo caso, l'interesse è focalizzato sugli aspetti formali in diacronia, dall'archetipo 'protoindoeuropeo' alle fasi relativamente recenti di aree linguistiche nelle quali la categoria del perfetto ha mantenuto una sua autonomia formale.

2 Il quadro di riferimento: strutture endomorfiche ed esomorfiche

È dato ormai acquisito, dopo le importanti puntualizzazioni del Belardi (1990), che in fase indoeuropea comune la parola costituiva una sequenza—non necessariamente lineare—di moduli, ciascuno in grado di fornire un tassello al valore complessivo della forma.[2] Questo punto di partenza ha un particolare rilievo allorché si analizzino parole morfologicamente assai complesse, come nel caso della flessione verbale.

Come ha recentemente suggerito Domenico Silvestri (2003: §5),[3] traendo spunto dalle intuizioni di Sapir (1921: ch. 4), si può distinguere, nel campo delle formazioni (nominali e verbali) indoeuropee, tra tipo esomorfico, nel quale si ha una morfologia 'per aggiunta', e tipo endomorfico, nel quale si ha invece morfologia per sostituzione o iterazione. In sostanza, *endomorfismo* si ha nel caso di alternanze apofoniche all'interno della radice, negli infissi, e anche nel raddoppiamento, che costituisce una espansione della radice, con la quale mantiene una strettissima solidarietà (di norma non sono ammessi altri elementi interposti fra raddoppiamento e radice);[4] *esomorfismo*, invece, nel caso dei suffissi, dei prefissi—sempre collocati

[2] Belardi (1990: 161): 'la parola di una lingua a segno internamente articolato è quasi come una frase (non predicativa) con posizione obbligata dei moduli componenti'.

[3] Mi baso sul *hand-out* distribuito durante il Convegno, in gran parte poi rifluito nell'articolo consegnato per la stampa.

[4] Tra i mezzi morfologici inquadrabili nella endomorfia citati dal Sapir ometto qui la menzione dell'accento (o tono, per la fase preistorica—e protostorica, limitatamente ad alcuni gruppi linguistici indoeuropei): questo non tanto perché si debba ritenere il grado apofonico funzione dell'accento—vi sono casi nei quali i due mezzi morfologici appaiono fra loro indipendenti—quanto perché di fatto l'accento/tono interessa la parola nel suo complesso, andando poi a collocarsi su una sillaba che può essere radicale, suffissale o desinenziale.

all'esterno del raddoppiamento—e di altri mezzi morfologici esterni alla parola (preposizioni, formazioni perifrastiche, ordine delle parole).

Naturalmente, si dovrà considerare come le situazioni normali non siano quelle polarizzate sull'uno o sull'altro tipo, ma quelle in cui si ha compresenza di endomorfi e di esomorfi, con carico funzionale prevalentemente concentrato sugli uni o sugli altri. Per il problema che qui interessa, dunque, sarà interessante vedere se è possibile cogliere una linea di sviluppo coerente dalla prevalenza di un tipo alla prevalenza dell'altro nel corso della storia del perfetto, dalla fase preistorica alle singole aree linguistiche.

3 La struttura originaria del perfetto indoeuropeo: morfemi costitutivi e pertinenza

Penso sia sufficiente riassumere brevemente i dati di cui disponiamo riguardo alla struttura del perfetto indoeuropeo nella sua fase predocumentaria, così come risulta dalla ricostruzione operata a partire dalle lingue storiche che attestano un perfetto quale categoria ancora vitale o solo parzialmente recessiva. Lo schema che segue si fonda essenzialmente su Di Giovine (1996), in più punti integrato dai contributi più recenti sull'argomento.

Nel perfetto indoeuropeo riconosciamo i seguenti elementi costitutivi:

(*a*) lessema radicale (radice), di valenza non stativa;[5]

(*b*) alternanza apofonica radicale tra grado *-*o*- (forme forti) e grado ∅ (forme deboli): si tratta di un tipico endomorfo, in quanto l'apofonia vocalica si colloca all'interno della struttura radicale. Il morfema *-*o*- è caratteristico delle formazioni deverbali,[6] e dunque anche di quelle di Aktionsart (come ha recentemente osservato il Kümmel, 2000: 66–9, il perfetto

[5] Di Giovine (1990: 367–70). La ricerca sulla funzione più antica del perfetto è stata svolta non a partire dal valore attestato nelle lingue storiche, ma sulla base della difettività: da un'analisi condotta sull'inventario delle forme verbali indoarie antiche, il perfetto è assente, in origine, nelle radici con valore stativo, e questo perché, evidentemente, convogliava un valore di stato conseguente a un processo, incompatibile con verbi di per sé già stativi. Non comprendo la critica a questo riguardo mossa dal Harðarson (2001: 37–8), secondo il quale per individuare la funzione più antica del perfetto indoeuropeo si dovrebbe partire dal greco, in tal senso più conservativo: il carattere più conservativo del perfetto greco, quanto alla valenza, può essere una conclusione raggiunta dopo aver attinto—possibilmente con metodi diversi—la funzione del perfetto indoeuropeo, non certo un punto di partenza dell'argomentazione (che altrimenti risulterebbe circolare)!

[6] Di Giovine (1996: 176). Credo che rifiutare una tale conclusione, come fa il Harðarson (2001: 42) sulla base dei presenti raddoppiati (primari) a grado *-*o*- radicale, sia da considerare poco più che una posizione di principio: l'unica formazione non deverbale a grado *-*o*-, a parte alcuni verbi isolati, sarebbe costituita da questi presenti raddoppiati (primari), ma il problema è che proprio qui il grado *-*o*- radicale è alquanto opinabile (non direttamente

esprimerebbe la *Aktionsart* 'naktostativa'), e l'alternanza con il grado ∅ è propria delle formazioni atematiche; all'alternanza apofonica nel perfetto doveva dunque esser deputata la funzione di indicare il carattere deverbale e atematico di tale categoria flessionale;

(*c*) raddoppiamento, che va considerato anch'esso un endomorfo, poiché non è un vero prefisso, quanto piuttosto una espansione della radice, con questa strettamente solidale. Sulla funzione del raddoppiamento nel perfetto non si può dire molto, se non che si tratta di una marca ormai puramente morfologica, pur se non si può escludere un collegamento con l'iterazione della radice propria delle formazioni intensivo-iterative (Di Giovine 1996: 116–21);

(*d*) desinenze, specifiche del perfetto e forse connotate da una valenza di stato. Le desinenze, che indicano la persona e il numero, si collocano sempre, in tutte le formazioni verbali indoeuropee antiche, al margine destro della parola, e quindi sono un elemento morfologicamente esterno, pur se ben integrato nella parola stessa (tant'è che sono soggette ai fenomeni di riduzione che colpiscono—per effetto dell'accento dinamico di parola—la sillaba finale in latino, nelle lingue germaniche, ecc.). Considerato che comunque il carico funzionale primariamente indicato dalle desinenze—persona e numero—si colloca comunque in posizione finale, a prescindere dal tipo di formazione,[7] sembra ragionevole considerare non pertinente il tratto endomorfia~esomorfia, in quanto per le desinenze non è ammessa alcuna opposizione di questo tipo.

Questo schema, che riprende, come detto, le conclusioni cui si è pervenuti recentemente (n. 1), esclude la presenza di particolari affissi—prefissi propriamente detti, suffissi—nella struttura originaria del perfetto, e dunque colloca senza dubbio tale categoria flessionale tra le formazioni endomorfiche.

attestato nel greco, incerta è anche la sua ricostruzione nell'indiano antico), e potrebbe, oltretutto, essere il risultato di un adeguamento secondario secondo altre formazioni—di *Aktionsart*—a raddoppiamento (intensivo, perfetto, ecc.).

[7] Diverso è il discorso relativo ai tratti accessorî, quali la collocazione nello *hic et nunc*, segnalata dalle cosiddette desinenze 'principali', lo stato, indicato probabilmente (cf. supra) dalle desinenze del perfetto, e, particolarmente rilevante, la diatesi: a quest'ultimo riguardo, una dislocazione di funzionalità si verifica, questa volta verso sinistra, dalla desinenza al suffisso, nell'originarsi del presente passivo nell'indiano antico o dell'aoristo passivo nel greco antico (Benedetti 2002: 32–3).

4 Gli sviluppi strutturali del perfetto nei gruppi linguistici indoeuropei

Il perfetto indoeuropeo si è conservato come categoria flessionale autonoma (formalmente e funzionalmente) in poche aree linguistiche; in altre si è continuato a livello formale, pur assumendo funzioni diverse da quella più antica, in altre ancora si è manifestato un sincretismo con diverse categorie flessionali (è il caso del latino). Dal momento che la presente indagine opera dall'alto verso il basso, per evidenziare l'evoluzione diacronica della categoria—nella sua articolazione formale in rapporto alla distribuzione del carico funzionale—tutte le testimonianze riconducibili al perfetto indoeuropeo saranno utilizzabili, indipendentemente dal fatto che il perfetto sia sopravvissuto o meno quale categoria flessionale autonoma. La trattazione sarà necessariamente sommaria, perché quello che interessa è poter poi delineare un quadro complessivo.

INDOARIO

Nei documenti linguistici più antichi, quelli vedici, il perfetto si presenta come formazione decisamente endomorfica, caratterizzata da apofonia radicale (**-o-*~∅ > *-ă̄-*[8]~∅), raddoppiamento e desinenze specifiche (spesso precedute da *-i-* se inizianti per consonante). Non si hanno suffissi[9] o prefissi specifici, e l'intero carico funzionale—ove si escludano le desinenze—ricade sugli endomorfi.

Nel corso della storia dell'indiano antico si manifestano due tipi di innovazione, l'uno già vedico, l'altro tardo-vedico e sanscrito:

(*a*) da un lato prende piede, nelle forme deboli, un tipo di perfetto privo di raddoppiamento, e caratterizzato da una vocale *-e-* (lunga!) radicale; tale perfetto, che è assolutamente regolare nei temi *yem-* e *sed-* (monottongazione di **-ay-* in un **ya-im-* o esito di **-azC-* in **sazd-* < **sasd-*), è già ben attestato nel vedico e si espande ulteriormente in seguito, secondo un meccanismo ben illustrato dal Lazzeroni (1991: 209–10). Si ha qui riduzione delle marche endomorfiche da due ad una, il vocalismo radicale;

(*b*) dall'altro lato si viene a creare, per la prima volta nell'Atharva-Veda (*gamayā́ṃ cakāra*, a valenza causativa), un perfetto perifrastico, costituito da un nome verbale accompagnato da un ausiliare, diverso in rapporto al

[8] L'ulteriore alternanza fra *-ă-* e *-ā-* nel singolare (tipo I sg. *cakára*: III sg. *cakā́ra*) si è estesa per analogia (cf. Belardi 1950: 109–25), anche se sulla sua origine non vi è accordo generale (rinvio a Di Giovine 1996: 134–5, e a Sani 1991: 149).

[9] La vocale *-i-* predesinenziale non è un suffisso, ma rappresenta la generalizzazione dell'esito di **-ə-* nelle radici seṭ (Thumb 1958–9: 283–4).

valore del perfetto (*kṛ-* 'fare', *as-* 'essere', *bhū-* 'divenire').[10] Questo tipo di perfetto perifrastico, non raro nella prosa tardo-vedica, è piuttosto comune nel sanscrito classico. Si noterà la separazione fra la radice (componente lessicale), nominalizzata e non più alternante, e il carico funzionale del perfetto, affidato all'ausiliare: un chiaro tratto esomorfico, con spostamento del carico funzionale a destra, oltre il confine della parola, ma che non va confuso comunque con il *passé composé* romanzo (nel quale l'ausiliare, al presente, contribuisce solo parzialmente alla determinazione del tempo verbale).

Il perfetto decade progressivamente dall'uso, fino a costituire un insieme relittuale nel medio indiano.[11]

IRANICO

Delle due lingue appartenenti al gruppo iranico attestate per la fase antica, solo l'avestico mostra un numero consistente di forme di perfetto. Com'è noto, tali forme di perfetto presentano una struttura endomorfica, con raddoppiamento, apofonia radicale e assenza di suffissi.[12]

Già nell'avestico recente, però, da un lato compaiono forme di perfetto tematiche (con un suffisso, la cui rilevanza funzionale appare comunque incerta: Hoffmann e Forssman 1996: 233, 237), dall'altro isolate forme perifrastiche (con l'ausiliare *ah-* 'essere': Kellens 1984: 427; Kümmel 2000: 62–3), in un quadro di crescente rarità di tale categoria flessionale.[13]

Il persiano antico offre attestazioni davvero scarse del perfetto: una sola testimonianza certa (*caxriyā*, ottat. III sg.), in una forma perifrastica (con il verbo per 'fare' [*kar-*], così come nel perfetto perifrastico indoario).[14] Nel caso di verbi transitivi, comunque, già nel persiano antico è ben attestato un tipo di preterito perifrastico, noto come [*manā*] *kartam* '[io] ho fatto', lett. 'di me (da me) fatto' (Ciancaglini 1987), importante perché precursore di forme pahlaviche (il tipo [*man*] *kart*) e dello stesso preterito neopersiano [*man*] *kardam*. Oltre alla costruzione preteritale *man kart*, il medio-persiano manicheo, ad esempio, conosce solo forme perifrastiche di perfetto, costruite con il participio del verbo (a suffisso **-to-* > *-t*[*a*]) e il

[10] Per una informazione essenziale rinvio a Macdonell (1910: 365 §496), Whitney (1889: 392 ff. §§1070–3) e Thumb (1958–9: 294–5). Sul periodo più antico si veda inoltre Kümmel (2000: 61–2).

[11] Si può rinviare alle grammatiche specifiche delle lingue medio-indiane; a titolo di esempio cito Oberlies (2001: 228–9 §48), Pischel (1900: 321 §452; 361 §518); Edgerton (1953: 165–6 §§33.1–33.11).

[12] Kellens (1984: 400 ff.); Hoffmann e Forssman (1996: 233).

[13] Come osserva il Kellens (1984: 427), già nel *Vidēvdāt* avestico il perfetto è pressoché eccezionale.

[14] Oltre a Kent (1953: 73 §219), si veda Kellens (1984: 428).

presente di un ausiliare (Nyberg 1974: 282–3). Queste formazioni perifrastiche, esomorfiche, sostituiscono la forma sintetica di perfetto.

Anche nel settore (nord-)orientale del medio-iranico prevalgono costruzioni perifrastiche; tra le poche eccezioni, il sacio, dove compare un suffisso—dunque un esomorfo—in dentale (*-t-*), variamente interpretato (Emmerick 1968: 220–1). Forme perifrastiche sono normali sia nel perfetto delle lingue neoiraniche orientali (Morgenstierne 1958: 166–7), sia nel neopersiano (Lazard 1992: 130–8).

GRECO

La lingua greca antica testimonia molto bene un tipo di perfetto confrontabile con quello indo-iranico: grado **-o- radicale* alternante con ∅, raddoppiamento, desinenze specifiche (tipo: *μέμονα~μέμαμεν*). In questo perfetto non hanno rilevanza prefissi o suffissi, e dunque siamo in presenza di una formazione endomorfica.

Anche nel greco si manifesta una evoluzione formale, oltre che funzionale; qui, tuttavia, gli sviluppi sono abbastanza antichi, e in gran parte documentati già in Omero (la povertà di forme di perfetto nei documenti micenei non consente di aggiungere testimonianze ancora precedenti). Gli sviluppi principali sono i seguenti:

(*a*) creazione di un perfetto cappatico (suffisso *-κα*). Il carattere secondario di tale formazione risulta da due fatti: ridotta funzionalità nell'epos,[15] e isolamento del perfetto cappatico all'interno della famiglia linguistica indoeuropea (tant'è che, nonostante i numerosi tentativi di comparazione, si può dire ancor oggi che si tratta di formazione etimologicamente oscura: Schwyzer 1939: 775–6; Sihler 1995: 576). Tale perfetto, la cui recenziorità è confermata dalla valenza frequentemente non stativa (mantenuta, nelle coppie di perfetti corradicali, dal solo tipo endomorfico), tende inoltre a presentare molto spesso un livellamento del vocalismo radicale.[16] Il carico funzionale si trasferisce dunque sul suffisso: da tipo endomorfico a tipo misto o addirittura totalmente esomorfico;

(*b*) estensione del 'perfetto aspirato', a partire dalle radici uscenti in consonante aspirata. Anche qui si tratta di innovazione, visto che in Omero è raro (mai nell'attivo), e comunque il valore del perfetto aspirato è general-

[15] In Omero è limitato a una ventina di verbi in vocale lunga e dittongo, e raramente va al di là del singolare dell'indicativo e del congiuntivo: Schwyzer (1939: 774); Rix (1976: 222 §240); Sihler (1995: 576 §518).

[16] Il perfetto cappatico, inoltre, caratterizza quei verbi (denominativi, deverbali ecc.) che, in origine privi del perfetto, lo costituiscono secondariamente (con valore risultativo, non stativo).

mente risultativo e dunque secondario (Chantraine 1927: 139–40; Schwyzer 1939: 771–2; Rix 1976: 221 §239). L'alternanza vocalica radicale è conservata in parte, ma appare evidente come la marca funzionale nel 'perfetto aspirato' si collochi all'estremità destra della radice, in un processo che—pur senza condurre a condizioni propriamente esomorfiche—denota però una tendenza focalizzante verso l'esterno;

(*c*) inserimento, recenziore, di un suffisso -*η*-, senza mutamento delle altre condizioni (tipo 'misto');

(*d*) creazione di forme perifrastiche, costituite dal participio perfetto e dall'ausiliare (*εἰμι*, poi anche *ἔχω*), dapprima nella III plur. del medio, quindi nelle forme modali di ottativo e congiuntivo.[17] Una parte consistente del carico funzionale si trasferisce all'esterno della parola, sull'ausiliare: considerato che—diversamente dalle forme perifrastiche indo-iraniche—il raddoppiamento sopravvive quale endomorfo, questo tipo di formazioni potrebbe esser considerato 'misto', anche se è chiara la tendenza verso l'esomorfismo.

Il processo continua in fase bizantina e moderna. Già nella *κοινή* il perfetto (talora con desinenze storiche) inizia a confondersi con l'aoristo, e le frequenti forme perifrastiche presentano un participio aoristo, oltre che perfetto (con prevalenza dell'ausiliare *ἔχω*: Chantraine 1927: 249 ff.; Schwyzer 1939: 779). In fase moderna è normale un perfetto analitico: più ancora del tipo *ἔχω δεμένο*, con un participio che non è più quello raddoppiato del perfetto (Chantraine 1927: 251; Mirambel 1949: 126), si diffonde però la costruzione *ἔχω* + infinito (aoristo) in -(*σ*)*ει* (attivo) o in -*θεί* (passivo), cf. Mirambel (1949: 126).

LATINO E LINGUE ITALICHE

Gli sviluppi del perfetto nella lingua latina non possono prescindere dal sincretismo verificatosi con l'aoristo nella nuova categoria del *perfectum*, a valenza temporale (preteritale) e non più di *Aktionsart* (ove si eccettuino pochissimi perfetto-presenti, Di Giovine 1996: 29 n. 17). Pertanto, all'interno delle formazioni di *perfectum* latine andranno analizzati solo i continuatori di un perfetto antico e le innovazioni, escludendo gli antichi aoristi.

Sulla base dei dati disponibili,[18] possiamo individuare tipi evoluti in misura minore o maggiore nella direzione di una perdita dei tratti endomorfici:

(*a*) perfetto raddoppiato. Recessivo, documenta un endomorfo (rad-

[17] Chantraine (1927: 26); Schwyzer (1939: 779).
[18] Una sintesi in Meiser (1998: 202–14).

doppiamento), mentre l'alternanza apofonica radicale è ormai livellata sia per effetto dell'antico accento dinamico protosillabico sia per analogia sul vocalismo del presente (i casi con *-o-* radicale sono secondari);[19] le marche del *perfectum* sono dunque raddoppiamento e desinenza;

(*b*) perfetto a vocale lunga radicale. Molto più produttivo, si presenta sia con verbi semplici, sia, frequentemente, con verbi composti. L'alternanza con la vocale breve del presente non continua l'apofonia caratteristica del perfetto indoeuropeo, ma rappresenta una innovazione, a partire da un nucleo ristretto di verbi nei quali la vocale lunga radicale era etimologica (secondo meccanismi analoghi a quelli visti nei perfetti in *-e-* indoari: Di Giovine 1995: 118). Dunque, una sola marca endomorfica, questa volta il vocalismo radicale lungo (non alternante);

(*c*) perfetto 'semplice'. Privo di marche morfologiche al di là della desinenza, in genere risulta dalla perdita della sillaba di raddoppiamento, probabilmente a partire dalle forme con preverbio (Meiser 1998: 212–14);

(*d*) perfetto in *-u/v-*. Qualunque sia l'origine del suffisso—questione quanto mai dibattuta (cf. Meiser 1998: 204–5)—in questa sede interessano due punti: si tratta di una innovazione, divenuta via via maggiormente produttiva (il tipo in *-u/v-* è l'unico *perfectum* attestato per quelle formazioni—antichi stativi, causativi, denominativi ecc.—in origine prive del perfetto), e l'unica marca funzionale—a parte la desinenza—è un suffisso, dunque esomorfica.

Nelle lingue romanze il *perfectum* latino si continua in forme preteritali (passato remoto) che non hanno più alcuna corrispondenza funzionale con l'antico perfetto; il senso proprio del perfetto è invece trasferito a una forma perifrastica, nella quale l'ausiliare si collega al participio passato del verbo. Si completa, dunque, la tendenza verso l'esomorfismo già *in nuce* nel latino, secondo un tipo di sviluppo peraltro tipologicamente non raro, e riscontrabile in altri gruppi indoeuropei (indiano, iranico, greco ecc.).

Le lingue italiche evidenziano una varietà notevole di 'perfetti', anche in questo caso, come in latino, categoria sincretistica di antichi perfetti e aoristi.

Se si esclude il 'perfetto sigmatico', che continua un antico aoristo, abbiamo i seguenti tipi:

(*a*) perfetto raddoppiato. Forse più comune che non nel latino, presenta in genere grado ∅ radicale (bibliografia in Di Giovine 1995: 118);

(*b*) perfetto a vocale lunga radicale. Alcuni esempi certi in osco e umbro (Prosdocimi 1994: 226–33), ma tendenzialmente relittuale;

[19] Per queste considerazioni faccio riferimento a Di Giovine (1995: 117–18).

(*c*) perfetto a vocale breve radicale. Privo di marche morfologiche al di là della desinenza, è piuttosto raro, e di origine non chiara (Prosdocimi 1994: 233–7);

(*d*) perfetto con suffissi. Perfetti caratterizzati dal solo suffisso (diverso in funzione delle varie lingue italiche, dal tipo in *-f-* a quello in *-k-*, o in **-nky-*, o sudpiceno in **-w-*, o ancora in *-t-*: bibliografia in Di Giovine 1996: 32–4) sono attestati abbastanza ampiamente, e sembrano essere la categoria più produttiva. L'unica marca funzionale—a parte la desinenza—è un suffisso, dunque esomorfica.

LINGUE GERMANICHE

Le lingue germaniche presentano un quadro apparentemente in controtendenza, dal momento che è nota l'importanza, almeno in una prima fase, delle forme forti con apofonia radicale (in parte ristrutturata in favore di un vocalismo lungo radicale: Di Giovine 1995: 121–3).[20]

Non molto frequenti sono le forme raddoppiate, attestate soprattutto nel gotico, e, a livello di relitti, nel nordico e nell'anglo (bibliografia in Di Giovine 1996: 84–5); in tali forme, però, non si ha mai alternanza nel vocalismo radicale, e neppure in rapporto al vocalismo del presente (a parte il tipo *lētan~laílōt*).[21]

Molto produttivo è invece l'altro endomorfo originario del perfetto, l'alternanza vocalica, non accompagnata dal raddoppiamento, che interessa le prime tre classi dei verbi forti secondo uno schema analogo a quello del perfetto indoeuropeo, la IV e la V con l'innovazione costituita dal grado *-ē-* (Di Giovine 1995: 116); nella VI classe è invece generalizzato un grado *-ō-* non alternante.

L'aspetto più interessante della situazione germanica è dato dalla persistenza notevole dell'endomorfo costituito dall'alternanza vocalica, ancora nelle fasi medievali delle diverse lingue; solo in epoca più recente, in determinati contesti sociolinguistici, il dominio della flessione forte tende a ridursi in favore del tipo debole a suffisso. Si osserverà, comunque, che già nelle fasi documentarie più antiche delle lingue germaniche non vi è in alcun caso persistenza di entrambe le marche endomorfiche, che risultano mutuamente esclusive. Inoltre, nelle lingue germaniche si afferma, per le formazioni di *Aktionsart* derivate tramite suffisso (causativi, intensivi, durativi) e per i preterito-presenti del gotico (antichi perfetti, quindi anch'essi formazioni di *Aktionsart*) un nuovo preterito, il cosiddetto preterito de-

[20] Su raddoppiamento e apofonia nel preterito delle lingue germaniche basti citare Meid (1971), Bammesberger (1986), van Coetsem (1990).

[21] Qui, con ogni probabilità, *-ō-* si è esteso per analogia a partire dalla VI classe.

bole, caratterizzato questa volta da una marca esclusivamente esomorfica, un suffisso in dentale.

LINGUE CELTICHE

Nelle lingue celtiche sono attestate continuazioni dirette o indirette—con mutamento funzionale—del perfetto indoeuropeo.

Al di là di una isolata forma gallica δεδε 'posuit', con raddoppiamento ma non trasparente riguardo alle condizioni apofoniche, va considerato il preterito privo di suffisso dell'irlandese antico[22] (una buona sintesi in McCone 1986: 233–5, 262), nel quale sono confluite, tra l'altro, antiche forme raddoppiate (a grado ∅ o *-a-* generalizzati) e forme non raddoppiate a vocalismo radicale allungato, soprattutto *-á-* (secondario: Di Giovine 1995: 124–5, con bibliografia), non alternante ma comunque in opposizione al grado apofonico del presente.

La situazione, comunque, appare non dissimile da quella delle lingue germaniche: nelle formazioni verbali che continuano un antico perfetto sopravvive una sola delle due marche endomorfiche, il raddoppiamento oppure il vocalismo radicale (sia pure irrigidito in una forma non alternante).

Nelle fasi successive (ad esempio nell'irlandese medievale e moderno) si manifesta un forte sincretismo del preterito privo di suffisso con gli altri tipi di preterito di origine aoristica (suffissati), e questo comporta anche l'emergere, come tratto distintivo, di un esomorfo (in genere il suffisso sigmatico), per lo meno in alcune persone (McCone 1997: *passim*).

ALTRI GRUPPI LINGUISTICI

Nella presente analisi non considero altri gruppi linguistici indoeuropei, considerata la difficoltà di rintracciarvi continuazioni sicure del perfetto. In questo senso escluderei il tocario, per il quale non si può parlare di sopravvivenza del perfetto originario in una singola categoria flessionale, e anche l'ittito, di interpretazione estremamente controversa quanto a continuazione del perfetto indoeuropeo (Di Giovine 1996: 40–1, 46–59); si noterà, comunque, che nell'ittito lo 'stato raggiunto' è indicato tramite una formazione perifrastica (*ḫark-* + participio neutro).

[22] Forme analoghe, sia pur con minore evidenza, compaiono in altre lingue celtiche, soprattutto il cimrico.

5 Osservazioni conclusive

Prima di trarre alcune conclusioni di interesse più generale, credo sia utile riassumere sinotticamente la situazione riscontrabile nelle diverse aree linguistiche indoeuropee. Con il segno '–' si indica l'assenza, e con '+', eventualmente ripetuto, la presenza (eventualmente in formazioni diverse) del tipo indicato in testa alla colonna; '→+' segnala una innovazione, in genere in espansione; '+ →–', infine, marca le forme recessive. Le forme perifrastiche sono indicate fra quelle 'miste' se compaiono anche endomorfi (in genere il raddoppiamento), fra quelle con due o più esomorfi se costituite solo da suffissi (participiali) e dall'ausiliare.

TABELLA 1.1. *Struttura del perfetto nelle lingue indo-europanee*

Lingua/ gruppo ling.	Pf. con 2 endo-morfi	Pf. con 1 endo-morfo	Perfetto 'misto'	Perfetto non marcato	Pf. con 1 eso-morfo	Pf. con 2 o piu esomorfi
Indiano ant.	+	→+	–	–	–	→+
Indiano med.	+ →–	–	–	–	–	+
Avestico	+	–	→+	–	–	→+
Pers. ant.	+ →–	–	–	–	–	+
Iran. med.	–	–	–	–	–	+ +
Greco ant.	+	–	→+ +	–	→+ +	–
Greco med.	–	–	→+	–	–	→+
Latino	–	+ +	–	+	→+	–
Romanzo	–	–	–	–	–	+
Italico	–	+ +	–	+	→+ + +	–
Gmc. ant.	–	+ +	–	–	→+	–
Gmc. med.	–	+	–	–	+	–
Celtico	–	+ +	–	–	→+	–

La tabella evidenzia il progressivo slittamento della pertinenza verso marche situate più esternamente—all'interno o al di fuori del corpo della parola—a partire da una situazione nella quale ognuno dei gruppi linguistici considerati, nelle sue fasi più antiche, mostra la vitalità di almeno una marca endomorfica (di entrambe nell'indo-iranico e nel greco). La tendenza, però, è inequivocabile: il carico funzionale tende a dislocarsi a destra, fuori del lessema radicale. Si noterà anche come il tipo 'misto', nel quale un elemento suffissale o comunque 'esterno' si affianca a una marca endomorfica (in genere il raddoppiamento), sia molto più raro di quanto si potrebbe immaginare, ove lo si considerasse punto di transizione fra i due

poli tipologici: di fatto, è molto più frequente la creazione di una formazione totalmente esomorfica, con suffissi o perifrastica, laddove si manifesti una riduzione di funzionalità—parziale o totale—del tipo endomorfico.

Un'ultima annotazione. Ritengo che l'analisi qui compiuta possa dischiudere prospettive interessanti da un punto di vista cognitivo-acquisizionale, come quelle indagate, tra l'altro, nell'àmbito della *Gestaltpsychologie* e dalla neurolinguistica più recente. Nella fattispecie, la struttura esomorfica è caratteristica del *riconoscimento per tratti*, discreti nella linearità del segno (al lessema fanno seguito i morfemi suffissali, quindi desinenziali, con accumulo sequenziale delle diverse valenze); quella endomorfica è qualitativamente diversa, in quanto suggerisce piuttosto, con procedimenti introflessivi (apofonia, in parte raddoppiamento), un *riconoscimento per sagoma*, in una situazione nella quale i componenti della parola dovevano ancora mantenere una qualche autonomia (parola come frase non predicativa, n. 2). Sembra quasi di intuire procedimenti di sviluppo ben studiati dalla tipologia, come ad esempio la creazione di parole complesse, polisillabiche, nelle quali la determinazione morfo-sintattica discende dalla giustapposizione di strutture più semplici (spesso monosillabiche) in origine autonome: un tipo per certi versi isolante, ancor più che agglutinante. Si tratta, ovviamente, di una pura speculazione, allo stato delle nostre conoscenze sulla morfologia indoeuropea; e tuttavia spero che questo contributo, su un settore relativamente ristretto della morfologia verbale, apra la via a più ampie ricerche in grado di cogliere questi affascinanti indizi che ci offre lo studio della linguistica storica. Nel quale tutti abbiamo un debito importante nei riguardi della studiosa che una felice occasione ci consente di festeggiare.

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2

Particles and Personal Pronouns: Inclusive *_me_ and Exclusive *_u̯e_

George E. Dunkel

Indo-Europeanists today face a choice between two[1] diametrically opposed interpretations of the oblique stems of the IE personal pronouns.

In a short excursus on Greek ἐμέ in his epochal survey of laryngeal developments in Greek, Warren Cowgill recognized _en passant_ a unitary 'morpheme *_-wé/-mé_' in all numbers and persons of the pronominal oblique stems,[2] whose structure he saw as follows:

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1. Person	*_m-mé_ > *_mé_	*_n̥_h_3_-u̯é_	*_n̥s-mé_
2. Person	*_t-u̯é_ > *_tu̯é_	*_u_h_3_-u̯é_	*_us-mé_
3. Person	*_s-u̯é_ (reflexive, indifferent to number)		

What could be the function of these two seemingly omnipresent elements? Leaving aside the third person, *_-u̯é_ marks the entire dual and *_-mé_ the entire plural; but they can hardly serve to indicate number since this is already formally expressed by the preceding *_n̥_h_3-[3] and *_u_h_3- as opposed to *_n̥s-_ and *_us-_. The singular accusatives are also refractory: not only would dual and plural markers a priori be out of place in the singular, but both morphs are found there. Whatever his reasons may have been, Cowgill left the function(s) of his 'morpheme *_-wé/-mé_' undefined.

[1] Leaving aside implausibilities such as first and second plurals *_mes-més_ > *_n̥s-més_, *_u̯es-u̯és_ > *_uswés_ (the accent is wrong for _āmreḍitas_; see also n. 8 below) or that nom. pl. *_u̯ei̯-_ ultimately derives from *_du̯o-_ 'two' (Szemerényi 1996: 217, with references; for a critique see Schmidt 1978: 172, 176, and Katz 1998_b_: 27–37). Nor can I accept approaches which see the extension *_-me_ as either the first singular accusative pronoun or an allomorph of the accusative ending (Schmidt 1978: 110, 177, 192, 217–18, who, far from being bibliographically complete (Katz 1998_b_: 4), was completely unaware of Cowgill's work), or which segment it as *_-sme_ (critique in Schmidt 1978: 177; Katz 1998_b_: 31, 92–3; on *_-sm-_ in the oblique of demonstratives see for the present n. 2 of Dunkel 2003_a_).

[2] Cowgill (1965: 169–70); for commentary see Sihler (1993) and Katz (1998_b_: 90–5).

[3] This being Cowgill's improvement of Ferdinand Sommer's *_n̥̄-u̯e_ (Sommer 1912: 394 ff.).

Cowgill's reconstruction of the singular has other problems as well. **su̯e* does not belong here at all, as its only function was (as Cowgill admitted) reflexive. The real third-personal anaphorics were **im* or **tóm*/-*se* (the accusative to **so*),[4] which do not lend themselves to any corresponding segmentation. In view of the widespread uncertainty as to whether the second singular accusative should be segmented as **tu̯-e* or as **t-u̯e* (Katz 1998*a*: 279 n. 64; 1998*b*: 37, 95 n. 116), be it mentioned that it could just as well represent **tu-u̯e* by the converse of Lindeman's Option—although this is probably not the case (below, p. 26). And though **m-me* is clever to be sure, it is also systematically implausible (Katz 1998*b*: 91 n. 104).

But as long as we grant ourselves the freedom to interpret the singular differently (below, p. 26), Cowgill's approach to the dual and plural does have one significant advantage over all others: it alone allows connecting the verb-endings of the first-person dual and plural, both active and mediopassive (cf. Skr. dual -*vás*/-*váhe*, plural -*más*/-*máhe*). The relevance of Cowgill's elements to these endings was pointed out by Andrew Sihler (1993: 178–9), one of several scholars who have attempted to develop Cowgill's basic insight.[5] This is a rather plausible connection, far more convincing than previous attempts at this issue.[6] The tonicity of *-*u̯é* and *-*mé* evidenced in the pronouns naturally motivates the zero-grade of the preceding element in athematic verb-forms: **n̥s-mé* is parallel to **h_1s-mé*.

Such a rich first 'dividend' inspires us to hope that Cowgill's segmentation of the pronominal stems may throw light on other parts of IE grammar as well. Let us examine some other efforts to develop Cowgill's ideas.

The first such attempt was by Jens Rasmussen (1987). After at first calling Cowgill's pre-forms 'completely acceptable' (261), he proceeds to modify them variously, e.g. presuming that the second dual **uh_3-u̯é* was early on dissimilated to **uh_3-o* (257, 260, 264),[7] that **me* arose from **m-u̯e* (266), and concluding that 'all personal pronouns appear to contain an element *u* or *u̯*' (266)—which is then in turn traced to an accusative ending *-*mé* (itself becoming *-*u̯e* in the dual, 267). The study ends with a speculative but coherent internal reconstruction of such rigid mechanicity as to seem implausible as a form of human speech.

A more recent attempt to develop Cowgill's insight is that of Denise

[4] On this see Dunkel (1992), 174–7.

[5] Sihler's own idea as to how this formal similarity is to be accounted for is for me, however, unacceptable (see n. 24).

[6] e.g. Watkins (1969), 46–8.

[7] I do not understand why someone as otherwise devoted to consistency in internal reconstruction as is Jens Rasmussen should insist on this non-parallel pre-form while admitting that Cowgill's was its logical predecessor ('a reduction of **uh_3u̯e* which is what one expects on the basis of **n̥h_3u̯e*', 1987: 260).

Meyer (1997: 101–7), who prestidigitates not only both **-mé* and **-u̯é* but also **-bʰe* (as in Greek σφε-), all from an earlier **-be-*. Although she accepts Cowgill's analysis of pronominal **-mé* and **-u̯é*, Meyer is evidently unaware of an even greater debt she owes him: his proposal that the allomorphy of both the instrumental plural **-ōi̯s/-omis/-obʰis* and of the thematic first singular present active **-ō/-omi*/Luw. *-wi* be attributed to a sound change such as *** W* > *:, **m*, **bʰ*, and **u̯* (Cowgill 1985: 108). But although Cowgill's 'recognition of the **-u̯é* sequence... as a morpheme (of uncertain function) equivalent to the **-mé*' (Meyer 1997: 99–100) is crucial to her argument, their equivalence has in fact never been proved. For further critique see Katz (1998*b*: 226–7 n. and Dunkel (2003*a*: n. 9).

But the most important development of Cowgill's ideas is undoubtedly the doctoral dissertation of Joshua Katz (1998*b*), the second of the competing interpretations mentioned at the start.[8] This accepts the reality of Cowgill's elements and also their presence in all three numbers but proposes a contrary distribution: that **-mé* marked the first and **-u̯é* the other persons[9] (Katz 1998*a*: 279, 285; 1998*b*: 96, 261). Katz's scheme is thus (with differences from Cowgill in bold):

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
1. Person	**m-mé*	**n̥h₃-**mé***	**n̥s-mé*
2. Person	**tu-u̯é*	**uh₃-u̯é*	**us-**u̯é***
3. Person	**s-u̯é*		

When this interpretation is tested against the actually attested dual and plural forms, various problems arise which Katz with energy and cleverness attempts to resolve. However, the only dialects to preserve what he considers to be the correct distribution in the plural are Celtic, Germanic, and Armenian (1998*b*: 262). Opinions will of course differ on the relative plausibility of his various individual arguments, and Katz never exhaustively evaluates which approach encounters fewer counter-examples as a whole. Still, it is disturbing that his analysis works best for (has the fewest problems with) these not over-conservative dialects, and also for the least

[8] Since much of this article criticizes certain of Katz's proposals about **-u̯e* and **-me* (as well as Cowgill's), I wish here to express my wholehearted admiration for his analysis as a whole. As will be seen, I accept both most of his proposed new derivations and above all his recognition of the importance of aphaeresis (culminating in his banishment, or rather explanation, of Meillet's first plural nominative **mes*, 1998*b*: 187–8, cf. 25, 182). His study will long remain a valuable source of information and inspiration for all who work in this field.

[9] Or only the second person, once **su̯e* is seen as irrelevant.

plausible part of Cowgill's interpretation—the singular accusatives (Katz 1998*b*: 91, 96, 195–6, 232, 262).

On the other hand, the difference from Cowgill is not as great as it at first may seem, since the second dual **uh*$_3$*-u̯é* (Skr. *yūvā́m*) and the first plural **n̥s-mé* are regular for both hypotheses. Yet even here a problem arises for Katz: although he derives the first plurals Hittite *anzas*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *a-zu-za*, and Cuneiform Luwian *anza* from Proto-Anatolian **n̥s-u̯é*—originally and in my opinion convincingly—his theory then forces him to take this as remodelled from the expected **n̥s-mé*. Letting this pass for the moment (until p. 25), the controversy then boils down to the first dual and the second plural.

For the first dual Katz posits **n̥h*$_3$*-mé*, but only reflexes of **n̥h*$_3$*-u̯é* (Vedic *āvā́m*, Att. *νώ* < *νῶε* < **νῶ-Ϝε*, Katz 1998*b*: 207–10) are found. Let us be clear about what this means for his proposal: of the twelve major IE dialects,[10] not a single one speaks for such a pre-form, and all with any evidence to show speak unequivocally against it. Though Katz admits this frequently,[11] it is none the less the case that his hypothesis is thus already from the start 50 per cent wrong. Let us call this a first strike against it.

Turning now to the second plural, Katz urges that we take the *(*u*)*s-u̯e* continued, as he convincingly argues, by Germanic, Celtic, and Armenian (as well as, in his opinion, by Hittite *sumas* and the Greek second dual *σφῶϊ*, 1998*b*: 138 ff. and 252–3, respectively) as old. I accept this wholeheartedly—but not his concomitant idea that the **us-mé* of Indo-Iranian, Greek, Tocharian (and, as others think, Hittite *sumas*) must be a parallel innovation.[12] Dialectologically speaking this seems extremely forced; whereas Germanic and Celtic share various other post-IE innovations,[13] an agreement between Indo-Iranian, Greek, and Tocharian on **us-mé* is hard to imagine as innovatory and no amount of belittling the relative importance of Greek–Aryan agreements can change this.[14] A proto-

[10] Nor are these contradicted by any evidence from the 'Rest- und Trümmersprachen'.

[11] 1998*a*: 279 n. 67; 1998*b*: 97, 196, 235, 261, 264; on his attempt to avoid this difficulty see two paragraphs below in the text.

[12] In 1998*a*: 280 he took the two as coexisting variants; see n. 34 below.

[13] Such as initial stress, abstract suffix *-*tū*+ *t*-, 'long vocalic preterites', merger of perfect and aorist, etc. The preverb **ko*, however, is an archaism.

[14] Katz's calls for allowing the voice of the other dialects to be heard should be relativized by the sobering thought of what sort of proto-language could be reconstructed from the evidence of Germanic, Celtic, and Armenian alone. Although **us-u̯é* fulfils Meillet's 'three-dialect condition' and can therefore be reconstructed with confidence, it is senseless to make light of the **us-me* demanded by Indic, Iranian, Greek, and Tocharian (even leaving Anatolian aside), a group which of course gives a much clearer picture of the proto-language than the first triad.

linguistic coexistence of or contrast between both pre-forms would seem to be a good solution, but Katz refuses himself this option. In my opinion excluding either alternative is a second strike; the aprioristic idea that both cannot be old is a regrettable and widespread logical error—fortunately easily repairable.

A final disadvantage of Katz's modifications of Cowgill's insight is that any relation between pronouns and first-personal verb-endings must be abandoned. Yet although Katz claims not to 'want to give into the temptation' of such a comparison,[15] this is exactly what he does when it comes to explaining away the (for him) problematic dual *n̥h_3-u̯é (1998*b*: 197). This is needlessly circuitous and obstructively anti-structural; perhaps a third strike is not even needed.

I suggest that the problem will not be solved by staring any longer at exactly the same evidence, which has always been limited strictly to the pronominal paradigms. If the morphs in question are instead analysed on the basis of the entire system of particles, including various lexicalizations and grammaticalizations,[16] one is led to the conclusion that the original opposition between **u̯e* and **me* was that of exclusive vs. inclusive in a broad, non-technical sense (as opposed to Katz 1998*b*: 25 n. 40). Both morphemes occurred tonically and enclitically. The evidence includes:

**u̯e* (exclusive, separative)	**me* (inclusive)

(*a*) As a free particle (including extensions by adverbial endings):

1. ***u̯e* 'away',[17]	**me-t*h_2 'with',
2. *-*u̯e* 'or'	**me-*d^h*i̯* 'between', cf. **me-*d^h*i̯*+ *o-* 'in the middle'
3. **u̯ō̆/-u̯e* 'like'[18] (but not **u̯o*-'we').	Greek με-σ- 'until', Phrygian με 'with'.

(*b*) Compounded with nominal elements:

[**u̯e-*$k^{u̯}$*sp-ero-* 'evening',	*me-*h_2*t-er* '*(children's) companion'[19]

[15] 1998*b*: 96 n. 119, cf. also 35. I myself prefer making comparisons to resisting them.

[16] Katz's discussions at 1998*b*: 98–9, 235–6 are totally inadequate.

[17] Despite the fact that much of the evidence usually cited for this morpheme (in square brackets below) can be otherwise explained, this serves as a pre-form for 2. and 3. *-*u̯e*.

[18] Homeric Ϝῶς, Vedic **va*, *i-va*. For the change from 'not' to 'or' and 'like' see Morpurgo Davies (1975: 160–6); on Vedic comparative *ná* see Vine (1978: 181–2); critique and a different approach in Pinault (1985: 120 ff.).

[19] To the root of Skr. *atati*, Lat. *annus*, Goth. *aþns*; the suffix as in **dai̯u̯-er-*. Semantically parallel to *comes*, *sputnica*.

Lat. *ve-stigium*, *vetāre*, *vē-cors*, etc.]	**me-ĝ*^{h}*s-r-i* 'until', **me-sd-ilo-* 'mistletoe'.[20]

(*c*) Univerbated with roots:

**u̯e-d*^{h}*H-* 'hit (away)' (to **d*^{h}*eh*$_1$-, cf. *antar dhā-*),	**me-zg-* 'braid, tie together' (to **seg-* 'attach', cf. **re-zg-* 'tie back'),[21]
u̯e-rt-* 'turn' (retH-* 'run')	1. **me-rk/ĝ-* 'rot, decompose' (to 2. **rek̂/ĝ-* 'make wet'),
u̯e-i̯H-* 'twist, bend' (Hi̯eh*$_1$-) . . .	**me-i̯s-* 'flicker' (**i̯es-* 'boil') . . .

(*d*) As a suffix:

**teh*$_2$*-u̯o* 'up to but not including that' (τᾶϝος, Ved. *tā́vat*) oppositional: **oi̯-u̯o-*, **sol-u̯o-*, *g*^{u}*ih*$_3$*-u̯o-*; Ved. *tvá-*[23] *sárva- víśva- pū́rva- r̥svá- pakvá- śéva-* . . .	**teh*$_2$*-mo* 'up to and including that' (τᾶμος, OCS *tamo* 'thither') ([22])

(*e*) As verbal endings: it is known that the first dual and plural persons of the verb usually refer not to several speakers ('I plus I', as in e.g. a chorus) but to the speaker and his speech-partner(s), 'you(-all) and I'. In the verbal endings the same two morphemes were applied to number by implicit reference to the third person: *-*u̯é-* excluded, *-*mé-* included it.[24]

first dual *-*u̯é-*	first plural *-*mé-*
'you and I without (them)'	'you and I with (them)'

The metanalysis of the two elements as first-personal verb-endings thus provided complementary dual and plural number markers rather than, as in many languages of the world, differentiating (as would particles after the ending) a single verb-form into exclusive and inclusive.[25]

[20] The name of this botanic parasite was analysed by Irene Balles (1999: 140) as 'in der Mitte (des Baumes) sitzend'; however, **mi-*, though real (see (*f*)), is unnecessary in the pre-form owing to umlaut in Germanic before diminutive *-*ila-* (K. Stüber and Th. Zehnder, personal communication).

[21] On **re* 'back, away' see Dunkel (2003*b*).

[22] Suffixal *-*mo-* forms participles, ordinals, superlatives, and primary *nomina rei actae*, but nothing particularly inclusive.

[23] See Dunkel (2003*a*) and Cardona (1987: 1–6); contrastive *-*u̯o-* was, however, not Cardona's own invention (Katz 1998*b*: 98–9, 235).

[24] Note that this is diametrically opposite to the extremely unnatural and forced proposal of Sihler (1993), for whom *-*u̯e* is inclusive 'I and thou, you (all), and me', *-*me* exclusive 'I and they (but not you), me, and the others'.

[25] See Sihler (1993). Hittite -*duma* in the second plural mediopassive beside Graeco-Aryo-Luwian *-*d*^{h}*u̯e* (n. 31) is more likely to reflect local sound-change than to continue the above opposition.

(*f*) The nominal instrumental endings in **-mo*(-) and **-mi*(-) could also be connected with inclusive **-mé* if ablaut and suppletion were presumed,[26] although the instrumental-ablative adverbial **-m̥*[27] also played a role.

The conclusion I draw from this material is that there is no imaginable reason to restrict the two elements' distribution in the proto-language in any way. Both morphemes—we are now free to call them particles—were freely combinable, occurring both enclitically and orthotonically. Semantically, exclusive **u̯é* competed with e.g. privative **n̥-*, **sn̥-* 'without' and with local **apo*, **eĝʰ*, **nis*, and **re*, while inclusive **mé* competed with e.g. comitative/sociative **so-m* and **ko*(*-m*), locative **h₂o*, **en*, and directive **ad*, **dó*/*-de*, and **o*.

Whereas after verbal stems the exclusive and inclusive marks developed into complementary first dual and plural endings, in the pronoun they were appended to forms which were already marked (by **-h₃* and **-s*)[28] for number, thus creating a contrast for each form. In fact, a close reading of Katz reveals considerable evidence for the coexistence of both pronominal extensions in the first and second plural within a single dialect, although he consistently rejects such an interpretation.

In the second plural Katz connects, convincingly in my opinion, Hieroglyphic Luwian *u-zu-za* and Cuneiform Luwian *unza*[29] with the **us-u̯é* attested in Germanic, Celtic, and Armenian, but torturedly refuses to derive the enclitic datives Hieroglyphic Luwian *-ma-za*, Hittite *-smas* from an aphaeretic *(*u*)*s-me*[30] even though **-uw-* does not become *-um-* in Luwian.[31] Since he rejects even the possibility of either polygenesis or derivational contrast in the proto-language, his very success in explicating Luwian *unz*(*u*)- prevents him from making sense of the enclitic datives—simply because he presumes a priori that **us-u̯é* and **us-mé* cannot possibly both be old (1998*b*: 143, 241–2).

Similarly within Greek: while *ὔμμε* clearly continues **us-mé*, Katz quite originally traces the second dual *σφῶϊ* to a second plural *(*u*)*s-u̯e* (1998*b*:

[26] This would allow connecting **mo-k̂s-*(*s*)*u* 'quickly' (to **k̂as-* 'row' as in Vedic *-śas*, Greek *-κας*, *καί*, Arcad. *κας*: Klingenschmitt 1975) as well.

[27] On which see Dunkel (1997*a*).

[28] Instead of the expected **-h₁* and **-i̯*, respectively.

[29] The latter admittedly *ex silentio* (1998*b*: 145).

[30] 1998*b*: 242 n. 34; all three alternatives presented (1998*b*: 241–2) are considerably worse.

[31] As shown by the Cuneiform Luwian second plural mediopassive ending *-tūwa-* (cf. Hittite *-duma-*): Melchert (1994: 127–8).

143, 207, 252–3)[32] by means of a derivation which is in detail considerably more plausible than a simple comparison of the starting and end points may suggest.

Anatolian and Greek agree, then, in suggesting that both **us-u̯é* and **us-mé* are old in the second plural. The first would have meant 'you-all but not them', the latter 'you-all along with them'. I cannot fathom why Katz should explicitly reject the possibility of such a *Nebeneinander* (e.g. 1998*b*: 143). The simultaneous survival of more than one variant is after all well known in paradigmatic splits such as Latin *deus* beside *dīvus* or *antīquus* beside *antīcus*, Attic *κάω* beside *καίω*, and the like.

In the first plural exclusive **n̥s-u̯é* is continued, as Katz convincingly[33] urges, by the earliest-attested of all IE dialects, Anatolian (Hittite *anzas*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *a-zu-za*), beside the otherwise ubiquitous inclusive **n̥s-mé*. Note that the coexistence in Hieroglyphic Luwian of first plural *anzu-* beside the second plural enclitic dative *-ma-za*, like *anzas* beside *-smas* in Hittite, directly contradicts Katz's culminating argument from silence: 'there is no evidence in any language for a system with both a first-person form with **-u̯é* and a second-person form with **-mé* in the same number' (1998*b*: 264). But in fact, Proto-Anatolian is precisely such a language—as Katz once comes close to admitting (1998*b*: 242 n. 34).

In Proto-Germanic Katz suggests that the first plural **unswiz* was a 'paradigmatically motivated variant' which replaced the earlier but also undeniably necessary **unsmiz* (1998*b*: 121, 125–6, 128).[34] Why strenuously deny a connection with Anatolian (Katz 1998*b*: 144) when both forms can have been inherited in each dialect? Resemblances due to archaism are the most powerful evidence for comparative reconstruction.

The reality of coexisting forms in the first and second plural thus seems to be perfectly possible. The question now becomes whether we still prefer to explain half of them away as analogic creations (i.e. as not indicative of an earlier stage of the language) or instead to interpret this contrast as functional. The coherent functions of **u̯e-* and **me-* outside the pronouns speak in my opinion for the second course.

[32] As typological support for such a number-shift he might have cited the century-old derivation of the Greek nominal oblique dual *-οιϊν*, Arcadian *-οιυν*, from the IE locative plural as championed most recently by Deplazes (1991).

[33] If in part *ex silentio*: 1998*a*: 282; 1998*b*: 149.

[34] Katz was somewhat closer to my opinion in 1998*a*: 280 (see here n. 12): IE itself had both older **us-u̯é* and beside it the analogic **us-mé* (after the first plural **n̥s-mé*).

In the dual, however, no variants at all are found beside the exclusive **n̥h*$_3$-*u̯é* and **i̯uh*$_3$-*u̯é*. It is obvious why this should be so: duals are by nature meant to exclude. Their whole purpose is to limit the predicate to exactly two subjects—otherwise one uses a plural.[35]

In the third-person singular the inherited vocalism of enclitic **se-∅* (see n. 4) seems simply to have spread to the second and first persons in a columnar unification so typical of personal pronouns.

Although the second singular could conceivably contain *-*u̯e* (see above, p. 18), the singular is by nature even more exclusive than the dual is and therefore has even less need of being explicitly marked as such. The stem **tu̯e-* most likely arose by contamination between **tu* and its oblique stem **te-*.

On the third plural dative-locatives Greek -*σφι* and Anatolian -*smas* from **su-b*^{h}*i*, **su-mos* see Dunkel (2003*a*); Greek *σφε* was remade from *σφι* after *με σε ἑ* already in pre-Mycenaean times.[36]

Cowgill and Katz were both captives of an a priori assumption of mutual exclusivity between the two pronominal extensions. It is not that they argued against the opposing view—they refused even to consider it.[37] The *idée fixe* that there can only be one truth (or pre-form)[38] should not prevent us from recognizing new grammatical categories when necessary. Just as we should be prepared to admit a variation between aphaeretic and full pronominal forms into the proto-language, i.e. **s-me* beside **n̥s-mé* and **s-u̯e* beside **us-u̯é*, so should we also accept exclusive **n̥s-u̯é* and **us-u̯é* beside **n̥s-mé* and **us-mé*, which we now understand to be inclusive. The effects of dialectal mergers of the aphaeretized **s-me* in the first and second plural with the third plural dative **su-mos* are particularly clear in Anatolian and Tocharian.

Both Cowgill and Katz restricted their attention to precisely the paradigms under investigation. This obliged them to rationalize as secondary or innovatory any material which did not fit their respective theories—which were

[35] Although one could envisage a parental '**We're** going to bed now' thus being enabled to imply either 'and you kids should as well (so turn off the Playstation)' (inclusive) or, exclusively, 'but you kids can stay up'.

[36] Cf. Myc. *pe-i* from hypostasized **sp*^{h}*e+si*, in Arcadian both rejuvenated as *σφεσι* and further recharacterized as *σφει+ς*; see Morpurgo Davies (1992: 429–30).

[37] One is reminded of Jared Klein's approach to Vedic *u* (Dunkel 1997*b*: 161).

[38] William of Ockham's 'razor' should be used not blindly and always, but only *faute de mieux* when there is no other way to proceed.

built on only partial data. But a peek outside the pronouns shows that in fact nothing at all must be explained away. There *are* no counterexamples, or—structurally restated—all the evidence is, directly or indirectly, valid, a situation which is not too common in linguistics and should be appreciated as such. Needlessly explaining away half of the material is a good demonstration of cleverness, but the effort is wasted—as a direct consequence of the prevailing lack of interest in the fourth IE morpheme-class. Systematic attention to aptotology, on the other hand, is able to throw light (once again)[39] on surprisingly far-flung features of IE comparative grammar.

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[39] Interested readers are referred to Dunkel (2001), and to my studies of the morphological implications of the particles *-ō (2002), *-*k̂e* (forthcoming[a]), and **es* (forthcoming[b]).

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3

Etymology and History: For a Study of 'Medical Language' in Indo-European

D. R. Langslow

1 Attitudes to Language-Based History-Writing

'The desire to use linguistic facts to reconstruct prehistoric events is old' (Morpurgo Davies 1998: 174). And it persists. In her vivid and thought-provoking history of nineteenth-century linguistics Anna Davies shows how attitudes to language-based history-writing, or 'linguistic palaeontology', changed significantly from the confidence of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, so as to yield in the last part of the nineteenth century a much more cautious approach to the notion of reconstructing Indo-European culture on the basis of reconstructed lexical items. It is tempting to see something of a mirror image of this nineteenth-century trend at the end of the twentieth century. While considerable efforts were expended until the 1960s on the question of the *Urheimat*,[1] most Indo-Europeanists remained sceptical, if not agnostic, of the reconstructability of the Indo-European physical and intellectual world on the basis of reconstructed or even attested Indo-European lexical material, even long after 'new avenues' had been opened up by Benveniste (1969).[2] The preface to

Some of these musings go back to a paper delivered to the Oxford Comparative Philology Graduate Seminar in Michaelmas 1997, when the theme was 'Etymology'; the honorand of this volume will likely recognize the 'scattershot' approach! Already as a graduate student in 1982–4 I owed a very great deal to these weekly meetings, and being away from Oxford since 1999 has made me more rather than less conscious of my debt to them—and especially to Anna Davies and John Penney—as object lessons in formulating questions and thinking constructively about linguistic phenomena. One of the many other very serious debts I owe Anna is for her incisive and inspiring supervision of my first excursions into ancient medical language, for which these prolegomena on the same lexical fields in Indo-European are a poor return, albeit one offered in profound gratitude, admiration, and affection.

[1] See the survey provided by Devoto (1962).

[2] Polomé (1992), whose phrase I borrow, gives an excellent survey of approaches, problems, and possibilities in what is altogether a commendable volume on the whole question of reconstructing prehistoric culture. My conclusion is very much in agreement with his (1992: 386–7).

Meid (1987) is a telling summary of the reserve and scepticism prevailing in 1985 with regard to the feasibility of the study of the content of Indo-European vocabulary, a scepticism neatly encapsulated three years later in a contribution to another conference on a similar set of themes, Zimmer (1990: 337): 'Lexical reconstruction yields only disparate and incoherent (bundles of) items, which cannot be situated in space and time. . . . No unequivocal interpretation of the reconstructed word and its reconstructed meaning in regard to physical reality is possible.'

This is in striking contrast to such optimists as Calvert Watkins, in this field the pre-eminent post-Benvenistean, who in his (roughly contemporary) Presidential address to the Linguistic Society of America preached the 'new comparative philology', an extension of the comparative method comprising in favourable circumstances 'historical poetics and comparative historical ethnosemantics' (Watkins 1989: 783, 785). By 1996 a more general change of attitude is reported,[3] and hand in hand with due scepticism and ongoing attention to formal grammar, much piecemeal work is appearing implying a belief in better prospects for reconstructing aspects of Indo-European *realia* and *spiritualia*. In what follows, I consider the potential gain, for Indo-European and for the daughter languages, of a synthesis of existing work combined with new research along various lines in those lexical/semantic fields most relevant to 'medicine' (namely, anatomy and physiology, pathology and therapeutics).[4]

2 'Indo-European Medical Ideology'

'The comparative study of Indo-European medicine was begun by Darmesteter (1877).' So begins chapter 58, all three pages of it, of Watkins (1995: 537–9), entitled 'Indo-European medical doctrine'.[5] The dossier is slim, containing at most four items.

First, and best, there are the three ways of healing—by the knife, by drugs, and by spoken charms—which the Iranist James Darmesteter (1877: 293 n. 2) ascribed to Indo-European on the strength of his comparison of a Greek text (Pindar, *Pythian* 3. 47–53 ἐπαοιδαῖς . . . φάρμακα . . . τομαῖς

[3] Meid explicitly compares the intellectual atmospheres of the two conferences on language and culture, in 1985 and 1996, noting the 'viel größere Aufgeschlossenheit' surrounding the latter.

[4] My impression is that the time is ripe also for analogous work on various other fields, including religion and law. See Polomé's and Watkins's contributions to Meid (1987), and Watkins (1989).

[5] Not that Watkins neglects the earlier work of Adalbert Kuhn (1864) comparing Vedic and Germanic healing charms (see Watkins 1995: 522–4; Morpurgo Davies 1998: 175).

'charms . . . drugs . . . cutting') with a Young Avestan (*Vidēvdāt* 7. 44 *karətō.baēšaza* 'the remedy of the knife' . . . *uruuarō.baēšaza* 'the remedy of plants' . . . *mąθrō.baēšaza* 'the remedy of formulas'). Lincoln (1986: 107–8) and Watkins (1995: 539) add a possible third version, from the Old Irish *Cath Maige Tuared*, §§ 33–5 ('incantation' [used by the hero to heal], 'cuts' [but to kill the hero!], 'herbs' [but growing from the hero's grave!])—where already the equation is far from straightforward.[6]

Secondly, there is the Indo-European phrase 'seen and unseen' as epithet of diseases and worms, both real worms and those symbolic of disease. It is to Durante (1958) that the credit goes for comparing the Vedic formula *dṛṣṭa- adṛṣṭa-* 'seen (and) unseen' (as in e.g. *AV* 2. 31. 2 *dṛṣṭám adṛ́ṣṭam atṛham* 'I have bruised the seen (and) unseen (worm)'; trans. Watkins) with the Latin and Umbrian pair in Cato, *Agr*. 141 *morbos uisos inuisosque* 'diseases seen and unseen' and *IT* VIa 28 *uirseto auirseto uas* 'seen (or) unseen ritual flaw', respectively.[7]

Thirdly, we may note Watkins's (1995: 534) 'reconstruction of a proto-text' based in part on agreements between 'arbitrary' lists of body parts in Vedic, Pahlavi, Old High German, Old Saxon, Hittite, and modern Irish.[8] An interesting and impressive feature of these comparanda is their absence from the earliest Indic and Iranian texts. This is plausibly explained by Jamison (1986: 175) in terms of stylistic suitability, but it also nicely illustrates the conservatism of anatomical vocabulary, amply documented also by e.g. Nussbaum (1986)—who goes far beyond the family of words for 'head' and 'horn'—and illustrated for e.g. Latin in the long list of inherited items in André (1991: 236). Such conservatism is reflected in the favouring of body-part terms as comparanda from the very beginning of serious comparative work (and even before, cf. Morpurgo Davies 1998: 47), and is of course all to the good when it comes to the reconstruction of a lexical set.

Finally, there is the theory developed by Lincoln (1986) of a homology of Indo-European date between the human body and the cosmos. This

[6] See Watkins (1995: 537–9) with discussion and further references, especially to Benveniste (1945) and works by Puhvel and Campanile. Note also Lincoln (1986: 100–13), who compares the (modified but as in the Avestan version hierarchized) tripartite division of medicine at Hipp. *Aph.* 7. 87 (*φάρμακα, σίδηρος, πῦρ*). On healing words in early Greek, note also Emped. B 112. 11 DK *εὐήκεα βάξιν*; *Od.* 19. 457 *ἐπῳδῇ*, etc. On the other hand, Filliozat (1949: 33) and Mazars (1995: 6–7 n. 2) are sceptical about the reconstructability even of Common Indo-Iranian medical doctrines on the basis of three types of medication.

[7] See Watkins (1995: 541–2) with references.

[8] See especially Jamison (1986) and Watkins (1995: 525–36). Watkins emphasizes the 'arbitrary' nature of the list, but I worry that the 'most orthodox' sequence, HAIR—SKIN—FLESH—BONE—MARROW, is no less 'predicated on the universals of human physiology' (Watkins 1995: 527) in its movement from the outside in.

homology is reflected in magic formulae of different Indo-European traditions in which bone and stone, flesh and earth, blood and water are brought together, and in the treatment of afflicted (human) body parts by the sympathetic magical treatment of the corresponding parts of sacrificial animals. On this model, healing entails the restoration of 'wholeness' not only to the ailing body but to the cosmos.[9]

On the optimistic view, the above comparisons of 'medical' patterns across languages have proved fruitful in yielding fragmentary structures plausibly attributable to Indo-European—even if the method (essentially equation: see below, §3) lacks a non-arbitrary way of dealing with only partially similar comparanda. The more sceptical view asks of each of the above, how likely is it that they arose independently? Should we not compare first the widest possible range of corresponding structures—partitions, enumerations, and homologies—in other traditions to see how often they recur, and if they are found to recur seldom or not at all, only then consider their attributions to Indo-European as data rather than as hypotheses?

An at once frustrating and exciting aspect of such comparanda is that there is no systematic way of accumulating further examples other than by reading, remembering, and hoping. There is, however, a considerable body of systematic work on medical vocabulary in the individual languages;[10] some collections of 'raw material' on Indo-European,[11] together with a mass of smaller studies of individual (groups of) relevant words, each with

[9] Cf. Lincoln (1986), esp. chs. 1, 2, and 5, and Polomé (1987: 214) with further references.

[10] For example, on early Greek, apart from the pioneering study of Chantraine's and Benveniste's pupil Nadia van Brock on the basic Greek vocabulary of healing (van Brock 1961), notable are Skoda (1988) on metaphorical designations of body parts and diseases, and Byl (1992) on neologisms and first attestations in the Hippocratic corpus, and on early (and pre-) Greek medicine Kudlien (1968) and Rosner (1971). On the typology of lexical continuity and replacement in Latin and Romance, note Nieto Ballester (1995), with bibliography; on early Latin, Ernout (1951), De Meo (1986: 224–36, 265–8, 336–8), and Langslow (1999), all with further references. On Indic, Filliozat (1949), Wujastyk (1993), Mazars (1995). On Iranian, Hampel (1982) with bibliography. On Hittite, Güterbock (1962), Burde (1974). On Germanic, Kuhn (1864) and references in Watkins (1995: 524 n. 6). On the history of the main traditions, note esp. Sigerist (1951–61), with an entertainingly dated introduction on the Indo-Europeans in vol. ii.

[11] Apart from *IEW* and *LIV*, note the relevant sections in Wood (1905); Delamarre (1984: 95–111), who reconstructs 110 items under 'Le corps humain', including not only body parts but also e.g. 'disease', 'wound', 'tear', 'sweat', 'swelling', 'pain', 'pus', 'good-looking' (!); and especially Buck (1949: 300 ff.), whose annotated collection of lexemes used to convey meanings such as 'WELL; HEALTH', 'SICK; SICKNESS', 'CURE, HEAL' in the principal IE languages is both comprehensive and suggestive. Schrader and Nehring (1917–29), s.v. 'Arzt, Arznei', and Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995: ii. 711–21) offer at least material and statements that may be usefully regarded as testable hypotheses, although what there is in the latter on 'medical terminology' is partial and dogmatic.

different particular interests, the range of which (from comparative myth and literature to historical morphology and phonology) indicates both the problems and the potential contributions proper to a study of this sort; and an important third set of sources in studies of medical history and medical anthropology, bearing on palaeopathology and the history and ethnography of notions of the body, health, disease, and healing.[12] The question then arises: whether or not we are prepared to justify the use of the phrase 'Indo-European medical ideology' (Watkins 1995: 539) against a charge of fanciful hyperbole, what if anything may we hope to gain from minute study of the relevant lexical fields?

3 Etymology and Motivation

The obvious and traditional starting point in studies of individual languages is with the etymology of key medical vocabulary.[13] Words have of course form and meaning, they may or may not have a recoverable motivation, but this is of vital concern to the etymologist interested in saying something about the world in which his words were made. If the etymologizing account of the business of etymology as 'the study of the true meanings of words' (Gk. *ἔτυμον* 'true meaning') grates somewhat, etymology is very much about a 'moment of truth' in lexical creation, about the true motivation of a word.[14] Etymology is emphatically not just about undoing sound-change. The latter is of course an important element of (and constraint on) the etymologist's task, but sound-change alone does not even yield a new word, and 'etymology' in this sense amounts to little more than equation. To take a familiar example, comparison of L. *equus* : Skt. *aśvas* : Toch. B *yakwe* : OIr. *ech* : OE *eoh*, all 'horse', yields a reconstruction of IE *_ék´u̯os_ 'horse', but no etymological 'step' has been taken, and in an important sense the word has not changed. The real etymology begins in the retracing of the steps, formal and semantic, that lie behind IE *_ék´u̯os_, which, for the sake of illustration, might include:[15] (1) the formation on the root *_h₁ek´-_ 'run' of an adjective in *_-u̯o-_, *_h₁ek´u̯o-_ 'that runs, that is swift';

[12] For orientation on a series of relevant areas, note Bynum and Porter (1993); on palaeopathology, Janssens (1970); on the early history of disease in the West, Grmek (1983) and Kiple (1993), esp. the chapter on diseases in the pre-Roman world, Ortner and Theobald (1993).

[13] So e.g. van Brock (1961), with successive chapters on the etymology and early use of words belonging to the families of Gk. *ἰᾶσθαι*, *ἀκεῖσθαι*, *θεραπεύειν*, and *ὑγιάζειν*.

[14] Cf. Polomé (1992: 370): 'Before formulating any hypothesis on the etymology of terms with a bearing on cultural items, the whole file of information about the *realia* needs to be scrutinized and the *Benennungsmotiv* for the words under consideration analyzed.'

[15] For this etymology, cf. Hamp (1990), Rix (1994: 9–10), Morpurgo Davies (1998: 317). In

(2) the semantic specialization of a substantivized form of this adjective (specialization accompanied or followed by ellipse of a generic noun, say 'animal'), so that in effect the horse from being 'a swift animal' becomes known as, and named as, '*the* swift animal' and then 'the swift (one)'.

Clearly, numbers of attested words and Indo-European constructs denoting items of 'medical vocabulary' are amenable to this sort of analysis, and an initial aim must therefore be to add to the inventory of referring expressions reconstructed by equation an inventory of types of word formation, semantic and morphological. A particularly productive morpho-semantic motivation of names for body parts is by derivation of agent or instrument formations on verbal roots. Note already Wood (1905: 32): 'both "chin" and "knee" may come from the meaning "bend"', and compare the more recent derivation of Gk. ἀγκών 'elbow' from the root **$h_2$enk-* 'biegen' (*LIV* 268). Benveniste (1956) is an account in similar terms of what had been thought to be a 'vocable primaire', IE **bhāǵʰu-* 'arm' as an agent/instrument noun to the verbal root **bheh$_2$ǵʰ-* 'reach out' (not in *LIV*). This article was one of the inspirations of Watkins's etymology (1975) of IE **h$_1$órǵʰ-i-* 'testicle' as a comparable formation on the verbal root **h$_1$erǵʰ-* 'to mount' (of animals; *LIV* 238–9). And more recently still, Fritz (1996) reconstructs the Indo-European for 'nose' as an *s*-stem on the root **h$_2$enh$_1$-* 'to breathe' (*LIV* 267), while Pârvulescu (1997) develops the old account (cf. Wood 1905, quoted above) of the word for 'knee' in various Indo-European languages as being based on a verbal root meaning 'bend' or 'turn'.[16]

Another productive type of morpho-semantic motivation is the 'instrumental' type of *abstractum pro concreto*: note e.g. Meiser's account (1986: 91) of Oscan **aftíim** and older etymologies of L. *uoltus* as 'face' < 'sight' (cf. NHG *Gesicht*).[17] (This could explain Indo-European neuters such as

broad terms, the range of steps that a word can take at a given moment is limited to two (at most, three): (*a*) *a new form* using native morphological material, with or without a foreign model (including suffixal derivation; compounding; the lexicalization of phrases; in the modern world, Greek- and Latin-based neologisms; clippings, blends, abbreviations, acronyms, formulae, etc.; (*a'*) lexical borrowing; (*b*) semantic extension of an existing form, with or without a foreign model (including the use of proper names) (cf. Rix 1994: 59–62). For another example of the contrast between equation and etymology, see the chapter on L. *ancilla* 'slave woman' in Rix (1994), a most impressive and instructive exercise in sustained etymology-based history-writing.

16 A possible alternative to the root **pel-* 'to fold' (*IEW* 802–3; not in *LIV*) invoked by Pârvulescu for L. *poples* 'knee' would be **pelh$_1$-* 'in Schwung bringen' (*LIV* 469), albeit at the cost of his (semantic) etymology of L. *populus* 'people' (< *'knee', as in Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic).

17 On L. *uoltus*, see Hamp (1984*b*). Cf. L. *exitus*, *meatus*, *sessus*, also used of body parts, and for the type, Langslow (2000: 168–70).

'eye', 'ear', 'nose' as < '(that by which) sight/hearing/breathing (occurs)'.) Then there is semantic specialization based on reference to (e.g.) the relative placement of a body part or its physical appearance. Nieto Ballester (1992) explains Paelignian *praicime* 'opposite' as another instance of the Indo-European pattern of preposition + *h_3k^w- 'eye' to denote the face (cf. Gk. *πρόσωπον*, Skt. *prátīka-*, *ánīkam*, OIr. *enech*, Go. *andaugi*, etc.), while Meier-Brügger (1990*b*) explains Gk. *ῥῖς* 'nose' as based on the Indo-European root-noun (proposed by Heubeck 1964) **ser* 'top, tip'. It is also no surprise that there should be names based on metaphorical designation: Hilmarsson (1982) explains the various forms reconstructed for IE 'tongue' as being all based ultimately on the well-documented metaphorical naming of muscles after small, fast-moving animals (in this case, **g̑hū-* 'fish') (cf. Skoda 1988: 57–8). A typology of motivation not only provides a framework for comparing and contrasting Indo-European and other languages, but also prompts and constrains the explanation of additional words in the same fields.

At this point, one may start to consider whether the set of motivations in play suggests a particular conception or understanding of the *denotata*. A well-known development of the agent-/instrument-noun model is the reconstructed item of *intellectualia* that some body parts were conceived as in some sense animate and named accordingly. Meillet's concern was the function of gender in Indo-European when he observed (1921: i. 226–7), 'les organes actifs avaient en indo-européen des noms masculins ou féminins,[18] et les organes considérées comme non-agissant, des noms de genre neutre'. While one may have intuitive qualms about regarding as 'inactive' body parts such as the knee (invariably neut.), the leg (neut. names attested in e.g. L. *crūs* (cf. *femur*), Gk. *σκέλος*), or the eye (neut. in e.g. IIr. **ákš(i)-*), Bonfante (1958: 19 ff.) draws attention to the persistence of this 'animismo' in the naming of body parts in the daughter languages, both ancient[19] and modern, at least in certain registers.[20] Kudlien (1967: 89) illustrates the possibility of 'animistic' beliefs surviving well into the historical period with reference to the Greek view of the uterus as a living being and of the lung as the recipient of drink. This shows in turn the importance of casting

18 For Latin, Ernout (1951) even distinguishes 'active' masculines (*pes*, *oculus*) from 'passive' feminines (*manus*, *auris*).

19 His examples range in quality from L. *oculus* 'the one that sees' to Gk. *δάκτυλος* 'the one that takes (*δέκομαι*) or bites (*δάκνω*)' (?!).

20 He notes e.g. English *kisser*, *clapper*, *ticker*, *peepers*, *Peter and Fanny*, and of animals, *pincer* and *feeler* (to which one might add e.g. *grinder*, *smacker*, and *hooter*, NHG *Beißer(chen)*, *Fühler*, *Lauscher*).

the net wide in the study proposed, both in the trawl of linguistic data and in the use of neighbouring disciplines.

There is a further potential gain on the morphological side. It has been rightly said that languages inherit—better, perhaps: children learn!—words, not roots, but it is no less true that speakers do things with affixes and roots as well as with words, so that for the etymologist to deal in roots is not so wrong-headed, merely incomplete. What is reprehensible is to proceed as if all that matters is the root (or, worse, as if one can treat divergent stems as the same), and as if affixes have nothing to teach us. That by and large the reverse is true is borne out in recent etymologies of, again, anatomical terms, where the relevant affixes play a prominent role. I think, for example, of Hilmarsson's account of the various, vaguely similar but recalcitrant forms for 'tongue' in Indo-European (1982); Hamp's reconsideration of the affixes attested or required to explain words for 'bone' and their relatives (1984*a*); or Nussbaum's minute analysis of the morphosemantics of the various formations in the 'head'/'horn' group on the 'root' **k̑r̥-* (1986). Such studies illustrate how a systematic etymology of even a single 'word' may shed light on general issues in the derivational (and inflectional) morphology of Indo-European and the daughter language(s) in question. A rapid review of Latin anatomical terms attested from an early date immediately throws up several recurring, but no longer productive suffixes, which would certainly repay closer attention whether from Latin/Italic or Indo-European points of view. I have in mind in particular the prevalence of ((near-)exclusively Latin) *-i*-stems to Indo-European roots (e.g. *auris*, *naris* (both on the old dual in *-ī*?), *bilis*, *cutis*, *pellis*, *unguis*); the *-n*-stem, possibly shared with Greek at least (in e.g. *abdomen*, *inguen*, *lien*, *renes* (pl., cf. *nefrones*, *nebrundines*), *sanguen*, ?*frumen*, ?*sumen*; cf. Gk. ἀδήν, κωλήν, φρήν, σπλήν); the (?combination of the two in the) suffix *-ni-* (*clunes* (pl.), *crines* (pl.), *penis*); the suffix *-ī-* (*coxend-ix*, *cut-ic-ula*, *land-ic-a*, *ues-ic-a*, *umbil-ic-us*, and possibly *ceru-ic-es* (pl.): see Nussbaum 1986: 5). This would be to resume another Benvenistean project, launched in *Origines* (Benveniste 1935).

4 Plausible Steps and Starting Points

Help can come from at least two sources. In the first place, the etymologist would ideally refer to a 'database' accumulated from a representative sample of languages and lexical fields, which gives him some sort of principled grounds on which to take seriously or to ignore partial (dis)agreements, and to gauge the relative plausibility of competing (morpho-)semantic

steps. The absence of such a 'database' on the semantic side prompted Michael Job's call (1987: 62) for a supplementing of our existing typological inventories: 'Die diachrone Typologie als Hilfsmittel der Rekonstruktion muß auch in der Semantik einen festen Platz erhalten.'[21] The raw material here (which each new study both uses and increases) consists in lists of independently observed formal and semantic relations between 'base' and 'derivative', a product in part of descriptive synchronic lexicology, in part of etymological pilot studies. As an example of the latter, D. Q. Adams (1988: 83–5) offers a helpful summary of the semantic changes attested and—no less important—not attested in the complex lexical field of words for 'hair' in Indo-European languages. He remarks (1988: 85) that 'certain changes are attested over and over again while other changes, seemingly also possible, appear never to have occurred . . . knowledge of this directionality may be suggestive in future etymological work'.[22] Again, although restricted to a single language, studies such as that of J. N. Adams (1982) are valuable also typologically for documenting the frequent occurrence of one sort of semantic transfer (in this case, of anatomical terms from animals to humans) and the rarity or non-occurrence of the converse. Accumulating data of this sort helps also with the ever-recurring question of 'one lexeme or two?' In some cases, the semantic relation between two homophones marks them unmistakably as 'base' and 'derivative', and gives an evident motivation for whichever is the new formation. Many cases, however, are arguable, and would benefit from comparison with a database of independently controlled examples. In Latin, for instance, are *acies* 'sight' and *acies* 'sharp edge' derived semantically from the same word? Three standard reference works (the *OLD*, E.–M., and W.–H.) agree that they are, but tacitly, without comment or parallel, which, especially now that we can take *acies* 'sight' by regular sound-change from *$*h_3k^w$-yē-s*,[23] it is surely important to supply.

Another source of hints for the etymologist lies in accounts of related linguistic areas by scholars with quite different interests. A nice case in point regarding pathology is Goltz (1969), on the (originally animistic/

[21] On the issuing of a very similar call 150 years earlier, by Pott in the 1830s and by Curtius in his *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*, see Morpurgo Davies (1998: 316–18).

[22] Cf. in the same spirit Skoda (1988: 311–21) on attested source and target domains for Greek metaphorical designations of body parts and diseases, and the rather fussy partition of the etymologies of Latin medical terms formed by semantic extension in Langslow (2000: ch. 3). Fruyt (1989) offers a partial typology of the semantic motivation of names of plants and animals, but is indifferent to their derivational morphology.

[23] By the rule IE *#HTC- > L. #*a*TC-: see Meiser (1986: 91); Schrijver (1991: 25 ff.); Rix (1996: 156).

demonistic) nature of the language used to talk about pain and disease by patients speaking modern German (transcribed interviews), and in ancient texts, mainly Akkadian but also ancient Greek. Goltz characterizes the language (both ancient and modern) used to talk about disease as above all metaphorical. Two features she highlights are (*a*) the range of synonyms thrown up by a limited number of cognitive models (e.g. of the disease as a being which comes and goes, attacks, bites, presses, etc.); and (*b*) the almost complete absence of verbs of which the primary reference is to disease. Both features seem to be true also of old Indo-European languages and conceivably of Indo-European itself. Of the two primary disease-verbs recognized by Goltz (1969: 248) for modern German, viz. *jucken* 'itch' and *husten* 'cough',[24] the latter is found albeit as a denominative in e.g. L. *tussio* and Gk. βήσσω, and reconstructed as a primary verb for IE in *k^weh_2s- (*LIV* 377), while the former is derived in e.g. L. *prurio* (cf. IE **preus*- 'spray, sprinkle', *LIV* 493–4) and Gk. κνάομαι (*$kneh_2$- 'scrape, rub', *LIV* 365), ψάω (ψώρα) (separated from **bhseH*- (only Ved.) 'chew' in *LIV* 98), and apparently not reconstructed for Indo-European. As 'predicted' by Goltz, the list of other pathological verbs to be gleaned from *LIV* is very short,[25] and instead we find in the daughter languages a range of synonyms for 'illness', 'ill', and 'be ill' with various prior meanings (where these can be glimpsed: see Buck 1949: 300–6). A small handful of verbs is reconstructed with this meaning,[26] and there is considerable disagreement and uncertainty about several of the key lexemes. If we may regard Meier-Brügger's etymology (1990*a*) of Gk. νόσος as a step forward,[27] other core items such as L. *aeger*,[28]

[24] She mentions also SWEAT, rightly hesitating to assign to pathology this essentially physiological term. Physiology is richer in primary verbs. I have counted a good two dozen 'physiological' verbs in *LIV* covering some twenty functions and processes, including under excretion/secretion DEFECATE, URINATE, VOMIT, SPIT, and SWEAT, **su̯eid*-. The 'status' of SWEAT is relevant to Rix's discussion (1985) of the homonyms **su̯eid*- 'shine' and **su̯eid*- 'sweat'.

[25] *dhg^whei- 'faint through heat, perish' is really a verb of dying; ?*$ki̯eh_2p$- (Gk. only) and **peuH*- both 'putrefy', and **k´u̯es*- 'pant, snort, sigh' suggest any number of contexts, which leaves only *$k^{(w)}erk'$- 'grow thin'. See *LIV*, s.vv.

[26] See *LIV*, s.vv. ?**bhen*- (Iran. only) 'become ill', *h_1elk- 'suffer, feel ill', and esp. **su̯ergh*- 'be ill, worried' (or **serg*(*h*)-, so Lindeman 1993). Note also *k^wendh- 'experience, suffer', **su̯er*- 'to be in pain' (vb. Gmc. only; cf. Av. x^vara- 'wound, injury'), and two verbs 'to wound', *h_3uath_2- and *$terh_3$- (cf. Ved. *turá*- 'wounded, ill').

[27] Meier-Brügger proposes the stem **nók´yo*- (on **nek´*- 'disappear, be lost, die') as being better semantically than traditional **nóswo*-, and as allowing an explanation of the frequent νοσ- forms in Ionic (and of Myc. PN *a-no-zo-*?), but he concedes that how we get from *νόσσο- to νόσο- in Greek remains 'laden with hypotheses'!

[28] On L. *aeger*, note Lehmann's bold attempt at etymology-based history-writing (1986), starting at the IE end with the (ill-advised) question '*Why* can we not reconstruct an Indo-European word for "smith(ing)"', and proposing that the word for 'smith' was taboo

morbus, Hitt. *ištark-* 'become ill, ail' and *inan-* 'sickness, ailment' remain at best uncertain, and a van Brock-style treatment of pathology for each of the major languages remains a desideratum. The standard dictionaries, especially E.–M., are discouraging in principle about seeking etymologies for disease terms, perhaps excessively so,[29] as they beg some of the questions I would urge we should consider. In the case of *morbus*, for example, a connection with *morior* is magisterially excluded by E.–M.—but on what grounds? We should be told, as this might vitiate Meier-Brügger's **nok´-yo-* for Gk. *νόσος*. This further highlights our lack and need of the raw material for reconstructing the Indo-European cognitive models of disease (such as is collected in exemplary fashion for death and dying by Giannakis 1998). As for the particular diseases which the Indo-Europeans may have grouped into 'those seen' and 'those unseen', palaeopathology gives us ample and fascinating information from a range of sources as to what diseases were prevalent, and there may be some scope also for identifying in the names of individual, long-established diseases salient features recurring across languages (whether related or not), which will have provided semantic motivation for the name and may be used as an aid in etymological reconstruction. Note, for example, the recurrent naming of epilepsy with reference to the 'falling' of the patient (with L. *caducus* compare the similarly motivated synonyms in Germanic, Slavic, and Hebrew; see Temkin 1971: 85). To conclude with no more than a range of secure or probable Indo-European sememes for names of the condition, types, and effects of disease will be a result **n̥pstr̥tóm*![30]

As in pathology, so in the field of therapeutics, attested languages lead us to expect key vocabulary to arise through semantic extension (metaphor or specialization) of general meanings reflecting in the best case recoverable old cognitive models of what the healing process entails. Here, alongside the sememes for the three types of medication (above, §2), we are encouraged to believe that we know an Indo-European lexeme for the cover-term 'heal'. This is IE **med-*, which appears in names of healers in Greek (e.g. Ἀγαμήδη at *Il.* 11. 741, who knew all the *φάρμακα* produced by the earth, van Brock 1961: 1–2) and Irish (Airmed, the physician daughter of the legendary physi-

because of the nasty occupational diseases to which smiths were prone as a result of the use of arsenic in the early production of bronze (witness the deformity of Hephaestus and Vulcan, not caused, after all, by a bad fall), and survives only with extended meanings, in words for 'sick' (L. *aeger* : Toch. B *aik(a)re*, A *ekre* < **aig-ro-*), 'evil', 'angry', etc.

[29] E.–M., s.v. *aeger*: 'Les noms de maladies se renouvellent souvent, et, par suite, on ne saurait s'attendre à leur trouver une étymologie i.-e. commune'; s.v. *morbus*: 'Le nom de la "maladie" diffère d'une langue indo-européenne à l'autre, ce qui rend vain de chercher l'étymologie de *morbus*.'

[30] See the positive proposals of Wachter (1998).

cian Dían Cécht, Watkins 1995: 538), and is used specifically of healing in both Latin (*medeor* 'treat', *medicus* 'doctor') and Avestan (*vī-maδ-* 'doctor', *vī-māδaiia-* 'treat')—an agreement which 'allows the reconstruction of a medical component of the semantics of the root **med-* already in IE times' (Watkins 1995: 538). Of course, a root **med-* appears for the most part in a range of other contexts and meanings (Gk. μήδομαι 'intend, devise', μέδω 'govern, protect', μέδομαι 'provide for, be mindful of', OIr. *midithir* 'judges', Go. *mitan* 'measure', etc.; *LIV* 423), and the question arises of the semantic motivation of **med-* 'treat, heal'. The benchmark treatment of this theme is that of Benveniste (1969: ii. 123–32), who concluded that the basic meaning of the root in Indo-European was 'apply the right measure' (in the sense of moderation), so as to maintain or restore the appropriate order (in a given context, be it the human body, a kingdom, or the universe). Before Benveniste, Buck (1949: 307) seemed to regard **med-* as essentially a verb of thinking; more recently, the editors of *LIV* gloss it (1. **med-*, *LIV* 423) rather more elaborately as 'messen, für Einhaltung sorgen, sich kümmern'. If the latter gloss stands out by the range of meanings set side by side without comment (beyond a reference to Benveniste), Benveniste's own is striking in the richness and sophistication of its single meaning. It is interesting, therefore, to find reconstructed a second Indo-European root **med-* meaning simply 'be/become full, sated' (*LIV* 423–4). The two roots have already tussled over ownership of Gk. μεστός 'full', Meier-Brügger (1992) taking it with **med-* 'measure', Harðarson (1995) claiming it for **med-* 'become full', along with words meaning 'be drunk', 'be wet' (Ved. *mádati* 'become drunk', Gk. μαδάω, L. *madeo*) appropriated from the root **mad-* 'be/become wet' (*LIV* 421). Might there be further scope to this demarcation debate?

As already noted, other key words for 'heal' in the daughter languages seem to result from semantic specialization of general meanings having to do with either (*a*) the activity of the healer, 'care for', 'tend, attend', ?'speak', ?'achieve successfully',[31] or (*b*) a change in the condition of the patient, such as 'make whole', 'make lively'.[32] In connection with the latter, it bears to be reported that there is a very striking number of verbs reconstructable

[31] Note e.g. Skt. *cikitsa-* 'aim at, care for' and 'treat medically, cure'; Gk. θεραπεύειν; ?Ved. *bhiṣáj-* 'healer' on IIr. **bhiš-*, perh. conn. w. **bhh₂s-* 'speak': see *EWAia*, s.v.; ?Gk. ἄλθετο, ἀλθεῖν 'heal' on **h₂eldh-* 'achieve successfully'.

[32] Note e.g. Gk. ἰάομαι (whether or not cognate with ἰαίνω 'heat; heal') on the root **h₁eish₂-* 'strengthen, stimulate'; Go. *hailjan*, etc. (**kai-lo-* 'whole'); L. *saluus*, *salus*, *-tis* (**sol-u̯o-* 'whole'). The existence of clear motivations of this sort may prompt parallel etymologies such as of L. *sānus* 'healthy' < *'full' (on the root **seh₂(i)-* 'make full, sate') already implicit in comparisons with L. *satis*.

for Indo-European denoting states or changes of state which do or may apply to the human body.[33] I will not raise the possibility of seeing in a handful of etymologies and a lexical set of this sort any reflection of a form of humoralism in Indo-European medical ideology![34] Nor will I propose here deriving **med-* 'treat' from **med-* 'make full' rather than from **med-* 'measure' (we may (provisionally) regard it as well motivated as an essential activity of the healer),[35] let alone the original identity of the two roots, although there are suggestive connections between the meanings 'full' and 'measure' which may justify and repay further study. What I do think this case shows is the extent to which we are shooting in the dark, and the amount of work, profitable work, there is to be done on coherent lexical fields in Indo-European and the early-attested daughter languages.

If medical ideas, practices, personnel, and language are eminently borrowable[36]—although of course, further equations may await discovery in the early, and the not-so-early, texts—in the parts of the human body, its diseases and deformities, and the basic vocabulary of healing, we have impressive sets of *denotata* largely or entirely unchanged since the Common Period (on any reasonable dating), one of them at least (anatomical terms) with a remarkably conservative vocabulary, all of them showing hints of recurring patterns of semantic motivation. Given the promising piecemeal work that has been done on Indo-European, the studies available on some of the daughter languages, and the rich literature on medical history and ethnography, if we fail to improve our picture of ancient and prehistoric patterns of motivation in these fields and the cognitive models lying behind them, it should not be for want of trying.

[33] A non-exhaustive browse through *LIV* yielded thirty-five roots meaning to be or become hot, cold, wet, dry, full/swollen, slack, soft, rigid. There is also a series of verbs meaning 'anoint, rub (on), smear (on)', including **ǵhrei-*, **$h_2$engʷ-*, **maǵ-*, **seg*$^{(\prime)}$*-* (only Anat.), *sleiǵ-*, ?**smeh$_1$-* (only Gk), ?**smeid-*, some of them relevant in therapeutic contexts in the daughter languages (see *LIV*, s.vv.). Given the prevalence of the procedure in the archaeological record, it is plausible that the Indo-Europeans practised trephination (see e.g. Kiple 1993: 248–9).

[34] On humoralism, see Nutton (1993).

[35] Note the sense 'achieve successfully' in the root **med-* in OIr. *ar-midethar* 'hits the mark, succeeds, attains (truth)' (Watkins 1995: 538). On the root **$h_2$eldh-* in connection with healing in the name of Althaea, mother of Meleager, see Petersmann (1994–5: 218–21). A reopening of this question should seek to clarify also (e.g.) the force of the middle form and the dative object of L. *medeor*.

[36] Note e.g. Güterbock (1962) on Hittite imports from Babylon and Egypt; Goltz (1974) on relations between Greek and Akkadian recipe literature, and Rosner (1971) on possible sources of early Greek medicine.

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4

The Stative Value of the PIE Verbal Suffix *-éh$_1$-

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1 Stative *-éh$_1$- in Indo-European Languages

In this paper I shall plead for the stative value of the PIE verbal suffix *-éh$_1$- as established, among others, by Watkins (1971), and against the fientive value defended recently by Harðarson (1998) and Rix (1998). Since the passive Greek -η- aorist is used by the latter two as an argument for the fientive meaning, I shall show that the original form of this aorist morpheme was *-η-σ-. Watkins's conclusions were used by Elizabeth F. Tucker in her excellent doctoral thesis prepared under the supervision of Anna Morpurgo Davies, defended in 1979 and published in 1990. She explains the alternation between the short final vowel of the derived present stems in -έω, -άω, -όω, -ύω, -ίω, and the long vowel in the other tense-stems: aorist -ησα, -ᾱσα,[1] -ωσα, -ῡσα, -ῑσα, etc. I share most of Watkins's and Tucker's conclusions, but on some points I have come to conclusions different from theirs.

The athematic stative presents in -ē- < *-éh$_1$- are well preserved in Latin: type *rub-ē-re* 'to be red' < *h$_1$rut^h-éh$_1$-. The thematic form *rubeō* (pres. ind.) is simply due to the fact that prehistoric Latin replaced the athematic ending *-mi* with *-ō*; compare *ferō* instead of **fermi* : *fers*(*i*), *fert*(*i*). All other forms are athematic and the full-grade suffix is also used in the plural: *rubēs*, *rubēmus*, like the root present *flēs*, *flēmus*.[2] In a synchronic description *rub-ē-re* may be described as a denominative verb derived from the adjective *rub-ro-* 'red' with truncation of the suffix *-ro-*. Diachronically, however, *rub-* goes back to the zero grade of the verbal root *h$_1$rewt^h-. The primary verb still survives in Greek: ἐρεύθω 'I make red', ἐρεύθομαι 'I become red'.[3] In PIE *h$_1$rut^h-éh$_1$- belonged therefore to the same deverbative

[1] Greek forms are presented with original -ᾱ- (Att.-Ion. -η-).

[2] The form *rubent* may go back either to **rubēnti* (Osthoff's Law) or to *h$_1$rut^h-h$_1$-énti with zero grade of the suffix.

[3] In Greek the stative verb *ἐρυθ-η- disappeared, but the derivative ἐρύθημα 'redness' survives.

class as **sd-éh$_1$-* 'to sit'. In a synchronic description *sedēre*[4] is still considered a deverbative verb, because *sed-* survives as a verb-stem in Latin **sisdō* > *sīdō* 'I sit down'. Inherited verbs like *rubēre* were the model for later stative verbs like *clārēre* 'to be clear' (: *clārus*) and even *flōrēre* 'to bloom' (: noun *flōs*).

In Greek athematic stative presents in *-η-* < **-éh$_1$-* are still found in Lesbian, Thessalian, and Arcadian, whereas in Attic-Ionic and Doric *-ημι* was supplanted by thematic *-έ(y)ω* (§3). Lesbian poetry presents *πίθημι* 'I am confident' (**p^{h}it^h-éh$_1$-*), which is derived from the primary verb *πείθομαι* 'I trust'. On the other hand, *κρέτημι* 'I am the strongest' and *θέρσημι* 'I am bold' have no relation with a surviving verb. In a synchronic description, they may be described as derived from the neuter nouns *κρέτος* and *θέρσος* with truncation of the nominal suffix *-εσ-*. The substitution of the *e*-grade of the root for the original zero grade is due to these nouns. In Att.-Ion. *κρατέω* (*-ρα-* < **-r̥-*) and *θαρσέω* the original zero grade of the root is preserved, which led to the substitution of *κράτος*, *θάρσος* for *κρέτος*, *θέρσος*.[5] The meaning of *κρατέω* may be paraphrased as 'I have *κράτος*' or 'I am *κρατύς*/*κρατερός*'. It seems probable that in prehistoric Greek the primary verbs **κρέτω* 'I strengthen' and **θέρσω* 'I embolden' (cf. Skr. *dhárṣati* 'he is bold') were supplanted by the derivatives **κr̥τύνyω*(> *κρατῡ́νω*) and **θr̥σύνyω* (> *θρασῡ́νω*).[6] Inherited verbs like *κρατέω* were the model for later formations like *κοιρανέω* 'I am leader' (: *κοίρανος*). Most of them are derived from compounds (§3).

Stative verbs in *-ē-* are also found in Germanic and Balto-Slavic languages: OHG *habēn* 'to have' (**kh$_2$p-éh$_1$-*), OCS *imětі* 'to have'. They disappeared in prehistoric Indo-Iranian, perhaps because of the confusion between stative **-eh$_1$-* > **-ā-* and factitive **-oh$_2$-* > **-ā-* (§5).[7] Watkins showed that stative verbs in *-ē-* ('to be *x*') are still well attested in Old Hittite texts.

2 Ingressive **-éh$_1$-s-* and Inchoative **-eh$_1$-ské/ó-* in Indo-European Languages

The Hittite fientive suffix *-ēš-* ('to become *x*') is built on the stative suffix *-ē-*. In PIE the verbal suffix *-s-* was used to form telic verbs. When after

[4] The substitution of *sed-* for zero-grade **sd-* is due to the model of forms like *sectus* < **s^{e}któs*, where *e* goes back to an anaptyctic vowel inserted between two obstruents constituting an initial cluster and followed by yet another consonant.

[5] The corresponding adjectives *κρατύς* and *θρασύς* also played a role. Thus *θράσος* was formed after *θρασύς*, and *θάρσος* as a compromise between *θέρσος* and *θράσος*.

[6] For the origin of these derivatives, see Ruijgh 1996: 372.

[7] Skr. *yā́-ti* 'he goes' might go back to **h$_1$y-éh$_1$-* 'to be in a state of going on'.

the PIE period a conjugation of different tense-stems was created, -*s*- could become the morpheme of the aorist, the tense expressing completion of the verbal action. Thus the perfective meaning of ἔπλεξα 'I completed the action of plaiting' contrasts with the imperfective meaning of ἔπλεκον 'I was plaiting'.[8] The addition of PIE telic -*s*- to a stative verb-stem in -*éh₁*- led to an ingressive interpretation, that of entering the state expressed by the verb in -*éh₁*-. The ingressive meaning is well attested by aorists like πίθησα 'I became confident', ἐκράτησα 'I became the strongest',[9] θάρσησα 'I became bold'.

In Hittite -*ēšk*- seems to function as a near-equivalent of fientive -*ēš*-. In Latin the complex suffix -*ē-ske/o*- is very productive in the formation of inchoative presents like *rubēscit* 'it is becoming red' : *rubet* 'it is red'.[10] It is tempting to suppose but difficult to prove that in PIE the addition of a suffix *-*ké/ó*- to the telic suffix -*s*- served to derive an imperfective telic verb from a perfective telic verb. In any case, presents in -σκω like (γι)γνώσκω lit. 'I am coming to know' (**gn̥h₃-ské/ó*-; cf. Lat. (*g*)*nōscō*) express a process going on step by step and leading up to a resultant state. The feature 'step by step' explains presents like βάσκω 'I am going (step by step)' : aor. ἔβην 'I made a step, I went away'. It also explains the iterative value of -*šk*- in Hittite and of -σκε/ο- in Ionic preterite forms of present and aorist stems like ἵστασκον and στάσκον.

3 The Conjugation of Stative Verbs like *κράτημι/κρατέω and of Frequentative-Intensive verbs like φορέω/φόρημι

Tucker showed that aorists of the type θάρσησα with inherited -η-σ- vs. present θαρσέω played a crucial role in the process which led to the alternation between the short final stem vowel of the present stem and the long vowel found in the other tense-stems, at least in the conjugation of derived verbs. Thus presents of frequentative-intensive[11] verbs like φορέ(*y*)ω 'I regularly bear' with the inherited PIE suffix *-*éye/o*- could obtain the aorist form φόρησα.

[8] In a few verbs -*s*- continued to function as a suffix of the verb-stem, for instance in δέψω 'I knead', derived from δέφω.

[9] For metrical reasons, Homer could not use the aorist stem κρατησ(α)-.

[10] Whereas Greek, as against Latin, preserved the ingressive suffix -η-σ-, it lost the corresponding inchoative suffix -η-σκε/ο-, except for ἀλδήσκει 'it grows = it is becoming full-grown'.

[11] The causative value of active verbs like φοβέω 'I make someone flee in terror' can be explained by the fact that they contrast with middle verbs like φοβέομαι, which had taken over the middle inflexion of the primary verb φέβομαι 'I flee in terror'.

In Greek the stative suffix -*η*- was especially productive in the formation of verbs derived from compound adjectives and nouns. A compound verb like **ἐπικράτημι*/*ἐπικρατέω*, Lesb. *ἐπικρέτημι*, could be reinterpreted as derived from the adjective *ἐπικρατής* 'powerful' with truncation of the suffix -*εσ*-. So *ἀκρατέω* 'I am powerless' was derived from *ἀκρατής* and Arc. *ἀπείθημι* 'I am disobedient' from *ἀπειθής*.[12]

Tucker rightly insists on the importance of verbs of the type *δορυφορέ*(*y*)*ω* 'I am a spear-bearer' derived from *δορυφόρος* with the usual truncation of the thematic vowel -*ο*- before the initial vowel of the suffix.[13] Now the stative verb **δορυφόρημι* had the same meaning as the verb phrase *δόρυ* **φορέyω* 'I regularly bear a spear'. This led to the creation of the athematic form *φόρημι* as an alternative for **φορέyω*. In the same way *ἐπιφρονέω* 'I am thoughtful', derived from *ἐπίφρων*, led to the retrograde form *φρονέω* 'I think'. The coexistence of the types **φορέyω* and *φόρημι* is already attested in Mycenaean. In the Pylos Eq tablets (scribe 1) we find both *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* *τροκ^{w}εyόμενος* 'making a tour of inspection', lit. 'turning around' (Eq 213. 1), and *po-ṇẹ-to-qe-ṃị* *πόνητοί κ^{w}έ μιν* 'and he works it (sc. the land in question)' (Eq 36. 13; Killen 1999: 343–4; cf. *γεωπόνος* 'farmer'), *πόνημαι* corresponding with Hom. *πονέομαι*.[14] The existence of *κράτησα* as aorist of **κράτημι* could lead to the creation of *φόρησα* as aorist of *φόρημι* = **φορέyω*.

The coexistence of **φορέyω* and *φόρημι* may well have led to the formation of thematic **κρατέyω* as an equivalent of the original form **κράτημι*. Another factor might be found in presents like *πενθείω* < *-*έσyω* orig. 'I have sorrow, I am mourning', which is a denominative present with the usual suffix *-ye/o-*. Homer uses the old dual form *πενθείετον*, but also the athematic Aeolic infinitive *πενθήμεναι* and the aorist *πενθῆσαι*. According to many scholars, *-*έyω* would even go back to -*είω* = -*έyyω* < -*έσyω*, but forms like *Διογένεια* < *-*εσyα* prove that the supposed sound law does not exist.[15]

[12] Hom. *ἀπίθησα* took over the zero grade of the root from *πίθησα*.

[13] Most scholars think that *-e-* represents the thematic vowel, but Beekes (1985: 184–91) showed that in the PIE inflexion of thematic adjectives and nouns *-o-* did not alternate with *-e-*. The ending *-e* of the vocative may go back to a postpositive particle which had the same value as prepositive *ὦ*.

[14] I assume that the full-grade -*η*- had already replaced zero-grade -*ε*- < *-*h₁*-. Whereas the original ablaut is preserved in monosyllabic stems like *θη-*/*θε-*, it is lost in most disyllabic stems. Even the primary verb *ἄ*(*ϝ*)*ησι* '(the wind) blows' has forms of the type *ἄητον*, *ἀήμεναι*, *ἀήμενος* in Homer. Osthoff's Law explains forms like *ἀέντες*. Compare the generalization of stem forms like *ἐλα-* < **h₁elh₂*- in **ἔλαμι*, pl. **ἔλαμεν* (Ruijgh 1996: 323–4), the athematic inflexion being attested by Doric forms like imper. *ἐλάτω* (Ruijgh 1996: 173).

[15] Thus *τελέω* is a primary verb. The original form was athematic **τέλεμι*, with the future

In most dialects only the thematic types *φορέω* and *κρατέω* survived, just as in most primary verbs the original athematic presents were supplanted by the thematic forms (see n. 15). This explains the alternation of the final vowel of the verb-stem: -*ε*- in the present, -*η*- in the aorist. In Lesbian, Thessalian, and Arcadian, however, the athematic inflexion prevailed: type *φόρημι*. This can be explained by the fact that in these dialects the contraction *εε* > *ε̄* > *η* made many thematic forms coincide with the athematic ones: (*ἐ*)*φόρεε*(*ς*) > (*ἐ*)*φόρη*(*ς*); see Ruijgh (1996: 441–2). On the other hand, the contraction *εει* > *ει* explains why the thematic forms of the type 2nd p. *φόρεις*, 3rd p. *φόρει* (with Lesbian barytonesis) were preserved.

4 The Conjugation of Denominative Verbs like τῑμάω/τί̄μᾱμι

The use of the stem form in -*η*- in all tenses except the present stem is to be explained in the framework of the introduction of a complete conjugation of the denominative verbs in -*ye/o*- (PIE -*yé/ó*-) after the model of that of the primary verbs. The noun-stem on which the present in -*ye/o*- was based was used as a verb-stem. This innovation took place after the PIE period but before the time of the Mycenaean texts. Thus the Mycenaean form *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* *ἀραρμ*^{h}*οτμένᾱ* 'assembled' is the passive perfect participle of **ἀρμ*^{h}*ότyω* > Att. *ἁρμόττω* 'I fit together' (Ruijgh 1991: 146–9). Thus the verb derived from the noun *τῑμά̄* obtained a complete conjugation: *τῑμά̄σω*, *ἐτί̄μᾱσα*, *ἐτῑμά̄θην*, *τετί̄μᾱμαι*, *τετί̄μᾱκα*.

In my opinion, the thematic present in -*ά*(*y*)*ω* must have replaced an older form in *-*άhyyω*: treatment *-*eh₂ye*- > *-*ayye*- like *-*eh₂yo*- > -*ayyo*- in adjectives like *ἀγοραῖος* : *ἀγορά̄* (Ruijgh 1967: 212).[16] The substitution of simple intervocalic -*y*- for -*yy*- can be explained by the influence of the type **φορέyω* : *ἐφόρησα*. The existence of forms like *πενθείω* as equivalents of forms like **κρατέyω* (§3) may also have played a role. It is possible that already in Mycenaean times athematic present forms in -*ᾱμι* were created after the model of the type *φόρημι* = **φορέyω*.

In most dialects only the thematic type *τῑμάω* survives. Once again, Lesbian and perhaps Arcadian opted for athematic *τί̄μᾱμι*, just as for *κρέτημι*, *φόρημι*. The contraction of *αε* > *ᾱ* made many forms coincide with the athe-

τελέ(*h*)*ω*. Its equivalent *τελείω* < **τελέσyω* is a denominative verb; its verb-stem is found in forms like *τετέλεσται*. The sigmatic aorist Att.-Ion. *ἐτέλεσα* belongs to both the primary verb and the derived verb.

[16] The older form survives in *παλαίω* 'I wrestle', derived from the action noun *πάλᾱ*. Under the influence of *παίω* 'I beat', the form *παλαίω* was preserved. The aorist *ἐπάλαισα* is parallel to *ἔπαισα*.

matic ones: (ἐ)τίμαε(ς) > (ἐ)τίμᾱ(ς). Here again, 2nd p. τίμαις and 3rd p. τίμαι go back to the thematic forms, but the long diphthong ᾱι < αει was shortened to αι under the influence of the type φόρει(ς).

5 The Conjugation of Factitive Verbs like νέ(ϝ)ωμι/νε(ϝ)όω

As to the presents in -όγω, Lesb. Arc. -ωμι, Tucker showed that the so-called instrumental verbs of the type στεφανόω 'I provide with a crown' are of a more recent date than the factitive verbs of the type νεόω 'I make new'. In PIE factitive verbs were derived from thematic adjectives by means of the suffix *-*h$_2$*-: Hittite *newaḫmi* 'I make new'. According to the current opinion the PIE form of the verb-stem was **newe-h$_2$*-, which would explain Lat. *novā-re*. This would imply that the vowel ω of the Greek verb-stem νεϝω- was substituted for -ᾱ-. According to Beekes (see n. 13), however, the stem vowel -*o*- of adjectives and nouns did not alternate with -*e*-. This implies the reconstruction **newo-h$_2$*- for the factitive verb in question, which enables us to see in νεϝω- the direct phonetic result of **newoh$_2$*- > **newoh$_3$*- (Ruijgh 1997: 274–6).[17] This explanation is also valid for the stem vowel of OHG *niuwō*-. In my opinion athematic *νέϝωμι must be older than thematic *νεϝόγω, just as *κράτημι must be older than κρατέγω (§3). Compare the athematic factitive verbs of the type **h$_1$s-n-éw-mi* 'I make good' (Hitt. *ašnu*-), derived from the adjective **h$_1$s-éw*- (ἐΰς), which survive in the Greek presents in -νῡμι (orig. *-νευμι).[18] The creation of the complete conjugation of verbs like νεϝω- and that of the thematic present *νεϝόγω are parallel to what happened in the verbs in -ημι/-έγω and -ᾱμι/-άγω. The sigmatic aorist *e-re-u-te-ro-se* ἐλευθέρωσε 'he made free' is already attested in Mycenaean.

In most dialects only the thematic type νε(ϝ)όω survives. Once again, Lesbian and perhaps Arcadian opted for athematic νέ(ϝ)ωμι. The contraction οε, οο > ō > ω made most thematic forms coincide with the athematic ones: (ἐ)νέϝοε(ς) > (ἐ)νέϝω(ς). On the other hand, the contraction οει > οι explains the thematic forms of the type 2nd p. νέ(ϝ)οις, 3rd p. νέ(ϝ)οι (with Lesbian barytonesis).

In this connection the vowel *ā* of Lat. *novā-re* needs of course an explanation. The substitution of -*ā*- for original -*ō*- is parallel to that of *dā*-

[17] The verb νεάω 'I plough up (fallow land)' can be explained as derived from νέᾱ 'fresh earth' (sc. γᾶ). In Attic the inherited verb νεόω was also used in the specific sense of νεάω (Pollux 1. 221).

[18] In Greek τάνυται (Homer) may go back to a factitive verb **tn̥-n-éw-mi*, derived from the adjective **tn-ús* > **tn̥nús* (Lindeman's Law) > τανύς. In Proto-Greek, however, -νῡ-/-νυ- came to function as a simple present morpheme.

in *dā-s* 'you (sg.) give' and *dā*[19] 'give!', where the introduction of *-ā-* is due to the vocalism of zero-grade forms like *da-mus* < *dh_3-. In fact, Latin has lost verb-stems in *-ō-*. The inflexion of the athematic present stem **didō-/*dida-* was changed by three innovations (Leumann 1963: 309–10). At an early time the athematic ending *-mi* was replaced with *-ō* (§1): **didō* instead of original *didōmi*. Then full-grade *dō-* < *deh_3- was replaced with *dā-* under the influence of zero-grade *da-* < *dh_3-. Finally the reduplication *di-* was lost under the influence of compounds like **prō-di-da-si* > *prōdere*, **re-di-da-si* > *reddere* (syncope in the second syllable of tetrasyllabic forms). The high frequency of the verb *dare* explains its influence on the inherited factitive verbs like **newōmi*: substitution of **newō*[20] (> *novō*) for **newōmi*, then substitution of **newās* (*novās*), **newā* (*novā*) for **newōs*(*i*), **néwō*, etc.

6 The Use of *ϝιδή-/ϝιδε- as an Alternative for *ϝοίδ-/ϝιδ- 'to know'

Let us return now to the stative verbs in *-éh_1- > *-ē-*. There are only a few verbs of this type which are found in more than one Indo-European language. The verb *wid-éh_1- 'to be in a state of continuous seeing', however, is found in Greek, Latin, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic. The original meaning is well preserved in the Gothic 3rd-class weak verb *witan* (*-a-* < *-h_1-) 'to be observing'. The less specific meaning 'to see' is found in Lat. *vidēre* and in OCS *viděti* (with full-grade **weyd-* > *vid-* substituted for the original zero grade).

In Greek *ϝίδημι came to function as a synonym of the perfect *ϝοῖδα 'I know': the perfect form also has a stative meaning. Thus πίθημι 'I am confident' is a near-equivalent of the perfect πέποιθα. That is why πίθημι disappeared in first-millennium Greek, except for its survival in Lesbian poetry. The coincidence of forms like **wid-ént*(*i*) 'they know/knew' (zero grade of *woyd-*) with *wid-h_1-ént(*i*) > *ϝιδέντ(ι) (zero grade of *wid-éh_1-) must have supported the synonymy. As a matter of fact, the inflexion of *ϝοῖδα is based on a conflation of forms of *ϝοιδ-/ϝιδ- and of forms going back to *ϝιδ-η-/ϝιδ-ε-.

Already before Homer's time the stem *ϝιδη- had been replaced by *ϝειδη-. The substitution of subj. *ϝειδήω (> Ion. εἰδέω, Att. εἰδῶ) for *ϝιδήω and of fut. (ϝ)εἰδήσω for *ϝιδήσω may be due to the influence of the alternative forms *ϝείδω (Hom. εἴδομεν, εἴδετε), resp. (ϝ)εἴσομαι.[21]

[19] The original form *dō* survives in *ce-dō* 'give + here' > *cedo* 'give me'.

[20] The segment *ō* represented both the final vowel of the verb-stem and the 1st p. sg. ending.

[21] The *e*-grade of (ϝ)εἴδομεν as against the *o*-grade in forms like πεποίθομεν may be

The *e*-grade stem *Ϝειδη-/Ϝειδε- is also found in opt. (Ϝ)ειδείην and in inf. (Ϝ)ειδέναι (-εν- < *-h_1-*en*-). Aeolic (Ϝ)ἴδμεν(αι), on the other hand, is based on the zero grade of (Ϝ)οἰδ-, which was also used in the original form of the participle *ϜιδϜώς (Hom. fem. (Ϝ)ἰδυῖα).[22] After the loss of Ϝ, Att.-Ion. *ἰδώς was replaced with εἰδώς under the influence of inf. εἰδέναι.

Originally, the pluperfect forms were identical with the perfect indicative forms, except for the endings of 3rd p. plural and dual and the optional use of the augment (Chantraine 1958: 437–9). Confusion between the preterite and the present perfect must have been particularly embarrassing in the case of (Ϝ)οἶδα, the most frequently used perfect of Greek. Therefore the singular pluperfect forms were based on the alternative stem (Ϝ)ειδη-: Homer has 2nd p. ἠ(Ϝ)είδης and the contracted form ᾔδησθα (with -θα taken over from οἶσθα), 3rd p. ἠ(Ϝ)είδη, and the contracted form ᾔδη.[23]

For the plural, Homer presents only the 3rd p. form ἴσαν. In fifth-century Attic one finds both ᾖσμεν, ᾖστε, ᾖσαν[24] built on the zero grade of Ϝοιδ- and ᾔδεμεν, ᾔδετε, ᾔδεσαν built on Ϝ(ε)ιδε- < **wid*-h_1-. The second set of forms is morphologically more transparent than the first set. Confronting plupf. *Ϝίδεμεν with perf. ind. *Ϝίδμεν, one could reinterpret -ε- as marking the pluperfect as against the perfect. So -ε- came to be inserted between the perfect stem and the perfect personal endings. Homer already uses forms like 1st p. sg. ᾔδεα, πεποίθεα (Att. -εα > -η), 3rd p. ᾔδεε, ἐπεποίθει (-ει < -εε), 3rd p. pl. ἐοίκεσαν (Ruijgh 1996: 193–5). In Classical Attic pluperfect forms like εἰώθεμεν 'we were wont' contrast with perfect ind. forms like εἰώθαμεν 'we are wont' (alphathematic inflexion of εἴωθα).

The Lesbian form (Ϝ)οἴδημι (Hesychius γοίδημι), 2nd p. οἴδησ(θα) is easily explained as a conflation of *Ϝοῖδα and *Ϝ(ε)ίδημι.[25] In Doric dialects

explained by the absence of reduplication in the perfect form (Ϝ)οἶδα: subj. *ἔγομεν (later ἴομεν) vs. ind. ἴμεν led to subj. (Ϝ)εἴδομεν vs. ind. (Ϝ)ἴδμεν. The manuscripts of Homer's text present forms with Attic accentuation like εἰδῶ instead of original *εἴδω (Chantraine 1958: 420). In *Il.* 14. 235 and *Od.* 16. 236 the manuscripts give εἰδέω (with synizesis) with the variant ἰδέω, which might go back to *Ϝιδήω with zero grade of the root.

22 The Mycenaean man's name *wi-dwo-i-jo* ϜιδϜόhιος shows the original stem ϜιδϜόσ-.

23 The contracted Ionic forms may have replaced the augmentless forms *Ϝείδησθα and *Ϝείδη of Homer's Aeolic predecessors. Ionic ᾔδη might also go back to *ἠ-Ϝίδη with the original zero grade of the root. The form ἠ- of the augment may have been taken over from forms like ᾖμεν 'we went' vs. augmentless ἴμεν. Before the replacement of *Ϝίδημι with *Ϝείδημι the form of the augment made possible the distinction between *ἠϜίδετε 'you knew' and *ἐϜίδετε 'you saw' (aorist).

24 The forms ἴστε and ᾖστε led to the substitution of -σ- for -δ- in Att. ἴσμεν, ἴσᾱσι ᾖσμεν, ᾖσαν.

25 Sappho uses the aorist form οἰδήσαις. The Attic-Ionic aorist εἰδῆσαι 'to come to know' is found in Aristotle, Theophrastus, and the *Corpus Hippocraticum*.

the equivalence *Ϝίσαντι (cf. Att. ἴσᾱσι; n. 24) = *Ϝίδεντι led to a new present Ϝίσᾱμι = *Ϝίδημι, pl. Ϝίσᾰμες = *Ϝίδεμες.

The conclusion is evident: prehistoric Greek had an athematic present *Ϝίδημι < *wid-éh_1-, pl. *Ϝίδεμες < *wid-h_1- with stative meaning.

7 The Stative, Not Fientive, Value of the Suffix -éh_1-

The ingressive meaning of the -η- aorist (type πάγη 'it became fixed' or 'it was fixed by someone') led scholars like Harðarson (1998) and Rix (1998) to assign a fientive value to the suffix *-éh_1-.[26] They think that the stative meaning was expressed by the complex suffix *-h_1-yé/ó-, often replaced with *-eh_1-yé/ó-. Thus the stative suffix *-ē-* of Old Hittite and Latin would go back to *-ē(y)e- < *-eh_1-yé- and the suffix of the Greek type κρατέγω would go back to *-h_1-yé/ó-.[27]

I hope to have shown that this cannot be accepted. It is true that Balto-Slavic and Germanic have present indicative forms with *-ye/o-* added to the stative suffix, but they are of a much later date and can be explained in the framework of the general tendency to replace athematic with thematic presents. This use of *-ye/o-* is found in different Indo-European languages and at different dates. An early example is Hom. θείνω < *χ^{w}ένγω 'I strike' vs. athematic Hitt. *kuenzi* and Ved. *hánti* 'he slays'. Thus Goth. *habaiþ* 'he has' may go back to a form containing *-ye-* added to *haba-* < *kh_2p-h_1- (cf. Harðarson 1998: 329–30), but OHG *habēm* 'I have' most probably continues the original athematic form.

It is tempting to adopt Schindler's identification of the verbal stative suffix *-éh_1- with the instrumental morpheme *-éh_1 (Tucker 1990: 42 n. 32). For instance, Lat. *rubē-re* may be based on the instrumental *rubē < *$h_1$$rut^h$-é$h_1$ of the deverbative root noun *$h_1$rówt^h- (*o*-grade: see Ruijgh 1997: 278 ff.) functioning as an action noun. The adessive-comitative meaning of the instrumental form is quite compatible with the stative meaning of the derived verb: *$h_1$$rut^h$-é$h_1$-mi lit. 'I am with reddening', then 'I have a red colour, I am red'.[28] In this connection it should be observed that the

[26] Curiously, Rix (1976: 258) recognizes the stative value of *widē-* in forms like *ἠ(Ϝ)ίδης 'you (sg.) knew' (§6).

[27] In κρατέ(y)ω -ε- would represent the zero grade of -η-. This would imply an analogical change since in Proto-Greek the phonetic result of initial and postconsonantal *Hy is *iy*: *h_1y-ónt-es > ἰ(y)όντες (Myc. *i-jo-te*), *ph_3y-ónt-es > πι(y)όντες.

[28] To a certain extent this use of the instrumental may be compared with the use of the instrumental for predicative nouns and adjectives expressing temporary properties in Balto-Slavic. In its basic meaning a stative verb like ἀσθενεῖ 'he is weak/sick' seems to present weakness rather as a temporary property as against the neutral expression ἀσθενής ἐστι.

instrumental **rubē* > *rube*[29] survives in the compound verbs *rubefaciō* 'I make red' and *rubefīō* 'I am made red': the preservation of the vocalism of *facio*—vs. **adfaciō* > *afficio*—proves that not long before Plautus' time *rube* and *faciō* were still two separate words. The imperfect *rubē-bam* 'I was red' may go back to 'I was with red colour'.[30]

8 Further Observations on Verbs like φορέω, Latin *moneō*

In Greek the originally different types *κράτημι* and **φορέγω* came to obtain an identical inflexion: *κρατέω* like *φορέω*, Lesb. *φόρημι* like *κρέτημι* (§3). The morphological fusion is already attested in Mycenaean. The same change took place in Latin: the inflexion of the type **monéyō* > *moneō* 'I remind' (causative value: see n. 11) was made identical with that of the type *videō*, orig. **vidēmi*. After the contraction *-e(y)e-* > *-ē-* forms like *monēs*, *monētis* had the same ending as forms like *vidēs*, *vidētis*. Then forms like *monēmus*, *monent* were created after the model of athematic forms like *vidēmus*, *vident*.[31]

According to current opinion (Rix 1998: 22–3) the *o*-grade of the root in the type *φορέγω*, *mone(y)ō* would go back to PIE. However, the ablaut rules of PIE require zero grade before the accented suffix *-éye/o-*. In fact, some Sanskrit verbs in *-áya-* still have the original zero grade. In Greek we find *ὑδ-έω* 'I call, I name' < **$h_2$ud-* corresponding with *αὐδά* 'voice' < **$h_2$owd-* (Ruijgh 1996: 297, 314) and Skr. *vád-ati* 'he raises his voice' < **$h_2$wed-*. The present *ἀγρέω* 'I take' can be explained as the intensive verb derived from *ἀγερ-* 'to gather'.[32] The future form *ἀγρήσει* is already attested in Mycenaean (*a-ke-re-se*). Zero-grade root extended with *-t-* is found in *δατέομαι* 'I divide' and *πατέομαι* 'I nourish myself, I eat';[33] also in Lat. *fateor* 'I confess'. Other Latin examples with zero grade of the root are *cieō* 'I move' and *torqueō* (*-or-* < **-r̥-*) 'I twist tightly'.

One has to conclude that the type *φορέγω* goes back to PIE **p^hr-éye/o-*. It

29 With shortening of the final long vowel in iambic words; cf. **dwenē* > *bene*. In *pūtēfaciō* the long vowel was preserved after the long initial syllable.

30 In the same way the type *agē-bam* 'I was driving' was probably based on the instrumental of the action noun *ag-*. Compare the use of adessive *at* in Engl. *he was at work*, near-equivalent of *he was working*. The dative of such root nouns survives in the Latin passive infinitive type *agī* < *agei*, orig. 'for driving'.

31 The phonetic result of **moneyont(i)* would have been **moneunt*; cf. **eyont(i)* > *eunt* 'they go'.

32 This implies that the object of *ἀγρέω* was originally booty or game. Att.-Ion. *αἱρέω* owes *αι-* to *αἴνυμαι* 'I take' and the aspiration to aorist *ἑλεῖν* 'to take'.

33 Without *-t-* the phonetic result of **dh_2-éye/o-* was the opaque form **daye/o-*. The stem *day-* is found in *δαίομαι* (*day* + *ye/o-*) and in *δαίνῡμι*.

is tempting to suppose but difficult to prove that the base of this type was the dative in **-éy* of the deverbative root noun functioning as an action noun, just as the instrumental in **-éh_1* was the base of the stative type (§7). Such dative forms survive as infinitives: Ved. *rucé* < **luk^w-éy* 'in order to light', Lat. *agī* (n. 30). This hypothesis implies a semantic development 'I am to bear' > 'I regularly bear'. The form *-éye/o-* could be explained as a conflation of *-éy-* and the denominative suffix *-yé/o-*.

Whereas the stative verbs in *-éh_1-* > *-ē-* soon lost their connection with deverbative root nouns and therefore preserved the zero grade of the root, this was not the case for the verbs in *-éye/o-*: they continued to be felt as derived from action nouns and indirectly from primary verbs. Since most athematic *o*-grade root nouns (type *φλόξ*) were extended with the thematic vowel *-o-* (type *λόγος*, *λόχος*), the verbs in *-éye/o-* took over the *o*-grade of the new action nouns: *φορέγω* was felt as derived from *φόρος* (later *φορᾱ́*) and indirectly from *φέρω* (Ruijgh 1997: 279–81). This explains the regular *o*-grade formation of the type *τρομέω* : *τρόμος* (: *τρέμω*), *φοβέομαι* : *φόβος* (: *φέβομαι*) with causative *φοβέω*.[34]

9 Latin *decet* : *doceō*; δοκέει 'it seems (good)' : δοκέω 'I think'

It rarely happens that both the derivative in *-éh_1-* and the derivative in *-éye/o-* from the same root are found in an Indo-European language. However, Latin has both the stative verb *decet* (vocalism like that of *sedēre*, n. 4; orig. **dk-éh_1-*) and the causative active verb *doceō*. The primary middle verb survives in Greek: *δέκομαι* 'I accept'. The original form was **δέκμαι*, a stative athematic middle present (type *κεῖμαι*), which originally must have referred to a state of expecting someone or something in order to get him/it in one's power (Hom. *δέγμενος* 'expecting'). The meaning of the root aorist *δέκτο* (orig. **d^{e}k-tó*) is simply 'he received, accepted'. The meaning of *decet* 'it is becoming, fitting' has to do with the idea of accepted behaviour. That of *doceō* 'I inform, I teach' goes back to 'I make someone accept (a message or a lesson)'.

The meaning 'I think' of *δοκέω* presupposes a different semantic development, which cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The verb is construed with either a declarative infinitive expressing the content of a statement or a dynamic infinitive expressing the content of an intention: 'I think that something is the case', resp. 'I think to do something'.[35] Both uses might be

[34] This led to formations like *νοστέω* 'I return home' (: *νόστος*), *ἀριθμέω* 'I count' (: *ἀριθμός*), *μῡθέομαι* 'I speak' (: *μῦθος*).

[35] For the declarative use vs. the dynamic use of the infinitive, see Ruijgh (1999).

based on *'I consider something acceptable' going back to a still earlier *'I make something acceptable'.[36] However, *δοκέω* 'I think' might also go back to 'I expect', if it was originally an intensive verb derived from **δέκμαι*, though one would rather expect the middle form (cf. *πονέομαι* : *πένομαι*).

Already in Homer *δοκέω* is also used in the quite different meaning 'I seem' in the construction with a declarative infinitive, as a near-equivalent of *φαίνομαι*. This personal use of *δοκέω* is probably secondary: it may be based on impersonal *δοκέει* 'it seems'. Impersonal *δοκέει* is construed either with a declarative infinitive ('it seems that something is the case') or with a dynamic infinitive ('it seems good to do something'). Both uses might be based on an original meaning 'it is acceptable'. The construction of the impersonal stative verb *δοκέει* with the dynamic infinitive corresponds with that of Lat. *decet*. One might conclude that *δοκέει* 'it seems good' goes back to an original athematic form **δέκητι*. The replacement of **δεκ-* with *δοκ-* is easily explained by the influence of *δοκέω* 'I think'. Notice that *δοκέει μοι* 'it seems to me' is practically equivalent to *δοκέω* 'I think'. As a result of the fusion of the two verbs *δοκέω* functions in historic Greek as one verb with two quite different meanings.[37]

10 The Origin of the Passive Aorist in -η-; ἔσβη

For semantic reasons it is impossible to identify the morpheme -*η*- of the passive aorist simply with the PIE stative suffix *-*éh$_1$*-: the meaning of a form like *πάγη* is ingressive: 'it became fixed' = 'it entered the state of being fixed'. Since this meaning is identical with that of the type *θάρσησε* 'he became bold', I am led to suppose that the stem *παγ-η-* goes back to an original stem **παγ-η-σ-* < **ph$_2$g-éh$_1$-s-* (Ruijgh 1996: 187–9, 366–7). This implies a morphological differentiation into two types of what was originally one single type.

Since stems like **θr̥ση-σ-*, **κr̥τη-σ-*, **φιθη-σ-* (§2) functioned as sigmatic aorist stems corresponding with present stems like **θr̥ση-*, **κr̥τη-*, **φιθη-* (§3), they participated in the morphological innovations of the inflexion of the sigmatic aorist: substitution of -*σα*- for -*σ*-, i.e. introduction of the alphathematic inflexion, and restoration of intervocalic -*σ*- (Ruijgh 1996: 170 n. 27A, 182–3). These innovations may date from the final phase of Proto-Greek or from the Proto-Mycenaean period. In the time of the

[36] Compare the use of *ποιεῖσθαι* 'to make for oneself' in expressions like *μέγα ποιεῖσθαι* 'to consider something a great matter'.

[37] In a similar way Lat. *lūcē-re* 'to be shining' took over the vocalism of the causative verb *lūceō* < **lowkéyō* 'I cause to shine', which is still attested in Plautus.

Mycenaean texts they are already accomplished facts, as is shown by forms like *de-ka-sa-to* δέξατο 'he accepted' and *e-ra-se* ἔλασε 'he drove'.

Stative presents in -ημι were near-equivalents of perfect forms: πίθημι = πέποιθα, *ϝίδημι = (ϝ)οἶδα (§6). Whereas pres. πίθημι survives in Lesbian poetry, Homer only uses πέποιθα (stative meaning) and the aorist form πιθήσᾱς (ingressive meaning).[38] It is therefore possible that already in the final phase of Proto-Greek stative presents like *πάγημι and *τάκημι had been supplanted by the perfect forms πέπᾱγα and τέτᾱκα. As a result of the disappearance of the corresponding presents in -ημι, aorist stems like *παγησ- and *τακησ- came to be felt as belonging to the primary verbs πάγνυμαι, πέπᾱγα and τάκομαι, τέτᾱκα, i.e. as passive aorists of the transitive verbs πάγνῡμι, ἔπᾱξα and τάκω, ἔτᾱξα. That is why the morphological innovations of their inflexion could be quite different from those of the type *θr̥ση-σ-.

One argument for the original type *παγη-σ- is the fact that there are no traces of zero-grade forms with -ε- vs. full-grade forms with -η-, whereas such a trace is found in Att. pl. ᾔδετε vs. sg. ᾔδησ(θα) (§6).[39] The absence of zero grade before the morpheme *-s-* is characteristic of aorist stems in *-s-*: the *e*-grade of the root is not restricted to the active singular, but is also used in the active plural and in the middle forms.

Several phonetic changes led to the loss of -σ- after -η-. After the loss of the final stop in 3rd p. sg. *πάγηστ > *πάγης, this form came to coincide with 2nd p. sg. πάγης (orig. -ησ + ς). It is easy to understand that this coincidence led to the substitution of πάγη for 3rd p. *πάγης, 2nd p. πάγης being reinterpreted as πάγη + ς.

Since πάγημεν is the phonetic result of *πάγησμεν,[40] it could serve as a model for the analogical forms πάγητε, πάγητον, παγήτᾱν (orig. *πάγηστε, etc.). In the same way, ἦμεν 'we were' (< *ἦσμεν) led to Att. ἦτε 'you were' as an alternative for ἦστε. And Att. κάθηται, ἐκάθητο vs. Hom. ἧσται, ἧστο owe the loss of -σ- to ἧμαι < *ἧσμαι and ἥμην < *ἥσμᾱν. The Doric and Aeolic infinitive παγήμεν(αι) is the result of *παγήσμεν. The subjunctive form *παγήhω < *παγήσω could be reinterpreted as based on the new stem παγη- (Ruijgh 1996: 187–8). Finally, παγη- was used in all forms of the passive aorist: 1st p. sg. πάγην (orig. *πάγηhα), opt. παγείην, part. παγέντ- (see n. 39), etc.

[38] For metrical reasons Homer could not use πιθόμενος.

[39] Lesbian, Thessalian, and Arcadian forms like ὤρχεντο and φόρεντες have -ε- in accordance with Osthoff's Law.

[40] In Proto-Aeolic *πάγημμεν, the ending -μμεν must have been replaced with the usual form -μεν.

An interesting parallel for the loss of -σ- is found in ἔσβη '(the fire) went out, was extinguished', which functions as passive aorist of σβέννῡμι 'I put out, extinguish'. The PIE root is *g^{w}es-, but Greek replaced it with *sg^{w}es-.[41] According to Rix (1976: 218), -σβη would go back to *σβε(σ)-η, but this is impossible: in Homer's Ionic εη was still uncontracted. The form -σβη must go back to PIE *g^{w}ēs-t, an intransitive root verb with phonetic lengthening of *e* in monosyllables (Ruijgh 1996: 359). In Indo-Iranian the lengthened grade of the root spread from the monosyllabic forms of the 2nd and 3rd p. sg. of the sigmatic aorist to the disyllabic form of the 1st p. sg.: Skr. *á-vākṣam* 'I carried', going back to *wēks-m̥ instead of *weks-m̥. In Greek however, the normal full-grade form was always generalized: 3rd p. *trék^{w}s-t (later τρέψε) like 1st p. *trék^{w}s-m̥ (later ἔτρεψα). In prehistoric Greek *sg^{w}ēst functioned as a root aorist. The exceptional preservation of the lengthened grade is due to the fact that as a consequence of the meaning of the verb a 1st p. sg. form could hardly be used. After the loss of the final stop *σγ^{w}ῆς was replaced with *σγ^{w}ῆ in the same way as the type *πάγης was replaced with πάγη. Thus the original root aorist became a member of the class of the passive aorist in -η-.[42]

11 The Aorists ἐβίω and *ἐμίᾱ

The ingressive meaning of ἐβίω 'he became alive again, he escaped with his life' in Homer[43] shows that the original form must have been *g^{w}ih_3-éh_1-s-t, of the same type as *ph_2g-éh_1-s-t (§10). Here again -*s*- was lost, so that βιω- could be felt as a root aorist of the same type as γνῶ 'he came to know' (*gnéh_3-t) and ἅλω 'he got caught' (*wl̥léh_3-t: Lindeman's Law; Ruijgh 1997: 273). The inchoative present (ἀνα)βιώσκομαι 'I am becoming alive again' is not found before Plato's time. If it is an inherited verb, it must go back to PIE *g^{w}ih_3-éh_1-s-ke/o-, the inchoative verb derived from the ingressive verb *gwih_3-éh_1-s- (§2).

[41] The adventitious *s*- may be due to the influence of στᾱ- in the sense of 'to come to a standstill'. According to the phonetic rules one expects *σγ^{w}εσ- > *σδεσ- = *ζεσ- vs. *σγ^{w}οσ- > *σβοσ-. The analogical form σβεσ- may have been introduced in order to distinguish σβέσαι 'to extinguish' from ζέσαι 'to boil'. The expected form *ζεσ- is found in Hesychius' gloss ζείναμεν· σβέννυμεν (*σγ^{w}έσνᾱμι instead of *σγ^{w}έσνῡμι under the influence of δάμνᾱμι 'I tame'). Ion. (κατα)σβῶσαι < *σβοῆσαι (aor. inf.) belongs to a verb *σβοάω derived from an action noun *σβοά. Hesychius presents ζοάς· σβέσεις (acc. pl.) and ζόᾱσον· σβέσον with ζ- instead of σβ-.

[42] On the other hand, as a root aorist ἔσβη was the base for fut. σβήσεται and perf. ἔσβηκε.

[43] In Classical Attic-Ionic ἐβίω came to be used in expressions like 'he lived for sixty years'. By reinterpretation of ἐβίωσαν as a sigmatic aorist form a new verb βιῶ, aor. ἐβίωσα arose, which was felt as derived from βίος 'life'.

The Cyrenaean subjunctive form μιᾷ < *μιάει belongs to the passive aorist of a primary verb which has been supplanted by the derived verb μιαίνω 'I dye, stain, pollute' (**mih₂-n̥-yé/ó-*).[44] Ind. ἐμίā goes back to **mih₂-éh₁-s-t*, the loss of *-s-* being parallel to that of the type **ph₂g-éh₁-s-t*. The Homeric passive aorist δάμη, opt. δαμείη shows that the expected form *δάμā (**dm̥h₂-éh₁-s-t*) was replaced with δάμη, -η- being the usual form of the morpheme of the passive aorist. The coexistence of *δάμā and δάμη might explain Doric forms like ἐξεῤῥύā (Epidaurus) and ἀπεσσύā (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 1. 23) with -ā instead of -η.

12 The Origin of the Passive Aorist in -θη-

The suffix -η(σ)- is found after zero-grade roots ending in a Greek consonant. Notice that ἐῤῥύη goes back to **sruw-ḗ(s)*- (Ruijgh 1996: 366). After a root ending in a Greek vowel which goes back to a PIE laryngeal, however, the alternative form -θη(σ)- was used. It is impossible to connect -θη- either with the 2nd p. sg. middle ending *-thās* found in Sanskrit or with the morpheme *-dē-* (**-tʰeh₁-*: root of τίθημι) of the Germanic weak preterite.[45] With Risch (1974: 254) I think that -θη- goes back to forms where -η- was preceded by a verb-stem ending in suffixal -θ-. In my opinion the verb-stem *σταθ- < **sth₂-étʰ-* (full grade), *sth₂-tʰ-* (zero grade) played a crucial role in this process. It is possible that the suffix *-étʰ-* underlined the telic character of the root verb. Compare Ion. τελέθω 'I become' < *κʷελέθω : Aeol. πέλομαι < *κʷέλομαι and also Homeric ἔσχεθον, a near-equivalent of aor. ἔσχον 'I got, I held back'. The telic meaning of PIE **steh₂-* survives in the root aorist *στᾶ > στῆ 'he stood up' or 'he came to a standstill'.

The derived stative verb **sth₂-éh₁-* survives in Lat. *stāre* 'to stand', an opaque form as against *sed-ē-re* 'to sit' (§1). In Greek the stem of the stative verb would have coincided with that of the root aorist. That is why the new transparent form *στάθ-η-μι was created. This stative present was soon supplanted by the perfect *σέστāκα > ἕστāκα, but the corresponding ingressive aorist *σταθησ- survived and finally lost the segment -σ- (§10).

[44] In the same way ὑφαίνω 'I weave' (**h₁upʰ-n̥-yé/ó-*) supplanted the primary verb *ἐϝέφω, ἐϝέψω (cf. δέφω, δέψω: n. 8), which is still attested by the Mycenaean fut. part. *e-we-pe-se-so-me-na* ἐϝεψησόμενα. The stem extension -η- was necessary for the distinction between the future and the present forms.

[45] Since Skr. *-thās* goes back to a form with initial **-th₂-* followed by *-e-* or *-o-*, the supposed Greek counterpart would have the vowel *-ā-*. The preterites in *-dē-* 'did' of Germanic have active meaning as against the passive meaning of -θη-.

Notice that in older Greek texts *ἐστάθην* functions as a near-equivalent of *ἔστην*: its use is not restricted to a strictly passive meaning.[46]

After the disappearance of the verb-stem *σταθ-*, *σταθ-η(σ)-* could be reinterpreted as *στα-θη(σ)-*: the final consonant of the original verb-stem was reinterpreted as the initial consonant of the suffix. So the suffix of *στά-θη* (: *ἵστᾱμι*) could be used in the passive aorists **θέθη* > *τέθη* (: *τίθημι*), **γέθη* > *ἕθη* (: *ἵημι*), and *δόθη* (: *δίδωμι*).[47] Thence it spread to forms like *κτάθη*, *σύθη*, *φθίθη* replacing the middle root aorists *κτάτο*, *σύτο*, *φθίτο* and to forms like *ῥήθη* (cf. *ῥητός* < **ϝρητός* < **wr̥h$_1$-*). All derived transitive verbs got a passive aorist in *-θη-*, which was used not only after a final vowel (*ἐτῑμάθη* etc.) but also after a final consonant (*ἐθερμάνθη* etc.). Thus *-θη-* eventually became the regular morpheme of the passive aorist in Greek.

The verb-stem *σταθ-* is also found in the derivative *σταθ-ερός* 'standing fast' and *σταθ-μός* 'farmstead, stable; upright standing-post' (Myc. *ta-to-mo*).[48] It is important to notice that the reinterpretation of *-θ-* as initial segment of the suffix also applied to *σταθ-μός*, later *στα-θμός*. The new complex suffix *-θμό-* was productive: *τεθμός*, *πορθμός*, etc. It is already attested in Mycenaean: *a-to-mo ἀρθμός*.

Since some Latin derivatives are also based on the verb-stem **sth$_2$-t^h-* > *stab-* (before *l*), it is probable that it has been inherited from PIE. Thus *stabulum* and *stabilis* are the counterparts of *σταθμός* and *σταθερός*, though the suffixes are different. In Latin too the final consonant of the stem *stab-* was reinterpreted as the initial consonant of the suffix. Originally, the suffix of *stabulum* (**stat^h-ló-*) was identical with that of *speculum* (**sp^{e}k-ló-*) and that of *stabilis* with that of *facilis* (**t^{h}ak-léy-*). The reinterpretations *sta-bulum* and *sta-bilis* led to the productive types *pā-bulum* and *flē-bilis*. These Latin parallels support the explanation of the morpheme *-θη-* by reinterpretation of *σταθ-η(σ)-* as *στα-θη(σ)-*.

46 The low frequency of *σταθη-* in Homer is simply due to its metrical structure. Homer twice uses *(ἐ)στάθη* followed by an initial vowel.

47 The low frequency of these forms in Homer is due to a stylistic tendency of the epic poets, who prefer transitive expressions to passive ones, except for verbs belonging to the semantic field of construction or destruction (Chantraine 1953: 180–1). For instance, the present passive of *δίδωμι* and *ῥέζω/ἔρδω* is not found in Homer, whereas it is already attested in Mycenaean: *-di-do-to δίδοτοι* 'it is given', *wo-zo-me-na ϝορζόμενα* 'being fabricated'. The absence of the passive aorist in the Mycenaean tablets is a consequence of the nature of daily bookkeeping texts: past actions mentioned by the bookkeepers always belong to the recent past, which implies that the resulting state is still present. This explains the use of the passive perfect: *de-do-me-na δεδομένα* 'in the state of having been delivered', *de-da-to δέδασται* 'it has been divided'. Since most verbs did not yet have a transitive perfect, the transitive aorist was used for past actions: *do-ke δῶκε* 'he delivered'.

48 The second member of the Homeric compound adjective *ἐυσταθής* lit. 'having good upright standing-posts' may be the stem of a neuter noun **στάθος* < **sth$_2$ét^h-os*.

Though I fear Anna's severe judgement, I hope that at least some of my conclusions will please her.

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5

The Third Donkey: Origin Legends and Some Hidden Indo-European Themes

Calvert Watkins

It is a rare pleasure to be able to offer this *ἀντίδωρον* to the co-author of the splendid study 'Of Donkeys, Mules and Tarkondemos' (Hawkins and Morpurgo Davies 1998), which settled Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luvian *tarkasna-* 'donkey', *tarkasni*(*ya*)- 'mule, hinny', and the reading of the name of the king of Mira on the Tarkondemos seal and elsewhere as ^{m}Tarkasnawa. A noble beast.

In the final paragraph of the article 'Culture History and Historical Linguistics' (Watkins 1992) I argued briefly and allusively for reflexes of a common Indo-European origin legend in three early Indic, Hittite, and Greek texts relating similar mythological themes, including prodigious multiple birth and incest. This paper is an expansion of that suggestion. The texts are *RV* 10. 86. 23ab 'The daughter of Manu, Parśu by name, gave birth to twenty at once'; the Zalpa tale 'The queen of Kaneš gave birth to thirty sons in a single year'; and the fifty daughters of Danaus ('Greek') fleeing an incestuous marriage with their parallel cousins, the fifty sons of Aegyptus ('Egyptian'), the subject of Aeschylus' play *The Suppliants*.

This legend is in turn intimately linked, in the two oldest Indo-European traditions, with reflexes of the principal Indo-European kingship ritual: in Stephanie Jamison's description of the rite in Vedic India, 'the great royal ritual, the horse sacrifice (*Aśvamedha*), which is performed for an already powerful king, to extend, consolidate, and display his power' (1996: 65–88).

The Vedic *Aśvamedha* is thoroughly and insightfully described in Jamison's classic work, and it and most of the other Indo-European comparanda in Watkins (1995/2001: 265–76). The details are notorious. Briefly, in Jamison's words (1996: 65),

In royal rituals the king is Sacrificer, and his wives act as patnī, particularly his

For comments and suggestions I am as always indebted to Stephanie Jamison, H. Craig Melchert, Joseph Falaky Nagy, Hayden Pelliccia, and William H. Race.

chief queen . . . At the climax of this lengthy and elaborate ritual (the preliminaries take a year), the chief queen copulates with the just slaughtered horse . . .

As she lies there she taunts the horse about his sexual performance, and she and the lesser wives of the king engage in obscene banter with the priests, while hundreds of female attendants of the queens, their hair half unbound, circle the horse and the unfortunate lady, singing, dancing, and slapping their thighs. . . .

It is hard not to see this showcasing of extreme public sexuality, not only physically enacted but verbally encoded, as an attempt to capture sexual power in order to enhance the ritual effect and to promote fertility.

As such, the *Aśvamedha* as *the* central ritual is at once a reaffirmation of kingship and a general assurance of society's fertility, for the Indo-European ruler is an incarnation, an embodiment, of his people: Gothic *þiudans* 'king, *βασιλεύς*, he who incarnates, *is* the *þiuda* "people" '.

Perhaps the most striking and original contribution of Jamison's treatment of the *Aśvamedha* ritual is her reading and analysis of the notoriously enigmatic Vr̥ṣākapi hymn to Indra, *RV* 10. 86, as a mock-*Aśvamedha.* For the tightly reasoned demonstration I make global reference to her treatment (1996: 74–88), noting only her conclusion: 'I suggest that the Vr̥ṣākapi hymn is a verbal remnant predating the codification of the ritual, a hymn once employed ritually in the *Aśvamedha* that did not make it into the fixed liturgy of that ritual' (p. 88). That is to suggest that *RV* 10. 86 is composed of very old material indeed.

It is surely significant that the final verse of the Vr̥ṣākapi hymn is the one quoted in the second paragraph of this essay:

párśur ha nā́ma mānavī́ | sākáṃ sasūva viṃśatím
bhadrám bhala tyásyā abhūd | yásyā udáram ā́mayat
víśvasmād índra úttaraḥ

(*RV* 10. 86. 23)

Manu's wife/daughter, Parśu ('Rib') by name, gave birth to twenty at once. (Good) fortune indeed was there for her whose belly (labor-pain) vexed. Indra above all! (trans. Jamison)

The refrain 'Indra above all' fills the fifth pāda of all twenty-three strophes. As Jamison shows, verbal echoes reinforce the thematic connection of verse 23 with the rest of the hymn; this final verse functions as a blessing formula—doubtless traditional—'expressing the happy result to be expected from recitation of the hymn or reference to its story' (1996: 87). These verbal echoes are the rare verb root √*am* 'vex' here and in verse 8, and the striking match of the last line of the Vr̥ṣākapi hymn 23b *sākáṃ sasūva viṃśatím* 'gave birth to twenty at once' and 14b *sākáṃ pácanti viṃśatím*

'cook twenty (oxen) at once'. The latter reinforces the more distant intertextual link with the first line of the Old Hittite Zalpa tale 30 DUMU.MEŠ 1–*EN* MU-*anti hāšta* 'gave birth to thirty sons in a single year'. The prominent positioning of the virtually identical lines, last and first respectively, is surely significant.

The names underscore the status of this verse not merely as a traditional blessing formula, but as a foundation myth or origin legend. The preternatural mother—no partner is in evidence—is Párśur Mānavī́, Parśu 'Rib', wife or daughter of Manu the first Man. While the biblical topos of Adam's rib immediately comes to mind and is surely relevant, the name Parśu was shown by K. Hoffmann (1976: 9) to have a probable Iranian cognate in the thematic vr̥ddhi derivative *pārsa-* from **pārsu̯-a-*, the name of the Persians. That is to say that we may be in the presence of a foundation myth of Common Indo-Iranian date.

A further clue is offered by verse 18:

ayám indra vr̥ṣākapíḥ | párasvantaṃ hatáṃ vidat
asíṃ sūnā́ṃ návaṃ carúm | ā́d édhasyā́na ā́citam
víśvasmād índra úttaraḥ

O Indra, this Vr̥ṣākapi found a slaughtered *párasvant* [ass?], a knife, a basket, a new pot, and a wagon piled with firewood. Indra above all!

Jamison is surely right in assuming with Oldenberg (1909–12 ad loc.) that the most important association of the *párasvant* (onager, wild ass?) is as a paragon of male sexuality, as in *AV* 6. 72 cited below. Surrounded by the accoutrements of ritual sacrifice, this 'virile victim' cannot but be identified with the *Aśvamedha* horse. He is also identified with Vr̥ṣākapi the monkey as the horse-surrogate (so Jamison), and, I would suggest, Vr̥ṣākapi is here also metonymically identified with Indra as the discoverer-observer: *vidat* 'found' = Homeric Greek *Ϝίδε* 'saw'. We shall see below other instances in other traditions of the theme of the ritual harnessing of the power of sexuality, specifically by direct observation, so eloquently argued by Jamison (1996: *passim*). Just as the king as Sacrificer is both the silent observer and the one who benefits from the *Aśvamedha*, so Indra in the role of king and Sacrificer in 10. 86. 18 is *told* that Vr̥ṣākapi in the role of horse/victim has found/seen (*vidat*) another horse/victim surrogate, the rampant *párasvant*.

We turn finally to hymn 6. 72 of the *Atharvaveda*, 'For virile power'. It has three verses; the translation is W. B. Whitney's.

yáthāsitáḥ pratháyate váśām ánu | vápūṃṣi kr̥ṇvánn ásurasya māyáyā
evā́ te śépaḥ sáhasāyám arkó | (a)ṅgenā́ṅgam sáṃsamakaṃ kr̥ṇotu ||1||

As the black snake spreads himself at pleasure, making wondrous forms, by the Asura's magic, so let this *arká* suddenly make thy member altogether correspondent, limb with limb.

The verse shows much alliteration and other repetition figures, while 'limb with limb' recalls the familiar sympathetic magic pairings of 'bone to bone' etc. of Vedic, Hittite, Irish, and Old High German (Watkins 1995/2001: 519–36).

yáthā pásas tāyādaráṃ vā́tena sthūlabháṃ kr̥tám
yā́vat párasvataḥ pásas tā́vat te vardhatāṃ pásaḥ ‖2‖

As the member of the *tā̆yādara* is made big by the wind—as great is the member of the *párasvant*, so great let thy member grow.

The *tā̆yādara* is of unknown meaning, but the *párasvant* is probably the wild ass or onager, with the Petersburg lexicon, Geldner, *pace* Mayrhofer, *EWA*. Note that it comes first in the inherited syntagma *yā́vat . . . tā́vat . . .* (Greek ἦος . . . τῆος . . .). It may have been selected for the alliteration *párasvataḥ pásas*, with the inherited cognate of Greek πέος 'penis', a derivative of the verbal root seen in Hittite *peš-* 'rub'.

yā́vad áṅgam [*Whitney*] pā́rasvatam hā́stinaṃ gā́rdhabhaṃ ca yát
yā́vad áśvasya vājínas tā́vat te vardhatāṃ pásaḥ ‖3‖

As much of a limb as is that of the *párasvant*, that of the elephant, and that of the ass—as great as of the vigorous horse, so great let thy member grow.

Again the *párasvant* comes first in the same syntagma, with the alliteration (*áśvasya*) . . . *vājínas* . . . *vardhatāṃ* closing the frame.

To be the prime exemplum of raw male sexual vigour and fertility among the equids is thus the function of the ass, whether the unmarked domestic donkey (*equus asinus*) or the marked wild ass or onager (*equus hemionus* subsp. *onager*) or its close relative the *kulan*, native to Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan. On the onager and the kulan see in detail Rau (1982),[1] and Nagel, Bollweg, and Strommenger (1999). The word *párasvant* could well be a *Wanderswort*; it recalls Akk. *parûm*, Hebr. *pere'*, Ar. *fara'*, all 'wild ass'. Herodotus 7. 86 mentions domesticated onagers drawing war chariots of the Indoi in the Persian army. The role of the ass in the Rigvedic mock-*Aśvamedha* hymn 10. 86 is thus entirely appropriate.

It should be noted finally that clear verbal echoes of this foundation myth, at the very least, found their way into yet another tradition in ancient India. Stephanie Jamison points out to me that the *Buddhacarita* of

[1] Thanks to Gregory Schopen.

Aśvaghoṣa, our earliest mahākāvya production, describes the birth of the Buddha as follows (I 9cd):

pārśvāt suto lokahitāya jajñe, nirvedanaṃ caiva nir**āmayaṃ** ca

From the **side** (of the queen) a son was born for the welfare of the world, without her suffering either pain or **birthpangs.**

The framing of the lines by the keywords in boldface surely cannot be independent of that of RV 10. 86 23ad (translated above)

párśur ha nā́ma mānavī́ | . . . | yásyā udáram **ā́mayat**

a comparison seemingly unnoticed heretofore. Hara (1980), a reference I owe to Gregory Schopen, states that the Sanskrit tradition of the Buddha's birth story 'adds a new specific element which is unknown to the Pāli materials', viz. the birth from the side of the mother, without passing through her *yoni*, and goes on to invoke the classical medical theory of *jamma-duḥkha* 'birthpang-suffering', without reference to the Rigvedic passage. It would be of interest to learn the views of Buddhologists on this matter.

We turn now to another even older Indo-European tradition of the second millennium: Old Hittite. Now our earliest Hittite text is the Proclamation of Anittas, king of Kussaras, whose floruit can be dated archaeologically and epigraphically to the time of the Assyrian merchant colony of Kārum Kaneš II (The city of Nēsas, Turkish Kültepe), *c.*1850–1750 BC. The Anittas text as we have it (Old Hittite/Old Script, edited by Neu 1974) was probably composed a century or more later. This text relates how Anittas destroyed the city of Hattusas, and made Nēsas his residence and capital city. It is from Nēsas that the later Hittites took the self-designation of their own language: ^{URU}*Nes*(*umn*)*ili*, ^{URU}*Nasili* 'in the language of (the inhabitants of) Nēsas, Luvoid form Nas-'. The city is the locus of another Old Hittite/Old Script text unearthed only in 1970, the Zalpa tale (edited by Otten 1973), which is an origin legend of the cities of Nēsas on the Halys river and Zalpa on the Black Sea, their fates intertwined: the origin of the Hittites. The mythical time of the text is older than Anittas [±1800], not to mention Hattusili I [±1650 or 1600], the 'Man of Hattusas' who revived Hattusas as the seat of the new 'Old Kingdom'. The tale is written in prose, like the Old Hittite Palace Chronicle or the fables of Aesop. If 'ancient law is hidden in the interstices of procedure' (Sir Henry Maine), ancient institutions are hidden in the thematic details of a variety of texts, and our Hittite Zalpa tale cries out for comparison with those Vedic Indian texts we have just surveyed.

The Old Hittite text can be found in Otten's exemplary edition, with the

further refinements of Eichner (1974). I give below my translation, which differs in some respects from but also follows that of Hoffner (1998). The Hittite of the first sentence has already been cited above.

The Queen of Kaneš bore thirty sons in a single year. She said, 'What a monster is this which I have borne?' She filled baskets with fat, put her sons in them, and launched them in the river. The river carried them to the sea to the land of Zalp(uw)a. But the gods took them up out of the sea and reared them.

When the years had passed the Queen again gave birth, (this time) to thirty daughters. And she herself reared them. The sons are making their way back to Kaneš, driving a donkey. When they reached the city of Tamarmara, they are saying: 'Here you have so heated up the bedroom that the donkey tries to copulate [ANŠE-*iš arkatta*].' The men of the city replied: 'As far as we have seen, a donkey tries to copulate anyway.' The boys countered: 'As far as we have seen, a woman bears [only one] son [a year], but one gave birth to us (all) at once.' The men of the city retorted: 'Once our queen of Kaneš gave birth to thirty daughters at once, but the sons have disappeared.' The boys said to themselves: 'Whom are we seeking? We have found our mother there. Come, let us go to Kaneš.' When they went to Kaneš the gods put another appearance on them so their mother does not recognize them, and she gave her own daughters to her own sons. The older sons did not recognize their own sisters. But the youngest [said:] '. . . should we take our own sisters in marriage? Do not stain yourselves [with] impiety. [It is not] right.' But they sle[pt] with them. [

At that dramatic point the Old Script tablet breaks off. But the later Neo-Hittite copy continues the narrative after a probably brief lacuna (Otten 1973: 36) with a six-line paragraph about the gods—still in mythical time—giving a blessing:

> The next morning [. . .] went to Zalpa [
> . . . and the goddess Earth, the daughter of the god ^{D}Sius, bread [
> ^{D}Sius sprinkled meal into his mouth [
> and he tasted it, and said: [
> Let it go and thrive. Zalpa('s?) [. . .

Thereafter hostilities break out between Zalpa and Hattusas (having replaced Nēsas), and we are no longer in mythical time, but in (pre)historical, 'Hittite' time. The fragmentary state of the younger version of the text renders any interpretation conjectural. Two brothers appear to be involved, the Hittite king's son Hakkarpilis and his (?) estranged son Happis: 'Happis says to the men of Zalpa, "My father does not like me. Would I have gone to Hattusas to my death?"' The conflict ends with the destruction of the city of Zalpa, and with it Happis, by the Hittite 'old king'. What began with unnatural royal multiple births and sibling incest is concluded, perhaps

even consecrated, by the sacrifice of one of two rival siblings by his royal father. The origin legend is finished.

The thematic points of contact with *Rigveda* 10. 86. 23 are too numerous and too precise to be accidental. Both traditions show a *speaking name* making explicit the *origin* or *foundation legend*: Kaneš/Nēsas on the one hand, Párśur Mānavī́ on the other. The theme of *sacrifice*, with its function of ritual consecration, is present both in the bull sacrifice depicted on the İnandık vase published by Özgüç (1988) with rich illustrations (now exhibited prominently in Ankara's Archaeological Museum) and in the Zalpa tale with the death of Happis and in *RV* 10. 86. 18 (the *sacrificed párasvant*) as well as the *Aśvamedha* or *horse sacrifice* itself. Both are foundation myths involving *royalty* (Indra as king/sacrificer), *woman* (without named partner), *prodigious multiple birth*, and a *donkey* as a symbol of *sexuality*. The theme of incest is lacking in the Vedic, but its functional role—to harness the power of forbidden sex—is occupied by bestiality, which is itself hinted at in the Hittite İnandık vase. The *sacrificed donkey* and the *sacrificed horse* are two sides of the same coin, and recall that we know nothing of the fate of the donkey in the Zalpa tale.

Our Indic foundation legend of *RV* 10. 86. 23 forms the conclusion of the mock-*Aśvamedha* ritual, the central Indo-European rite of royal consecration which is the Horse Sacrifice. In recent decades it has become increasingly clear that Hittite society as well knew comparable rituals of royal consecration. The first piece of evidence is the Old Hittite large relief vase from İnandık in Özgüç (1988). As I wrote in 1995:

> [F]rom the scenes depicted . . . [it is now known that] in a ritual in Old Hittite times . . . a couple, presumably the king and queen, apparently engaged in a public copulation, even if our texts are silent on the practice.
>
> The vase . . . presents the sequential *narration* of the ritual by four friezes of appliqué relief figures . . . [It] depicts a procession of musicians to a temple with a veiled woman on the roof . . . and the third frieze . . . concludes with a sort of zoom-focus to two figures [male and female] on an elaborate bed . . . With Özgüç I believe the female figure on the roof and the one in the bed are the same person, but I believe she is the queen and that the male and the female are not god and goddess, with Özgüç, but the royal couple. (Watkins 1995/2001: 266–7)

Finally, while there is no indication of symbolic or real bestiality in the depiction of the royal couple, the last cymbalist in the procession in the top frieze has her back turned to the final relief, in which a standing man, his face averted, grasps from behind a standing woman bent double, with her skirt raised and falling to the ground, and they copulate *more ferarum*, in the manner of beasts. As I suggested, 'the symbolism is clear'. Compare

also the commentary on the İnandık vase by Marazzi (1990), who likewise considers the principal actor to be the king, and who calls attention to the 'cinematographic' narrative technique.

More importantly, it is now known that our texts are far from silent on the practice of ritual copulation, and the protagonists are indeed the king and queen: see Melchert (2001). His paper and the hitherto unedited texts he adduces provide complete and convincing corroboration of the ceremonial copulation of the royal couple in a ritual text. I simply give Melchert's text and translation:

GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ^{SÍG}*kunzan dāi ta* GIŠ-*i ḫamanki* § *ta* GAL LÚ.MEŠ ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR-*az ganki* § GAL $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$UŠ.BAR SÍG BABBAR SÍG SA$_5$ *anda immiyazi ta išḫuzzin* ANA GAL DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL *pāi n=an=za=an=kan antaki=šši dāi* (dupl. *antakitti*!) § GAL $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$UŠ.BAR=*ašta parā* [(*p*)] *ēḫutezzi* [(^{LÚ}A)]LAN.ZU$_9$ *aḫā ḫalzāi* [(GAL)].MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL=*kan* [(GAL $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$SI)]PA *anda* [(*uwad*)]*anzi karza dāi* [(*t=ašta p*)*arā*] *pēdāi* (KUB 11. 20 i 5–21 = 11. 25 iii 2–14; OH/NS)

The chief of palace officials takes a (wool) *kunzan* and ties it onto (a piece of) wood. The chief of the table-men hangs it from a table. The chief of weavers mingles white and red wool. He gives the belt to the chief of the palace officials, and he puts it on/in his *antaka*. One escorts out the chief of the weavers. The performer cries 'aha!' The chief(s) of the palace officials escort(s) in the chief of shepherds. He takes the/a *karzan* and carries it out.

The above scene is immediately followed by that in which the action *ararkiškanzi* takes place:

§ DUMU.É.GAL GAD-*an dāi t=ašta pēdai* § DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A BABBAR ^{GIŠ}*zaḫurtin* BABBAR=*y*[*a*] *danzi t=ašta pēdanzi* § *kuitman=ma* LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *ararkiškanzi* $^{\text{GIŠ.D}}$INANNA.ḪI.A GAL=*ma* SÌR^{RU} $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$*palwatallēš palwiškanz*[*i*] § *mān zinnanzi* $^{\text{GIŠ.D}}$INANNA.ḪI.A *karuššiyanuanzi n=aš* EGIR-*pa pēdi=šši=pat tiyanz*[*i*] § *n=ašta* $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$NAR $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$ALAN.ZU$_9$ $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$*palwatallēš* DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$*MEŠEDI parā pānzi* [LU]GAL=*ma* É.ŠÀ-*na paizzi* § [*traces of one more line, then break*] (KUB 11. 25 iii. 15–30)

A palace official takes the cloth and carries it out. The palace officials take the white throne and the white *z.* and carry them out. While the king and queen *ararkiškanzi*, they play the large lyres. The clappers clap. When they are finished, they silence the lyres and put them back in their appointed place. The singers, performers, clappers, palace officials, and bodyguard go out, but the king goes into the inner chamber.

KUB 11. 25 is a Neo-Hittite copy of an Old Hittite composition (connective *ta passim*). Many of the performers and their instruments it mentions are

also depicted on the İnandık vase: $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$ALAN.ZU$_9$, GIŠ ^{D}INANNA.ḪI.A. But most striking is the verb *ararkiškanzi* 'are copulating', philologically and etymologically discussed at length by Melchert: a form with intensive reduplication of the root *ark-* (Indo-European **$h_1$erĝh-*), the same verb whose subject was the donkey in the Zalpa tale, ANŠE-*iš arkatta*. It is the verb 'to mount' of animal breeding, but also of climbing up a rope (of a man), or up a tree (of a bear); we might speculate that it was also the Hittite verb for the activity of the couple in the final relief image on the İnandık vase.

One final Hittite ritual episode may be mentioned. It is found towards the end of the lengthy public KI.LAM festival, as edited by I. Singer (1983, 1984). The text may be found in (1984: 63–5); I cite Singer's synopsis of (1983: 78–9), which follows the text closely:

> After leaving the 'tent', the king [still holding the ^{GIŠ}*kalmuš-* (a symbol of authority)] views a ritual bath.
>
> 'Near the hearth, in a basin of *marnuwan* there are two naked *comedians* [$^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$ALAN.ZU$_9$]. They are squatting inside the basin. ‖ The 'mother of god' priestess of ^{D}Titiutti and the overseer of the harlots run three times around/to the basin of *marnuwan*. ‖ The overseer of the harlots holds a wooden dagger. In front of her walks the SANGA-priest(ess) of ^{D}Titiutti. The SANGA-priest(ess) holds a scepter and in the front *šiparteš* are tied to her/it. ‖ She pours *marnuwan* on the back of the *comedians* three times. ‖ The *comedians* emerge from the basin and blow the horn three times. Thereafter they leave.
>
> The king enters the *ḫuwaši-* of the Storm-god . . .

While this is but a single episode in the lengthy KI.LAM ritual, the actions of the participants, all female, with their covert sexual symbolism (the wooden dagger, the pouring of *marnuwan* onto the backs of the squatting naked men) bear a striking similarity to the Vedic *Aśvamedha* with its lesser wives and female attendants dancing around the queen and slaughtered horse, as does the role of the king as spectator in both the Indic and the Hittite ritual episodes. We have seen the $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$ALAN.ZU$_9$ in KUB 11. 25, and depicted on the İnandık vase.

We pass now to the third tradition, that of Greek. The legend of the Danaids forms an intimate part of the origin myths of the Dorians and the royal house of Argos. From the union of Io and Zeus is born Epaphus, and five generations later his great-grandsons, the brothers Aegyptus ('Egyptian') and Danaus ('Greek'). Aegyptus has fifty sons, Danaus fifty daughters. As children of two brothers they are thus parallel cousins, and in a classificatory kinship system equivalent to brothers and sisters. The sons demand

the daughters in marriage; Danaus and his daughters flee to Argos, with the Aegyptiads in hot pursuit. Initially granted asylum, the fifty daughters are given by their father in marriage to their fifty parallel cousins. But on their wedding night, on their father's orders, each of the daughters slays her husband. One alone, Hypermestra, disobeys, and for love spares her husband, Lynceus, who becomes king of Argos. From them are descended the royal house of Argos, and the people are henceforth known after her father as *Danaoi*.

Aeschylus' drama *The Suppliants*, doubtless the first of a lost tetralogy, begins with the landing in Argos of Danaus and his fifty daughters, fleeing their suitors, the fifty sons of Aegyptus. They are desperately seeking asylum, and desperately hostile to the marriage, to the point of threatening suicide. Aeschylus in *The Suppliants* gives no reason for the Danaids' behaviour. But that the dramatic conflict and the motive for the Danaids' repugnance were precisely abhorrence of an endogamous marriage perceived as incest was clear to the author of *Prometheus Bound*, from the same century. Prometheus in lines 855–6 predicts her destiny to Io: after five generations fifty maidens will come to Argos, fleeing a marriage with cousins of their own kin (857), *φεύγουσα συγγενῆ γάμον ἀνεψιῶν*. And, he continues, the suitors as hawks harrying doves—an image already found in *The Suppliants* (224–5)—will come, hunters in pursuit of forbidden unions, *θηρεύοντες οὐ θηρασίμους γάμους*.

As origin legend the similarity of the Hittite marriage of uterine brothers and sisters and the Greek endogamic marriage of parallel cousins (of which one couple survives to found a new royal house) is evident, as its motivation. A. B. Cook, writing in 1940, had stated simply that 'the wholesale endogamic marriage of the Danaides with the Aigyptiadai was regarded as a most potent fertility-charm' (Cook 1914–40: iii/1. 368).

It was no less a scholar than Émile Benveniste in 1949 with 'La légende des Danaïdes' who first argued forcefully and, I may say, scientifically that the central issue of *The Suppliants*, *whether or not Aeschylus was aware of or could articulate it*, was the conflict of exogamy (including the widespread cross-cousin marriage) and endogamy (including parallel-cousin marriage equivalent to brother–sister marriage), which the Greeks were vaguely aware of in Egyptian royal practice. Recall that 1949 was the year of publication of Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté*.

It is a pity that later commentators like A. W. Garvie chose not to appreciate Benveniste's argument in its rigour, and to prefer as 'more developed' the presentation of the same exogamy/endogamy conflict, but with precisely the opposite conclusion ('the sons of Aegyptus . . . represent the normal views

of Athenian society', Garvie 1969: 217), as argued by George Thomson in a number of publications since 1938 (Garvie 217 n. 2). Garvie rejects Thomson while falsely trivializing (without identifying it) the real contribution of Benveniste: 'the argument of Thomson, though in general unacceptable, is valuable in that it dispels the illusion that the Danaids are mere representatives of a Hellenic culture against a barbaric one; for they reject a marriage that is in itself perfectly legitimate and conventional' (223). That is to ignore the diachrony of kinship structures. While fifth-century Athenian society may not have distinguished legally between cross- and parallel cousins, it is beyond question that Indo-European society did. Many later traditions preserved relics of such a system into historical times (compare the range of meanings of Old Irish *bráthir* [**bhrāter-*] and *nïo*, *nïe* [**nepot-*]), and it is legitimate to look in Classical Greek authors like Aeschylus for traces of such hidden Indo-European themes, and to recognize them for what they are.

Friis Johansen and Whittle (1980) make no mention of Benveniste's article, which does not appear in their bibliography. They discuss but ultimately reject their mentor George Thomson's views on the exogamy/endogamy question, and end on the curious suggestion that *The Suppliants* deals with the problem of the arranged marriage. Aeschylus might have hoped for more.

Benveniste begins his demonstration with the *Prometheus* passages cited above, then comparing the opening words of the chorus of Danaids in *The Suppliants*: note especially *PV* 857 *φεύγουσα συγγενῆ γάμον ἀνεψιῶν* 'fleeing a marriage with cousins of our own kin' beside *Supp.* 8–10

αὐτογενῆ φυξανορίαν
γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῆ τ'
ὀνοταζόμεναι.

in flight from men of their own kin, and abhorring an unholy marriage with the sons of Aegyptus.

For alternative views see Friis Johansen and Whittle ad loc. I follow Benveniste on *αὐτογενής*, also well argued for later by Thomson (1971).

The Danaids conclude the opening anapaestic section with lines 37–9:

(ὄλοιντο) πρίν ποτε λέκτρων ὧν θέμις εἴργει,
σφετεριξάμενοι πατραδέλφειαν
τήνδ' ἀεκόντων ἐπιβῆναι.

(May they perish) before they can mount unwilling beds from which divine right forbids them, having unlawfully appropriated these daughters of their father's brother.

The word πατραδέλφεια (or πατραδελφεία) is a hapax; *pace* Friis Johansen and Whittle, it can scarcely mean anything else, and is to be so translated literally with Benveniste (1949: 135 n. 2). Aeschylus is sensitive to such formations, witness his unique use of ματροκασιγνῆται at *Eum.* 962 as 'sisters of our mother [Night]', like Hittite *annaneges*, discussed in Watkins (1995).

The focus of this three-line clause is rhetorically underlined as well. For the πρίν clause is what I have termed an ὀμφαλός figure in word order, and the centre or ὀμφαλός is here precisely the legal verb form and kinship term σφετεριξάμενοι πατραδέλφειαν τήνδ' 'wrongfully seizing us, the daughters of their father's brother'. On σφετεριξάμενοι see Friis Johansen and Whittle; on the ὀμφαλός figure see Watkins (2002). In our Aeschylean example the structure of the figure is

(${}_1$πρίν . . . (${}_2$λέκτρων . . . (${}_3$σφετεριξάμενοι πατραδέλφειαν${}_3$) . . . ἀεκόντων${}_2$) ἐπιβῆναι${}_1$)

and the word order is indexical to the focus. When an Aeschylus does that one should pay attention.

Benveniste concludes the legend of the Danaids with a succinct account of Hypermestra's sparing Lynceus and its consequences. 'Grâce à l'intervention d'Aphrodite qui fait acquitter la "trahison" d'Hypermestra, l'exigence exogamique fléchit à l'avantage du mythe royal' (1949: 137). He adds one more inherited Indo-European theme to the legend of the Danaids: a *vīryaśulka svayaṃvara* 'self-choice with manly deed as bride-price', to give it its Indian name, the foot race devised by Danaus to marry his forty-eight remaining daughters, which is reported in Pindar, *Pyth.* 9. 111–16. For more on the *svayaṃvara* in Greece see Jamison (1999).

Let us pause and take stock. We saw earlier that both Indic and Anatolian traditions shared the features of a *speaking name* (1), indexing an *origin/foundation legend* (2), the themes of *royalty* (3), *woman* (4), and *prodigious multiple birth* (5), of *forbidden sexual union* (6) either *incestuous* or *bestial* (7), and the *sacrifice* (8) of a large male quadruped, either *horse* or *donkey* (9) in an overt context of intense *sexuality* (10). In the legend of the Danaids as presented in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* we find the first seven of these features as themes: the speaking names *Danaos* 'Greek', *Aiguptos* 'Egyptian' (1), foundation legend (2) of the royal house of Argos (3), woman (4) and prodigious multiple birth (5) of the fifty daughters fleeing the suit of the fifty sons, a forbidden sexual union (6) equivalent to incest (7) in an exogamous society. What is missing in this otherwise well-formed traditional Indo-European origin legend are precisely features (8),

(9), and (10); Greek tradition and Greek religion, as is well known, show no evidence for an *Aśvamedha* ritual.

In an important paper (2002) Hayden Pelliccia introduces the notion of the 'detachable formula'. The property of 'detachability' in Pelliccia's sense is a characteristic of formulas and other 'ready-made surface structures' (Kiparsky 1976) like proverbs. But if there are 'detachable formulas' so are there 'detachable themes', which may be deleted from one context and inserted in another. The process is perfectly familiar in folklore. To take a case in point, the themes (3), (4), and (5) of our origin legend recur precisely in the tale of a thirteenth-century Dutch countess, a noble (3) woman (4), as a result of a curse giving birth to 365 children at one delivery (5). Samuel Pepys visited the church in the village of Loosduinen just south of The Hague where the children were baptized, and duly recorded the story in his diary on 19 May 1660. Perhaps themes (8) sacrifice, (9) donkey, and (10) sexuality were 'detached' from one context in our origin legend too, and inserted in another. As it turns out we have not far to look.

In the first place, as succinctly expressed by H. Hoffmann (1983: 61), 'Athenian potters and painters considered sexual arousal as "symptomatic" for donkeys—a conclusion hardly surprising in view of the size and persistence of the animal's erection, which must have struck ancient beholders as a quasi-divine phenomenon'.[2] For Hoffmann donkeys are 'ideationally correlated' with satyrs, most evidently on the mid-sixth-century François Vase (*ABV* 76. 1), and he gives a spirited and penetrating analysis with illustrations of donkey sexual symbolism, our themes (9) and (10), in ancient Greek art and literature. For theme (8), sacrifice, we must turn to Pindar.

Pindar's *Nemean* 10 begins with an invocation to the Graces to sing a hymn to Argos, the city of Danaus and his fifty splendid-throned daughters: 1–2 Δαναοῦ πόλιν ἀγλαοθρόνων τε πεντήκοντα κορᾶν . . . | Ἄργος . . . ὑμνεῖτε. Hera's city has countless claims to fame, and Pindar begins his enumeration (line 4) with Perseus and the Gorgon Medusa, continues through the Argive heroes, adding that the city excelled in lovely-haired women (10), Zeus proving the claim in coming to Alkmene and Danae. We are not far from Danaus; Danae of Argos bears the same speaking name ('Greek woman'), theme (1) above, and she is the mother of the Gorgon-slayer Perseus, whose exploit is yet another Indo-European theme (Watkins 1995/2001: *passim*). Cf. also *Pythian* 12. 16–17 κρᾶτα συλάσαις Μεδοίσας | υἱὸς Δανάας '(Perseus) the son of Danae, after taking the head of Medusa'.

Now the fullest account in Pindar of Perseus' dragon-slaying exploit is in his earliest-preserved ode, *Pythian* 10. 44–8 (498 BC), with its virtual

[2] See also Hedreen (1992); I am indebted to Sarah Morris for these references.

Indo-European formula *ἔπεφνέν τε Γοργόνα* 'he slew the Gorgon', and the inherited verb and word order of Vedic *áhann áhim.* But far more important to *Pythian* 10 is the story of where Perseus went before slaying Medusa. As W. H. Race states (1997: 356), 'The central narrative, framed in ring composition, tells of Perseus' journey to the Hyperboreans.' As usual we must pay attention to *what* is framed by ring composition, and look at what is going on among the Hyperboreans. For it is precisely our 'detached theme': the *sacrifice* (theme 8) of *donkeys* (theme 9) in an overt context of intense *sexuality* (theme 10).

The sacrifice of donkeys was in fact very rare in Greek cultic practice. H. Hoffmann, to whose study we owe so much, including the latter point, had stated that no less a scholar than 'Walter Burkert put me on to the paradoxical donkey sacrifice in Pindar's "Hyperborean digression" and thereby gave me the impetus for this paper' (1983: 71 n. 57). *Pythian* 10. 31–6 follows:[3]

παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδαίσατο λαγέτας,
δώματ' ἐσελθών,
κλειτὰς ὄνων ἑκατόμβας ἐπιτόσσαις θεῷ
ῥέζοντας· ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον
εὐφαμίαις τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων
χαίρει, γελᾷ θ' ὁρῶν ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων.

With them Perseus, the leader of people, once feasted,
upon entering their halls,
when he came upon them sacrificing glorious hecatombs
of asses to the god. In their banquets
and praises Apollo ever finds greatest delight
and laughs to see the beasts' rampant insolence
(trans. W. H. Race)

The wording of the passage is traditional, from the 'Mycenaean' title *λαγέτας* to the rare verb *ἐπιτόσσαις*, confined to Pindar. Note also that Apollo is a *spectator* of the sexual show (*ὁρῶν*), like the Indian king in the *Aśvamedha* and the Hittite king in the KI.LAM ritual episode. Whether there is a connection between the names Perseus and Parśus or Pārsa, and what it might be, I do not want to speculate—though I have my suspicions. But I do submit that with this 'detachable theme' of the sacrifice of sexually aroused donkeys—the third donkey in the Indo-European traditions—the foundation myth of the house of Argos, the origin legend of the Dorians is complete. It is the same origin legend as those of the Indians and the Hittites, and a remarkable instance of what I have called 'genetic intertextuality'.

[3] For *ὀρθίαν* in line 36 I substitute 'rampant' (or 'erect') with LSJ for Race's 'braying'.

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PART TWO

GREEK

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6

Spoken Language and Written Text: The Case of ἀλλοειδέα (Hom. *Od.* 13. 194)

A. C. Cassio

Brought back home by the Phaeacians, Odysseus wakes up in his native Ithaca but is unable to recognize it because of the mist Athena has poured around him: the features of the surrounding landscape look strangely unfamiliar to him:

> *τοὔνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἀλλοειδέα φαινέσκετο πάντα ἄνακτι,*
> *ἀτραπιτοί τε διηνεκέες λιμένες τε πάνορμοι*
> *πέτραι τ᾽ ἠλίβατοι καὶ δένδρεα τηλεθάοντα.*
> (Hom. *Od.* 13. 194–6)

Therefore all things seemed strange to their lord, the long paths, the bays offering safe anchorage, the sheer cliffs, and the luxuriant trees. (trans. Murray 1960: 17)

Line 194 has posed many problems to Homeric scholars, mainly for metrical reasons connected with *ἀλλοειδέα*. The adjective *ἀλλοειδής* (hapax in Homer and apparently never found in subsequent Greek epic texts) means 'of different form' (LSJ) and belongs to a series of *bahuvrīhi*s of which the most widespread in Homer is *θεοειδής* (originally *θεοϜειδής*), 'das Aussehen eines Gottes habend' (Risch 1974: 186); other compounds of the same kind found in Homer are *ἠεροειδής*, literally 'having the appearance of mist', *ἰοειδής* 'looking like a violet in colour', and *μυλοειδής* 'looking like a millstone'. Adjectives meaning 'having the appearance of *x*' were likely to enjoy a good deal of success not only among poets, but also among philosophers and scientists: as a consequence more than 450 compounds in *-ειδής* are attested, mainly in prose texts (e.g. *ἀνθρωποειδής* Hdt. 2. 86 etc.; *σφαιροειδής* Hipp. *Aer.* 14., Plato, *Tim.* 33 B etc.; *θυμοειδής* Hipp. *Aer.* 12, Plato, *Rep.* 440 E etc.).[1]

I am very grateful to O. Tribulato, F. Pontani, and C. Ciancaglini for suggestions and corrections.

[1] A number of them passed into Latin (*calathoīdes*, *cylindroīdes*, *selinoīdes*, etc.) and from

There is no doubt that ἀλλοειδέα was the only reading known to antiquity. There are no significant variants in the manuscript tradition (apart from isolated misspellings and conjectures: see p. 87 below), and it is quoted as such by the lexicon of Apollonius Sophista (23. 23 Bekker: ἀλλοειδέα· ἀλλοφανῆ· τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἀλλοειδέα φαινέσκετο) and by Eustathius (*In Od.* 1738. 49 Majoranus–Debares ἀλλοειδέα δὲ ὧν τὸ εἶδος ἠλλοίωται). Its meaning fits the context perfectly ('everything appeared to Odysseus with a different shape [from what he expected]') and has never been doubted from a semantic point of view.

The problem is that to make the line scan one must regard both -οει- and -εα- as pronounced with synizesis. The synizesis of -ε͜α- < -*eha* presents no insurmountable problem: it is very well attested,[2] and is obviously a sign of lateness (at the early stages of epic diction -εα- < -*eha* was invariably disyllabic). The real trouble is the synizesis of -οει-: ἀλλοειδής is the only instance in Homer where -οει- < -oϜει- in a nominal compound (such as e.g. θεοειδής, ἠεροειδής, μενοεικής, θεοείκελος) must be scanned as a single syllable. It is perfectly true that 'Homeric verse shows, in comparison with later Greek poetry, some remarkable freedoms in the accommodation of words to the meter' (West 1997: 226), but these freedoms belong to certain well-known categories (West 1997: 226–32). On the contrary, ἀλλοειδής is a hapax exhibiting a prosodic treatment which is in its turn hapax in Homer.

Traditionally, two different solutions have been put forward:

(1) The synizesis of -οει- is surprising but possible, and as a consequence the line is metrically acceptable as it stands.
(2) The synizesis of -οει- is unacceptable: Homer cannot have sung that line as it is in the manuscripts, and the text must be emended somehow.

Although solutions (1) and (2) are radically different, they are based on the assumption that Homer could not have sung an unmetrical line. However, Janko (1998) has offered a totally new approach to the problem. In his opinion, the assumption of an original oral dictated text will explain a number of incongruities found in the Homeric poems. For example, 'Homer never went back to erase the tell-tale duals' of *Iliad* 9; 'without a faithful dictated text, I cannot explain the duals' (Janko 1998: 8). In addition, formally imperfect lines can, in Janko's opinion, be explained if we admit

Latin into many western modern languages, where a segmentation (*x*)-*oīdes* became the rule (cf. Eng. *humanoid*, It. *umanoide*, etc.).

[2] See e.g. *Od.* 4. 757 δώματά θ' ὑψερεφέα καὶ ἀπόπροθι πίονας ἀγρούς; 21. 277 Εὐρύμαχον δὲ μάλιστα καὶ Ἀντίνοον θεοειδέα; and Chantraine (1958: 56).

an oral dictated text. 'We can be certain that Homer did not use writing to improve his texts. A poet using writing or an editor altering his work would have done something about such incurably unmetrical verses as *τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἀλλοειδέα φαινέσκετο πάντα ἄνακτι*' (Janko 1998: 7).

Apparently Janko, who does not mention any previous discussion of this line, believes that it was unmetrical from the start: it was dictated as such, put down in writing as such, and never altered in the manuscript tradition in spite of its shortcomings. This completely reverses the traditional approach to the problem.

Janko's thesis is quite new and looks fascinating at first sight, but it would really carry conviction only if it were possible to demonstrate beyond doubt that *Od.* 13. 194 is absolutely 'incurable' from a metrical point of view. But to my mind this is far from being the case. My opinion is that the line was perfectly metrical when it was composed, the only trouble being that *ἀλλοειδέα* was written slightly differently from how it was pronounced. The right solution had already been arrived at in the nineteenth century (see below, pp. 88 ff.) but was completely neglected thereafter.

In the past some have tried to salvage Homer's reputation as a verse-maker by drastically 'shortening' *φαινέσκετο*, which is clearly the paradosis. The reading *φαίνετο* is already found in some medieval manuscripts[3] and clearly represents a late antique or medieval attempt at solving the metrical problem: but the resulting line (*τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἀλλοειδέα φαίνετο πάντα ἄνακτι*) runs counter to one of the basic metrical rules of the hexameter, which cannot be divided into two exact halves.[4] At the beginning of the nineteenth century Richard Porson and Richard Payne Knight put forward (independently, as it would seem) *ἀλλοϝειδέ' ἐφαίνετο*.[5] In the form *ἀλλοειδέ' ἐφαίνετο* this emendation was accepted by Stanford (1965: 7), and still in Hoekstra's opinion (1989: 176) is 'the least unsatisfactory correction of the MS-tradition'.

Yet to my mind its shortcomings are evident. Firstly, this emendation solves one metrical problem by creating a new one, since we must admit an

3 See the apparatus ad loc. in Allen (1919), and van Thiel (1991: xix).

4 Korzeniewski (1968: 34). The same fault blights Buttmann's conjecture (1825: ii. 270) *ἀλλοϝϝειδέα φαίνετο* (wrongly attributed to R. Porson in van Thiel's apparatus, 1991: 180).

5 Porson (Grenville, Porson, and Cleaver 1801: ii. 48) '. . . quod per digammon ita defendi possit, ut legas *τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἀλλοϝειδέ' ἐφαίνετο*'; Payne Knight (1820: 420) prints *τοονεκ' αρ' αλλοϝειδε' εφαινετο παντα ανακτι* (no breathings or accents). Ludwich says in his apparatus (1891: 12): '*ἀλλοειδέα* [i.e. *ΑΛΛΟϜΕΙΔΕΑ*] *φαίνετο* praeeunte Porsono probat Buttmann Lex. 55 p. 270', but Porson would never have made a metrical blunder of this sort.

unheard-of ἀλλōϝειδέ(α).[6] Secondly, φαίνεσκετο (which was already known to Apollonius Sophista, quoted above) can by no means be explained as a scribal error for ἐφαίνετο: if we posit ἐφαίνετο as the original (spoken and/or written) text, someone in classical or, at the latest, Hellenistic times must have deliberately turned it into φαινέσκετο, with the brilliant result of definitively shattering the metre—surely a very implausible scenario. Moreover, φαινέσκετο (incidentally, a hapax again) belongs to the well-known category of the 'iterative-intensives' in -σκον (Zerdin 2002) and seems particularly suitable for the situation, as many scholars from Muetzell (1833: 39) on have remarked.[7]

If one accepts φαινέσκετο—as one should, in my opinion—then one is still confronted with the problem of the synizesis of -οει- in ἀλλοειδέα. Only very few scholars have explicitly defended it, implying that ἀλλοειδέα was recited exactly as such from the start;[8] the majority of Homerists have adopted a sceptical posture (see Chantraine 1958: 56 'ἀλλοειδέα en ν 194 est particulièrement suspect à cause de la synizèse de οει') and have proposed emendations. In the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth some editors printed such conjectures in their text, but we must bear in mind that by doing so they edited a 'reconstructed' Homer. However unhappy we may feel with ἀλλοειδέα, we can be certain that at some point (we do not know exactly when, but in all likelihood before the Alexandrian age) this form established itself in the Homeric written text, thus becoming the only reading known to antiquity (see above), and I would imagine that in late recitations of Homer based on the written text -οει- was slurred together to make one long syllable.[9]

However, reasonable emendations to the Homeric text can be useful to us even if we do not accept the idea of a 'reconstructive' edition of Homer; in any case they oblige us to reflect on the possible modifications undergone by that text at a spoken or written level during its long history

[6] Apparently at the beginning of the 19th cent. some scholars thought that a geminate digamma could be restored more or less ad lib.; see Buttmann's (1825: ii. 270) ἀλλοϝϝειδέα. Stanford (1965: 206) tells us that 'the lengthening of the ο is strange, but not impossible *metri gratia* and in view of the original *Digamma* in -ϝειδέα'. I am afraid it *is* impossible.

[7] 'Forma enim quae dicitur iterativa tantum abest, ut aliena sit ab loci natura, ut nullam aptius excogitari posse existimaverim. Quippe curiose Ulixes circumspectabat regionem, in qua ab Phaeacibus expositum se esse videret.' See also Ameis and Hentze (1910: 13) 'φαινέσκετο erschien immer wieder, indem er sich nach allen Seiten umsah'. See also Krehmer (1973: 13 ff.) with further bibliography.

[8] See Muetzell (1833: 39); Lobeck (1862: 134–5).

[9] But clearly some perceived it as unmetrical and resorted to replacing φαινέσκετο with φαίνετο, as we have seen.

from, say, the seventh to the third century BC. In other words, they can be useful not because they tell us what featured in a Homeric text, say, in the third century BC, but inasmuch as they make us suspect that something slightly different from the transmitted text had been recited (and possibly also written) many centuries before.

The emendation that has proved most successful in the latter part of the nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth has undoubtedly been ἀλλοϝιδέα or its Ionic outcome ἀλλοϊδέα, usually interpreted, with Ameis and Hentze (1910: 13), 'anders von Aussehn, fremdartig, gebildet aus dem digammierten ἰδεῖν, wie ἀϊδής Hes. ἀσπ. 477, ἀϊδνός θεογ. 860'. This emendation seems to have first been put forward by Fr. H. Bothe,[10] although Doederlein and Bekker later presented it as if it were their own.[11] Some years later La Roche (1868: 10) printed the conjecture ἀλλοϊδέα, which he found in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Vindobonensis phil. gr. 5) and which he scanned as – ⏑ ⏑ – (Ebeling 1885: 82), but obviously the author of that conjecture did not conceive of it as the outcome of ἀλλοϝιδέα.[12] Both this form and ἀλλοϊδέα often met with the approval of Homeric scholars in the nineteenth century.[13]

I personally find ἀλλοϊδέα φαινέσκετο certainly preferable to Porson's and Payne Knight's ἀλλοϝειδέ' ἐφαίνετο, and if nothing better could be found, it should be accepted. Yet it seems distinctly clumsy to me: ἀλλοϊδέα φαινέσκετο would literally mean 'everything appeared as seen in a different way', with a strange duplication of the concept 'been seen', present both in -ιδής and in φαίνομαι. The meaning of the transmitted ἀλλοειδέα

[10] According to Capelle (1889: 38), apparently in Bothe's edition of the *Odyssey* (Leipzig, 1834–5) (*non vidi*).

[11] Doederlein (1853: 7, §411) 'Warum will man nicht lieber ἀλλοϝιδέα lesen, wie nach §406 [p. 4] ἀιδής neben ἀειδής bestand?' The reference is to ἀϊδής, found at [Hes.] *Scut.* 477. Bekker (1858: 168) prints a 'conservative' ἀλλοειδέα but later comments (p. 392) 'ἀλλοιδέα, nescio an recte, si scribas ἀλλοϝιδέα'. He possibly interpreted ἀλλοιδέα as the contracted form of ἀλλοειδέα, as in δηλοῖ < δηλόει; see below, n. 24.

[12] The author of the conjecture, possibly Demetrios Trivolis, the scribe of that manuscript (Gamillscheg, Harlfinger, and Hunger, 1981: no. 103), certainly wanted to emend ἀλλοειδέα by introducing a 'shorter' form more compatible with the metre, but I am far from certain that by writing -οϊ- he wanted to signal that he conceived of it as disyllabic. Philipp (1955) followed Ludwich (1991: 12, apparatus), who stated 'ἀλλοϊδέα anon. ap. Studemund An. var. I 214, 15', but in fact in that text ('Anonymus Ambrosianus de re metrica', Studemund 1886: 211–47) ἀλλοϊδέα is the editor's correction for the transmitted ἄλω ἰδέα.

[13] See e.g. Autenrieth and Kaegi (1902: 23) 'ἀλλοειδής . . . oder richtiger ἀλλο-ιδής'; Fraenkel (1910: 110; 109 n. 3); Philipp (1955) 'mediopassives Verbaladj. wie ἀϊδής (Hs. *scut.* 477) nicht zu εἶδος, sondern zu ἰδεῖν'; LSJ 69 'perh. ἀλλοϝιδέα'. ἀλλοϊδέα was printed in Dindorf and Hentze (1930: 7). Risch (1974: 84) prints 'ἀλλο-ιδής (-οιδής?)' without further comment.

φαινέσκετο is infinitely more natural: 'everything appeared as having a different form'.[14] Not surprisingly, in Classical Greek compounds in -*ειδής* are often found in connection with *φαίνομαι*: suffice it to quote Hipp. *Cap. vuln.* 12 αἱ ῥαφαὶ ῥωγμοειδέες φαινόμεναι; Arist. *Prob.* 912ᵃ14 μηνοειδὴς δὲ φαίνεται, ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος μεταβῇ; *Col.* 792ᵃ20–1 φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ἡ θάλαττα πορφυροειδής. For this reason, as I remarked above, no one has ever contested ἀλλοειδέα φαινέσκετο from a semantic point of view: it is exactly what is required by the context and by Greek usage.

To my mind the right solution is different from ἀλλοϊδέα, and had already been perceived by Dindorf (1856: 207) and Lobeck (1862: 135). The latter accepted the synizesis, as we have seen, but at the same time made a remark that is worth quoting *in extenso* (though the reader must be warned that he wrongly regarded θεουδής as a 'crasis' of θεοειδής):[15]

ο et ει syllabatim audiuntur in adiectivis cum εἶδος connexis, κυνοειδής etc. Horum autem duo metro contraria Homerus singulari artificio concinnavit, unum synecphonesi, ἀλλοειδής, alterum crasi non minus insolita, θεουδής . . . Idem consequi poterat omittenda vocali, quae diphthongum anteit, connexiva: ἀλλειδής et θεειδής ut ἑτερειδής . . . At vero hac via ille non utitur, sed vocalem plene exprimit: θεοειδής ἰοειδής ἠεροειδής. Et haec apud posteriores praevalet ratio.

In other words, Lobeck remarked that Homer might well have used ἀλλειδής, i.e. a form in which -ο- was deleted before -ει-, but preferred to 'express the vowel in full', as was clearly the rule in later Greek. Lobeck accepted the synizesis (which he called synecphonesis) of ἀλλοειδής, but was at the same time aware that a form like *ἀλλειδής was linguistically perfectly possible and would have suited the metre better than the one found in the manuscripts. In fact, in his edition of the *Odyssey* Dindorf (1856: 207) had already printed ἀλλειδέα, although Lobeck did not quote him.[16]

There are in my opinion interesting indications that the poet of the *Odyssey*, or at any rate the latest singer whose verses were registered in writing,

[14] Between a compound in -ειδής and one in -ιδής there is not just a difference in Ablaut (as Doederlein 1853: 4 and Fraenkel 1910: 110 seem to imply): ἀϊδής means 'unseen', ἀειδής means 'formless' (LSJ s. vv.). By the same token ἀλλοειδής means 'having a different form', and ἀλλοϊδής should mean 'seen in a different way'.

[15] As some ancient grammarians did: see Lobeck (1862: 135). But, as Buttmann (1825: ii. 270) rightly remarked, 'Die zusammenziehung könnte . . . nur θεοιδής lauten.' As is well known, θεουδής means 'fearing God' and derives from **theodu̯ei̯ēs*: see Bechtel (1914: 164) (first explained by Buttmann 1825: i. 169–73; ignored by Lobeck).

[16] Ameis and Hentze (1877: 17) reject Dindorf's ἀλλειδέα virtually without argument (they regard it as 'kühn').

actually pronounced the word [allei̯de͜a]. It is important to recall that lines 194–5,

> *τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἀλλοειδέα φαινέσκετο πάντα ἄνακτι,*
> *ἀτραπιτοί τε διηνεκέες λιμένες τε πάνορμοι,*

show some distinctly late features, only the adoneus *πάντα ἄνακτι* being prosodically 'traditional'.[17] -*εα* with synizesis is recent, as we have seen, and such forms as *φαινέσκετο* (which is itself hapax) are commonly regarded as 'peculiar to Ionic' (Zerdin 2002: 109).[18] Moreover, the traditional epic forms were evidently *ἀταρπός* or *ἀταρπιτός*, both attested in Homer more than once (*Il.* 17. 743; 18. 565; etc.); *ἀτραπιτός* is attested only here in Homer and, as it happens, *ἀτραπός* is the form later current in Ionic and Attic.[19] *Πάνορμος* is hapax in Homer and is found elsewhere only as a place name.[20] Interestingly enough, according to some scholars an interpolator may have been responsible for this passage (Krehmer 1973: 16).

The adjective transmitted in writing as *ἀλλοειδέα* was not only a newcomer to an epic text, but was probably created precisely for that very context, and at a time when the second member of the compound no longer sounded [-u̯ei̯d-] but [-ei̯d-]. When the final vowel of the F(irst) M(ember) of a compound came into contact with the initial vowel of the S(econd) M(ember) after the loss of a [u̯], various options were possible, also depending on whether the compound was old or a newly created one. Uncontracted forms can be found not only in poetic texts, where the outcome of the old compounds was protected by metre, but occasionally also in prose texts, where, however, poetic reminiscences or artificial manipulations are either probable or certain (see e. g. *ἀγαθοεργοί* Hdt. 1. 67 or *κακοεργία* 'bad workmanship' used by Plato, *Rep.* 422 A to differentiate it from *κακουργία*). As a matter of fact, contractions or elisions must have been the most widespread options in spoken Greek, and they often appear at a written level: one might recall such contractions as *ἄκων* from *ἀϝέκων*, *χειρῶναξ* from **χειρόϝαναξ*, *χρυσουργός* from **χρυσοϝοργός*.[21] Elisions are also common (Kühner and Blass 1890–2: ii. 335): to epic *ἑπτάετες* (*Od.* 7. 259) corresponds *ἑπτέτης*

[17] See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1. 390 *δῶρα ἄνακτι*; *Od.* 20. 111 *σῆμα ἄνακτι*, in the same metrical slot.

[18] Note also that *τοὔνεκ(α)* is an example of 'crase impossible à éliminer' (Chantraine 1958: 85), and must be recent although it is frequently encountered in Homer.

[19] Herodotus has only *ἀτραπός* (7. 175 etc.), and this is the form commonly used in Attic.

[20] I am not certain that Risch (1965: 149) was right to regard *πάνορμος* as a poetic form invented for metrical convenience.

[21] Mycenaean *ku-ru-so-wo-ko*; see now Meißner and Tribulato (2002: 307). Forms with aphaeresis are also attested (e.g. *ἀλοργής* in Ionic: see Weir Smyth 1894: 265 and Buck 1955: §167).

in Attic (Ar. *Ran.* 422; ἐπτέτις Ar. *Thesm.* 480), and to Hesiodic φερέοικος (*Op.* 571) Attic φέροικος (Cratin. 101 KA).[22] In some cases one has the impression that the language chose one option over another for special reasons. For example, Attic has a noun ἀνδρείκελον ('flesh-coloured pigment' LSJ: Plato, *Rep.* 501 B etc.) evidently from ἀνδρ(ο)είκελον.[23] In this case elision was preferred to contraction because the latter would have led to *ἀνδροίκελον,[24] thus obscuring the connection with εἴκελος and the other numerous compounds in -είκελος.

One would expect at least some written traces of contractions or elisions in the adjectives of the μονοειδής type, but they are exceedingly rare. Contractions may have been avoided for at least two different reasons: on the one hand *μονοιδής would have obscured the connection of the SM with εἶδος, and on the other there are in Greek some compounds with a SM -οίδης (e.g. χελυνοίδης, πεοίδης, ἰσχιοίδης) that are certainly connected with οἰδέω 'swell', and this would have engendered some confusion (although the accent was different).[25] This is the reason why I very much doubt that a singer could have used the pronunciation [alloi̯de͜a] at *Od.* 13. 194.[26] Elision (e. g. *μονειδής) would have avoided the danger of obscuring the connection with εἶδος, but it is attested only very rarely in writing. The main reason for keeping a hiatus, at least in writing (μονο-ειδής), is that the compounds of the μονοειδής type are very common in philosophical or scientific texts, and their resistance to elision or contraction is certainly due to the 'Tendenz, die Veränderungen der Wörter . . . im Kompositum zu unterdrücken im Interesse der Deutlichkeit des einzelnen Wortes' (Debrunner 1917: 62).

But Debrunner wisely added (ibid.): 'wie weit da die gesprochene Sprache mitging, ist freilich schwer festzustellen'. As a matter of fact it is far from certain that every Greek, even at a high cultural level, pronounced those adjectives exactly as they were written. For example, θεοειδής is found more

[22] The final vowel of the FM was elided exactly as in a number of other compounds with vowel-initial SM (already in Homer: see e.g. αἰν-αρέτης (cf. αἰνό-μορος), λαβρ-αγόρης, παρθεν-οπίπης; Risch 1974: 207).

[23] For ἀνδρο- as FM see e.g. *Il.* 6. 498 Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο.

[24] See δηλοῖ< -ό(ι̯)ει. -οι- seems to have been the outcome of -οϜει-, too (if (ἀν)οίγω< ὀϜ-ειγ; see Frisk 1973: ii. 356 ff.; West 1998: xxxiii).

[25] It is not possible to discuss here the relationship of the compounds in -ειδής to those in -ώδης, which are semantically close to the former but etymologically divorced from them (see Leukart 1974).

[26] Von der Mühll (1946: 241, apparatus) seems to regard a contraction ἀλλῳδῆ as possible, but as a rule οει contracts to οι, not to ῳ; see above, n. 24. We read θυμοιδ[at Aesch. fr. 281 a 32 Radt, a form of θυμοιδής or θυμοίδης, 'irascible' (Glare 1996: 153). According to Lobel (1952: 41), 'possibly we have a compound with οἰδεῖν'.

than once in Plato (e.g. *Phaedo* 95 C 5, *Rep.* 501 B 7), and in the *Epinomis* one reads the comparative θεοειδέστερον (980 D 8); yet Antiphon the Sophist wrote the superlative θεειδέστατος (87 B 48 DK),[27] which on the whole sounds more compatible with the spoken language. Interestingly enough, in the Laconian dialect the old θεοϝειδής (four syllables) gave way in the real dialect to a trisyllabic σιειδής (Alcm. 1. 71 Davies), which can only be explained 'als Hyphärese von *θιοειδής' (Risch 1954: 28).

And it is remarkable that while the compound ἑτεροειδής (whose meaning is hardly different from that of ἀλλοειδής) appears exclusively in this form in prose texts,[28] ἑτερειδής is metrically guaranteed at Nic. *Alex.* 84, where the effects of poisoning by white lead (ψιμύθιον) are described:

> πολλάκι δ' ἐν φαέεσσιν ἄλην ἑτερειδέα λεύσσων
> ἄλλοτε δ' ὑπναλέος ψύχει δέμας . . .

His body too grows chill, while sometimes his eyes behold strange illusions or else he drowses. (Gow and Scholfield 1953: 99)

Nicander's line is important because it shows that in this type of compound elision of the final -ο of the FM was not only possible in Greek, but also acceptable in sophisticated hexameters of Alexandrian times. My opinion is that the adjective found at *Od.* 13. 194 that has caused so many problems to Homeric scholars was in fact pronounced as [allei̯dea͡] but written as ἀλλοειδέα because of the orthographic pressure exerted *in primis* by all the other Homeric compounds of this type where a disyllabic -οει- was metrically necessary (θεοειδής, ἠεροειδής, ἰοειδής, etc.) and also by the general orthographic rule prevailing for these compounds.

Conservative spelling is far from unknown in the Homeric text. An interesting case is that of *Il.* 4. 117 ἀβλῆτα πτερόεντα μελαινέων ἕρμ' ὀδυνάων. This is the only instance of μελαινέων with Ionic quantitative metathesis in Homer (and, it would seem, in the rest of Greek epic poetry). Elsewhere only μελαινάων is found; note especially *Il.* 4. 191 and 15. 394 μελαινάων ὀδυνάων. The influence of all the other cases of μελαινάων was so strong that at *Il.* 4. 117 μελαινάων ἕρμ' ὀδυνάων is transmitted *contra metrum* by the majority of the manuscripts, and was read by Apoll. Soph. 2. 26–7 Bekker and Eustath. *In Il.* 451. 27 Majoranus–Debares. Not surprisingly, a scholium ad loc. in MS A warns: μελαινέων· οὕτω διὰ τοῦ ε διὰ τὸ μέτρον (Erbse 1969: 468). The remark was necessary because μελαινάων was found in a

[27] Sylburg's certain emendation of the transmitted θεαιδέστατος (see now Theodoridis 1998: 286 ad Phot. θ 48).

[28] ἑτεροειδής is common in late prose: see e.g. Philo Jud. *Aetern. mundi* 79 ἵνα μηδὲ ἑτεροειδῆ τινα παράσχῃ τύπον μορφῆς; *Spec. leg.* 4. 207 τὸ μὴ συνυφαίνειν τὰς ἑτεροειδεῖς οὐσίας; etc.

large majority of manuscripts. In a similar way [alleịdea͜] was registered in writing as ἀλλοειδέα. No one can tell whether it happened in the first written copy, but it is perfectly possible that it happened relatively early.

If what I have been arguing so far is plausible, *Od*. 13. 194 is hardly unmetrical; simply, there was a small but significant difference between the way an adjective was pronounced and the way it was written down. Nowadays many scholars believe in the existence of one ancient and authoritative manuscript of Homer based on his dictation.[29] This hypothesis[30] is supposed to explain a number of narrative inconsistencies in the Homeric text, since 'nescit vox missa reverti' (Janko 1998: 7), and once the 'vox missa' is registered in writing it allegedly becomes unalterable. This scenario, which has its attractions, may or may not be accepted; but in any case those who accept it should not go so far as to imagine an oral dictated text as something similar to a phonetic transcription of the words pronounced by the bard. Apart from the problem posed by the alphabets used to write down Homer in archaic times (Cassio 2002: 109–14), orthographic conventions and conservative spellings may have obscured the phonetic reality of the words pronounced by the oral poet.

My conclusion is that an editor of the *Odyssey* should print ἀλλοειδέα at 13. 194, because this was the form that in all likelihood featured in any edition of Homer in Alexandrian times. Yet I think that he should warn in the apparatus that the original singer probably employed the pronunciation [alleịdea͜] and that the line *looks* unmetrical on account of a conservative spelling habit.

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[29] See Cassio (2002: 108–9).

[30] The word 'hypothesis' obviously applies to the *Homeric* oral dictated text; Janko (1998: 4) rightly reminds us that in Yugoslavia dictation was a fact, not a hypothesis.

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7

Social Dialect in Attica

Stephen Colvin

1 Social Dialect

Social varieties of speech are commonly designated social dialects or sociolects. The terms refer to speech variation that is correlated with social distinctions: immediately the term is more complicated than the unmarked term dialect, which refers of course to regional dialect. To identify regional dialect we have to know some basic facts about the geography of the speech community; but in the case of social dialect we are committing ourselves to a range of interlocking theories about the social structure of the community, which—at least in the case of a corpus language, and probably also in other cases—cannot be merely observed, but must be abstracted from whatever data are available to the investigator.

The distinction between dialect and social dialect is not necessarily as fundamental as the definitions might imply. The disciplines which both terms pertain to developed in an exotic linguistic and sociolinguistic context, namely Western Europe and North America, and the language model that is in some sense built into them recalls their origin (large political units with standardized national languages and a history of suppressing linguistic competitors). However, in very many cases the distribution of social varieties of language *will* correlate with location: a regional variety will have social implications, for example, whether the region concerned is a relatively large area or a small section of an urban environment. The origins of a social dialect will in many cases be local. One may then ask how a social dialect is maintained without the spatial separation which is normally thought necessary for linguistic difference. There are a number of responses to this. Firstly, and most importantly, sociolinguistic research over the last century has shown that the creation and maintenance of distinct linguistic identities are a central feature of maintaining a specific social identity. Secondly, in the case of varieties associated with socio-economic class, even small-scale spatial separation (such as a small urban neighbourhood) may be sufficient to maintain a distinctive speech pattern; this will

be reinforced by social networks at home and in the workplace.[1] Thirdly, social dialects may indeed be less likely to survive unspotted than their regional counterparts; they are in constant interaction with one another, social identity is fluid, and the rate of change may be rapid.

It hardly needs stressing that a social dialect is not a *declinatio* from the standard or prestige variety, though it may be constructed as such in the discourse of the community. It need not, in fact, be described by reference to the standard, although this may be convenient. A speech variety which is defined as 'social' may in fact have a history more or less independent of the local standard, although interaction with other local varieties, including the standard, is likely to play a role in its development. One reason why a speech variety may be defined as a social dialect is that, for the historical reasons sketched above, we are generally willing to allow just one local dialect per political unit; any further dialects are therefore liable to be classified as social dialects. So, for example, in the case of Attica: it is an unusually large political unit by pre-Hellenistic standards, and unlikely to have been linguistically homogeneous. Nevertheless, owing in part to a standardized orthography, when we look for linguistic variation in Attica we generally set out to look for social dialect. This is perhaps because we are used to thinking of linguistic movement in terms of what Anna Davies has called 'vertical' diffusion (between a higher and a lower variety), as opposed to the 'horizontal' diffusion that takes place without reference to a standard (Morpurgo Davies 1999: 7).

We are thus in danger of being misled by our own terminology when we look for evidence of 'social' variation in Greek, as opposed to geographical variation. Bartoněk long ago pointed out that the term Attic-Ionic is itself a curious hybrid: for Attic is a geographical term, while Ionic is an ethnic term—and ethnicity is a socially constructed quantity (Bartoněk 1972: 9). It is with Attic (and to a certain extent its relationship with Ionic) that I wish to deal in the present paper. On comparative grounds we may start by assuming the existence of social varieties in Attica: next we need to see if we have evidence for (*a*) the concept of socially differentiated speech in Athens, and (*b*) the thing itself. We have plenty of evidence for the former from a variety of literary sources, most usefully Greek Comedy:

(1) Aristophanes (*PCG* 706)

> *. . . καὶ οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ μὲν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγροικίαν, ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τῶν ἐν ἄστει διατριβόντων. παρὸ καὶ ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει Ἀριστοφάνης*

[1] See especially the work of J. and L. Milroy for smaller-scale networks, or communities, which are 'less abstract than social classes' (Milroy 1980: 14).

[*Χόρος*?] *διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσην πόλεως*
οὔτ' ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν
οὔτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικοτέραν.

[the grammarians say that] . . . the idiom of those who live in rural areas is different from that of city dwellers. Concerning which Aristophanes the comic poet says: '[his] language is the normal dialect of the city—not the fancy high-society accent, nor uneducated, rustic talk'.

The question to be considered for my purposes is whether there is evidence for a prestige variety within Attica, or simply for the recognition that different social groups speak in different ways. We are used to the notion that there was no standard language in ancient Greece; whether this was true for the individual city-states is a separate question, and is likely, in my view, to have a different answer in each case, for it seems clear that sociolinguistic culture was no more uniform across the Greek world than the language itself. My answer to this question is that we have some evidence that certain idioms within Attica were disparaged, and for the corollary that others were approved. It is true that some of the evidence comprises what we might consider stylistic features: but some of it also clearly pertains to phonology—for example, we have attacks on popular demagogues for alleged inability to articulate Attic correctly:

(2) Plato, *Hyperbolus* (*PCG* 183)

Πλάτων μέντοι ἐν Ὑπερβόλῳ διέπαιξε τὴν ἄνευ τοῦ γ χρῆσιν ὡς βάρβαρον, λέγων οὕτως·

ὁ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἠττίκιζεν, ὦ Μοῖραι φίλαι,
ἀλλ' ὁπότε μὲν χρείη "διῃτώμην" λέγειν,
ἔφασκε "δηιτώμην", ὁπότε δ' εἰπεῖν δέοι
"ὀλίγον", ⟨"ὀλίον"⟩ ἔλεγεν . . .

Plato, however, in his *Hyperbolus* mocked the dropping of *g* as barbarous, as follows: 'He didn't speak Attic, ye gods, but whenever he had to say *diētōmēn* he said *djētōmēn*, and when he had to say *oligos* he came out with *olios* . . .'

Evidence for disfavoured morphological forms is less direct: but the fact of an Athenian 'chancellery' language which retained forms such as *a*-stem dative plurals in -*ασι*/-*ησι* until the late fifth century[2] at least indicates what we would have expected, that morphological difference played a role in linguistic variation within Attica.

What is interesting is that some of the evidence connects the disparaged

[2] See Dover (1981: §2).

features of Attic with a foreign idiom: either with the vague charge of barbarism, or with other dialects of Greek. For example, perceived Ionic characteristics in the speech of what would be called the 'chattering classes' in the Murdoch press are the object of comic attention.[3] The evidence that I wish to present here concerns the relationship between Attic and the ideological converse of Ionic, namely Boeotian.

2 Ostracism

We have already noted one of the ways in which epigraphic language is governed by rules which do not necessarily apply to the *Umgangssprache*, and this is the great paradox in looking for colloquial speech varieties in a corpus language. In the case of Attic we can examine graffiti, curse tablets, and a variety of private inscriptions. A potentially valuable source of information is provided by ostraca, since there is a high likelihood that ostracon votes were in many cases cast by people who did not in general practise the epigraphic habit, and it is precisely by virtue of being semi-lettered that such writers may provide evidence for social dialect. In fact, evidence that many ostracon-wielding citizens were wholly unlettered is provided both by anecdote[4] and by the discovery of a cache of nearly 200 pre-inscribed ostraca bearing the name of Themistocles on the north slope of the Acropolis.[5] Ostracism was introduced by the radical democracy, either under Cleisthenes in 508 (according to the *Ath. Pol.*, 22. 1) or shortly before the first ostracism in 487. The decision whether to hold an *ostrakophoria* was made each year by a full meeting of the popular assembly: the vote itself was held perhaps around ten weeks later. If sufficient votes were cast for an individual, he was banished for ten years.[6] Ostraca do therefore in some sense represent the *vox pop*; the problem is that 'texts' are generally restricted to the designation of a single individual (that is to say, name

3 See Cassio (1981) and Brixhe (1988) for the similarities between 'barbarized' and low-class Attic.

4 Plut. *Aristides* 7: 'Each voter took an ostracon, wrote on it the name of that citizen whom he wished to remove from the city, and brought it to a place in the agora which was all fenced about with railings . . . Now at the time of which I was speaking, as the voters were inscribing their ostraca, it is said that an unlettered and utterly boorish fellow handed his ostracon to Aristides, whom he took to be one of the ordinary crowd, and asked him to write *Aristides* on it. He, astonished, asked the man what possible wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don't even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called *The Just*"' (trans. B. Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 1901).

5 Broneer (1938); Lang (1990: 161).

6 Details are disputed. Sources (in translation) with bibliography in Dillon and Garland (1994: 130–7); general discussion in Thomsen (1972).

with patronym and/or deme). There are, however, some exceptions to this, particularly in some recently published ostraca from the so-called great Kerameikos deposit.

By the mid-1960s a total of around 1,650 ostraca had been found; in 1968 a further 8,500 were discovered in the Kerameikos excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute. A selection of very interesting texts from the collection was recently published by Stefan Brenne, who is preparing the find for publication.[7] Many of the texts which he publishes, in addition to the obligatory name, contain abuse directed against the individual, his family, or his social class (in this case, the higher social echelons from which the political élite was drawn in the first part of the fifth century). As Brenne has pointed out, there are interesting similarities between the abusive language of the ostraca and the abuse of political figures in Old Comedy.[8]

However, the text which is of central interest in the present paper is quoted merely for its interest as a spoilt ballot:

(3) Brenne (1994: 21) = *SEG* xlvi. 93; Brenne (2002: 97) no. T 1/79.

τὸν Λιμὸν ὀστρακίδō (Fig. 7.1)

This text was known about as early as 1972, when Thomsen published a list of names which appear on ostraca in his *Origin of Ostracism*. He refers to four unpublished texts which designate *Limos* as a candidate for ostracism, remarking that on three ostraca *Limos* has no patronymic or demotic; on a fourth (now published) *Limos Eupatrides* is read:

(4) *MDAI* [*A*] 106 (1991), 153; Thomsen (1972: 104); Brenne (2002: 97) no. T 1/75

Λιμὸς Εὐπ{ρ}ατρίδε̄ς

Thomsen suggested that this is not in fact a name, but the noun for 'hunger'. He was not able to publish the verbal form which accompanies the noun, and which is of central interest to linguists. The now-published ostracon is rather poignant, standing as a comment on the dynastic feuding of the élite Athenian families which had in fact been the driving force in the introduction of ostracism to Attica. The comment comes from a different socio-economic perspective and articulates the perennial complaint that feuding among the political élite does not address the material problems of the demos. The context (other tablets from the deposit which have been

[7] Brenne (1994); Willemsen (1965) and (1968). See now Brenne (2002: 97–100).

[8] Brenne (1994: 13–14); see also Brenne (1992).

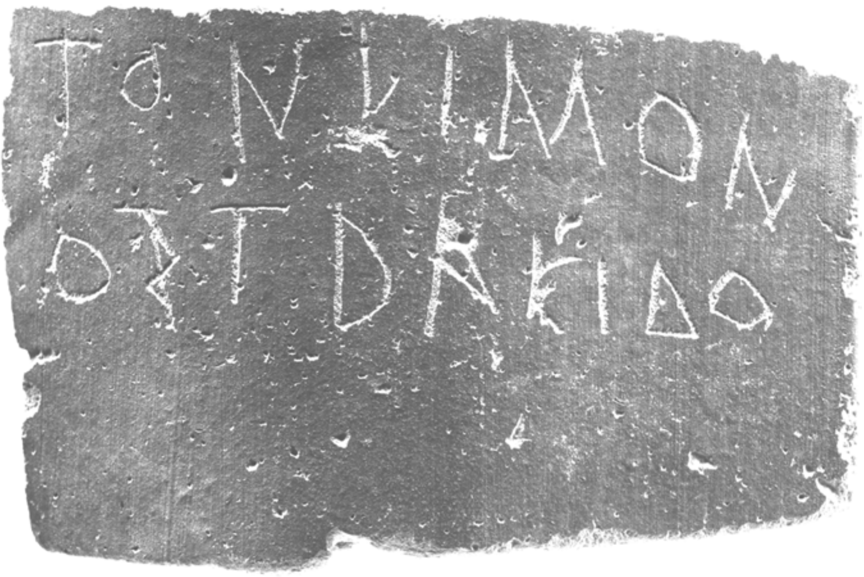

Fig. 7.1. Ostracon from the Kerameikos. Photograph courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, negative no. Kerameikos 26116

published) and the letter forms point to a date in the early fifth century (Brenne 2002: 97 suggests 471 BC).

The question that needs to be addressed is the linguistic and sociolinguistic interpretation of the writing *ὀστρακίδō*. The editors of *SEG* (xlvi. 93) comment on the 'new verb': what we are dealing with is surely a mere phonological variant of the familiar *ὀστρακίζω* (i.e. *ὀστρακίδ⟨δ⟩ō*). The interchange of δ and ζ in Attic inscriptions is extremely rare (I shall come back to the instances), so this is not an obvious spelling mistake. There is, of course, a neighbouring dialect that has δ or double δδ corresponding to Attic ζ, namely Boeotian. There is really no possibility that the ostracon could have been written by a Boeotian, since voting was restricted to citizens and policed by tribes; also, the D-shaped rho in the inscription seems to be characteristic of Attic rather than Boeotian script (although Jeffery 1990: 67 dates this letter-form to 550–525, Immerwahr 1990: 155–6 brings the date down and quotes an example from 490). The notion that a Boeotian metic sat near the voting area and wrote out ostraca seems implausible. I believe that we now have enough evidence to posit the existence of a variety of Attic, marked by a geminate apical stop (single in initial position) where Attic has the cluster [sd] = ζ. This variety was not the language of Attic epigraphy, but it was a variety which coexisted with it, and we can label

it a social dialect. By this we mean that it was spoken by a section of the population but was not used in epigraphy; it may have had a regional or social implication in Attica.

3 The Odd Couple: Attic and Boeotian

If this hypothesis is correct, let us consider why we have so little evidence for this Boeotian-looking variant in Attic. We mentioned earlier the question of prestige dialect in ancient Greece: we can now ask ourselves whether there is any evidence that the Athenians (say, in the post-Persian War period) felt good about the way they spoke. Did they feel proud of Attic? We have enough evidence from various literary sources to suggest that they did. It does not follow from this that they felt disparaging about all other dialects: but there is a little evidence that their attitude towards Boeotian was bound up with more general feelings of hostility and scorn towards Boeotia. In the following fragment of Strattis, for example, the Boeotian idiom is an object of critical attention:

(5) Strattis, *Phoenician Women* (*PCG* 49)

ξυνίετ' οὐδέν, πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις,
οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλ'. οἳ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σηπίαν
ὀπιτθοτίλαν, ὥς λέγουσ', ὀνομάζετε . . .

You understand nothing, all you people of Thebes, nothing whatsoever. First of all, they say that you call a cuttlefish *opitthotila* ['back-fouler'] . . .

This was partly owing, no doubt, to sheer contiguity (compare relations with Megara); was compounded by Boeotian behaviour during the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars (Thebes especially was detested by Athens); and seems also to have been aggravated by general cultural differences which resulted in an Athenian stereotype of Boeotians as gluttonous, stupid, and boorish. The Boeotian pig, in fact.[9]

Unhappily for the Athenians, their own dialect was marked with at least one striking isogloss with Boeotian which separated them off from the other dialects of mainland and Asian Greece, namely the double ττ in place of σσ. It does not seem to me to be a coincidence that this is the feature of standard Attic which the Athenians were most embarrassed about. One could ascribe this shyness to the feeling that the feature was an Attic provincialism: but terms such as 'provincial' reflect an element in modern thinking about dialect rather than an important part of Athenian attitudes on the subject.

[9] Pind. *Ol.* 6. 90; Plut. *De esu carnium* 1. 6.

The variant was suppressed because it was a 'provincialism' that Attic shared with Boeotian.[10]

This common development of palatalized voiceless geminates has long been recognized, and since the 1950s a partial phonological *Sprachbund* between Attic and Boeotia has been posited to account for it.[11] An invisible third member of this group is Euboea, invisible since we class Euboean with Ionic as though the strait of Euboea constituted an important physical boundary between Eretria and the mainland. Bartoněk was moved to propose a change in the traditional terminology, replacing 'Attic-Ionic' with the tripartite 'Attic-Euboean-Ionic', and I think that Eretria and facing Oropus are a useful symbol of the general picture of areal development that is necessary for my argument.[12] There is another dialect which has a parallel development of palatalized geminates to *tt* and *dd*, that of central Crete. This is not, of course, relevant to our ostracon, but there is a theoretical connection if we accept the idea that this development was particularly characteristic of West Greek (slightly paradoxical in the case of ττ, which is thought of as the marker of Attic *par excellence*), and that West Greek influence can be seen in the development of the Boeotian and Attic consonant systems.

My suggestion is, then, that the double *dd* reflex which is associated with Boeotian was heard within the borders of Attica: to put it another way, there was a variety of Attic which contained this feature, a variety which we might call a social dialect. Recalling the division of Attic territory into three broad areas (the City, the Coast, and the Inland), we could speculate that this variety was associated with the Inland or the Coastal regions, while the other basilect for which we have evidence, the proto-Koine which the Old Oligarch complains of, was an *Umgangssprache* of the City and the Piraeus (that is, we need not assume a simple sliding scale of social dialect in Attica from 'top' to 'bottom').[13] There is other evidence that this feature was heard more widely in Central Greece. Double *dd* is found in Thessalian, at least in the south-western area, the Thessaliotis (ἐξξανακαδἐν *IG* ix/2. 257. 8–9, Sotairos inscription). There are also spellings with ⟨ζδ⟩ and ⟨ζ⟩ from other areas of Thessaly, which indicates that there may have been some variation: at any rate, Blümel is perhaps incautious in assuming that the *dd*

[10] The ρρ in ἄρρην etc. is another feature of Attic widely regarded as diagnostic of the dialect, but in fact the distribution of this assimilation is so messy across the Greek world that it can hardly have been as marked a feature as ττ (cf. Buck 1955: §80).

[11] Allen (1958: 176), followed by Diver (1958) and others.

[12] Bartoněk (1972: 9). For the fluid dialect of Oropus see Morpurgo Davies (1993).

[13] Old Oligarch: ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2. 7–8 (*c.*425 BC?).

is the standard or 'original' reflex.[14] The evidence for Corinthian, quoted by Bartoněk and Schwyzer, is an isolated form *Δ{β}ευς* on a vase dated to *c.*570, and is dismissed by Méndez Dosuna, perhaps rightly. However, Wachter has published a new reading *Δεύς* on a Corinthian pinax, which makes the case for Corinthian a little stronger.[15] Megarian *d*-forms are not epigraphic, but attested in the manuscripts of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* and open to the suspicion that they are false dialect forms. It seems to me unlikely that Aristophanes would have made such an egregious error in the case of Megarian, a dialect Athenians must have been perfectly familiar with (Colvin 1999: 164–5). If it is the case that Megarian (like Attic, on this view) had both variants, we could imagine that the playwright used the form that was most marked from the perspective of standard Attic, and if in addition this feature was stigmatized by association with Boeotian, then so much the better. Table 7.1 illustrates the position of Attic between conflicting influences:

TABLE 7.1. *Palatalized Apicals and Dorsals*

Boeotia		
**t'ť'* (with **ts*) and **k'k'* fall together (probably as **t't'*): merge with *tt*		▲
Attica, Eretria		▲
(+ boundary) **t't'* and **k'k'* fall together: merge with *tt*	[*ἐρέττω* type]	▲
(– boundary) **t't'* (with **ts*) > *s*	[*μέσος* type]	▼
Cyclades, Ionia		▼
(– boundary) **t't'* (with **ts*) > *s*	[*μέσος* type]	▼
(+ boundary) **t't'* and **k'k'* > *ss*	[*ἐρέσσω* type]	
Boeotia		
**d'd'* and **g'g'* fall together and merge with *dd*		
Attica, Eretria	Thessaly? Megara? Corinth?	
[**d'd'* and **g'g'* fall together: merge with *dd*]	▲	
**d'd'* and **g'g'* fall together as **d'd'* > *zd*	▼	
Cyclades, Ionia		
**d'd'* and **g'g'* fall together as **d'd'* > *zd*		
**d'd'* and **g'g'* fall together as **d'd'* > *dz* > *zz* (?)[a]		

[a] For which see Nagy (1970: 127). The details of depalatalization in Greek are complex and disputed: the outline here broadly follows Diver (1958).

[14] Blümel (1982: 120): *contra* García Ramón (1987: 142).

[15] Bartoněk (1972: 151) and Schwyzer (1939: 576) on *Δ{β}ευς* (Beazley, *ABV* 96, no. 14), *contra* Méndez Dosuna (1993: 90); see now Wachter (2001: 149, # COP 78*a*).

I have tried to explain on general grounds why we need not expect that each of our conventionally delineated Greek dialects would have only one reflex of a depalatalized geminate, and why it might not be surprising if a geminate stop were heard in Attica in place of the familiar cluster [zd]. Now we can consider what evidence there might be besides the new ostracon. We noted above that the interchange of *δ* and *ζ* in Attic inscriptions is rare: those instances that exist come, perhaps unsurprisingly, from Lang's *Athenian Agora* publication of graffiti and dipinti. The first example is a graffito on a black skyphos:

(6) Lang (1976: 15): no. C 33, mid-fourth century BC

(*a*) *Θειοδοσία λαικάδ̣ε̣[ι] εὖ*
(*b*) *λ(αικάστρια)*

The obscene verb *λαικάζειν* and its cognates are frequent in comedy: in this case once could hardly ask for a better match between linguistic register and subject matter (the delta is broken, but still clearly a delta). The second example (inventory scratched on a saucer) is less exciting, but could still be regarded as an appropriately mundane object (the sort of word one *might* get in comedy):

(7) Lang (1976: 10): no. B 13, fourth century BC
ἐπιτραπέδι̣[α] 'tableware'

These two examples hardly prove the argument, although it should be remembered that statistically *ζ* is a rare letter. There may be a further pointer to a non-standard pronunciation in a curious snippet of Old Comedy preserved by an ancient commentator, in which *ὦ Βδεῦ* is quoted for *ὦ Ζεῦ*.[16] Here the playwright has substituted the phonaesthetically offensive cluster ⟨*βδ*⟩ for the initial ⟨*ζ*⟩ of Zeus: added point comes from the echo of the verb *βδέω* 'break wind'; and if the comment does relate to *Lysistrata* 940 (as commonly assumed), then this meaning will fit well with Kinesias' irritation at his wife's messing around with perfume when he has more urgent concerns. Allen (1987: 56) sees this as support for an Attic pronunciation of *ζ* as [zd] rather than [dz], if any were needed: but the joke works better, in my view, if the underlying form that resonates is *Δεῦ* (in this case Kinesias starts off with rude protest at the perfume and changes it half-way through to a standard expletive, one however associated with substandard register).

[16] *PCG* viii. 83 (Anon. *De com.*, *proleg. de com.* vi) *ὁ γέλως τῆς κωμῳδίας ἔκ τε λέξεων καὶ πραγμάτων ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν, ἐκ μὲν τῆς λέξεως κατὰ τρόπους ἑπτά . . . ἕκτον κατ' ἐξαλλαγήν, ὡς τὸ ὦ Βδεῦ δέσποτα, ἀντὶ τοῦ ὦ Ζεῦ.*

There is, finally, a passage from Plato's *Cratylus* which might appear to lend support to the theory of a competing *d*-variant in the fifth century:[17]

(8) Plato, *Cratylus* 418 B–D

> (*Σωκ.*) *οἶσθα ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι τῷ ἰῶτα καὶ τῷ δέλτα εὖ μάλα ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, αἵπερ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σώιζουσι. νῦν δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἰῶτα ἢ εἶ ἢ ἦτα μεταστρέφουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ δέλτα ζῆτα, ὡς δὴ μεγαλοπρεπέστερα ὄντα . . .*
>
> (*Σωκ.*) *καὶ τό γε <u>ζυγὸν</u> οἶσθα ὅτι <u>δυογὸν</u> οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν.*
>
> (*Κρα.*) *Πάνυ γε.*
>
> (*Σωκ.*) . . *νῦν δὲ <u>ζυγόν</u>.*

You know that our ancestors loved the sounds iota and delta, not least the women, who are most liable to preserve old forms of speech. But now people change iota to eta or epsilon, and delta to zeta, thinking that they sound grander . . . And you know that the ancients pronounced *ζυγόν* as *δυογόν* . . . now, however, we say *ζυγόν*.

The evidence from the *Cratylus* is, however, dubious: for one thing, all remarks in this dialogue need to be treated with a great deal of caution; and secondly, it might be that the 'old' pronunciation that Plato refers to is in fact the orthodox Attic [zd] as opposed to the voiced fricative [z] which spread quite rapidly in the fourth century.

4 Summary and Conclusion

The new ostracon is the best piece of evidence that has come to light for a situation which is not a priori unlikely, namely the existence of a variety of Attic which shared a *d*-reflex with Boeotian as the result of an earlier depalatalization. The ostracon was a protest vote by a citizen who was not *eupatrid*, and whose linguistic repertoire reflected this. We have some reason to think that this feature, if it existed in Attic, will have been stigmatized. Firstly, it is characteristic of Boeotian, a dialect which the Athenians wished to dissociate themselves from, in spite of some inescapable isoglosses.[18] We can speculate that this may be a reason why the chancellery language took such a long time to let go of the disyllabic dative plural that we mentioned above. This phenomenon has many parallels in

[17] Teodorsson (1979: 329), arguing against *ζ* = [zd] in Attic.

[18] In the ostracon the second letter of *ὀστρακίδō* seems to have been corrected from ⟨*T*⟩. This is interesting in view of the fact that *ττ* for *στ* is found in literary (not epigraphic) sources for Boeotian: cf. *ὀπιτθοτίλα* (*ὀπισθο-*) in passage (5) from Strattis (Lejeune 1972: §110). It suggests that the Athenians heard something which the Boeotians chose not to systematize in the writing system. For the possible implications of the reverse 3-bar sigma see Lang (1982: 81–2).

modern sociolinguistic research: in a language-attitude study in Indiana, for example, Preston (1988) found that respondents tried to dissociate themselves from Kentucky, where the language variety is almost identical, but which is considered ‘Southern’. Secondly, the Athenians had a certain pride in their dialect, and this seems to have been extended to their *zeta* if we can trust the report of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (first century BC), who describes it as a sweet sound, and the noblest of the double consonants:

(9) D.H. *De compositione verborum* 14

διπλᾶ δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὰ [sc. *τό τε ζ καὶ τὸ ξ καὶ τὸ ψ*] *ἤτοι διὰ τὸ σύνθετα εἶναι τὸ μὲν ζ διὰ τοῦ σ καὶ δ . . . ἢ διὰ τὸ χώραν ἐπέχειν δυεῖν γραμμάτων ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς παραλαμβανόμενον ἕκαστον. . . . τριῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων γραμμάτων ἃ δὴ διπλᾶ καλεῖται <u>τὸ ζ μᾶλλον ἡδύνει τὴν ἀκοὴν</u> τῶν ἑτέρων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξ διὰ τοῦ κ καὶ τὸ ψ διὰ τοῦ π τὸν συριγμὸν ἀποδίδωσι ψιλῶν ὄντων ἀμφοτέρων, <u>τοῦτο δ’ ἡσύχῇ τῷ πνεύματι δασύνεται καὶ ἔστι τῶν ὁμογενῶν γενναιότατον</u>.*

They [sc. ζ, ξ, ψ] are called *double* either because they are composite (the ζ being composed of σ and δ) . . . or because they are equivalent to two letters in the syllables in which they are found. . . . Of the three other letters which are called double the ζ pleases the ear more than the rest. For the ξ and the ψ give off a whistling sound (because they contain κ and π respectively, and are voiceless), whereas ζ has a pleasant voiced quality and is the noblest of this series.

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8

The Attitude of the Athenian State towards the Attic Dialect in the Classical Era

Emilio Crespo

1 The Attitude of the Greeks of the Classical Era towards their Own Dialects

In a magnificent article, Anna Morpurgo Davies has studied the way in which the classical Greeks regarded their own dialects (Morpurgo Davies 1993; cf. 1987). The article compiles data which indicate that 'in Attica then the dialect was an object of pride' (1993: 264), and it goes on to describe, in as much detail as the scant remaining evidence allows, the attitude of the Spartans, the Boeotians, and the inhabitants of Oropus towards their dialects. Most of the sources and data refer to the attitudes of individuals, and only a few to those of states.[1]

The present contribution, whose sole merit lies in attempting to continue along the same path, aims to gather and present data on the attitude of the Athenian state towards the Attic dialect in the classical epoch, and to formulate a hypothesis that might account for the observed facts. After a brief description of the way in which international treaties were structured (§2), I shall present the formulae for oaths cited in the accords between Athens and other city-states. In the second half of the fifth century BC, as we shall see, the formula for the oath is in the Attic dialect in all the treaties, whether they were concluded with allied cities in the Attic–Delian league or with other states that were not members (§3). In the fourth century BC some inscriptions use a dialect other than Attic in giving the formula for the oath to be sworn by the state making the treaty with the Athenians, though most continue to quote it in the Attic dialect (§4). The norm

I am deeply indebted to Dr Philip Sutton (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) for his help in the translation of the Spanish original into English.

[1] Ancient comedy also provides data on the attitude of the Athenians to dialects; cf. Colvin (1999); Willi (2002: 111–79, esp. 135 ff); Brixhe (1993).

followed by the inscriptions suggests that the Athenian state used the Attic dialect systematically for the written expression of international relations (§5). This habit can be explained by the hypothesis that the Athenian state imposed the use of the Attic dialect, a theory further supported by other evidence (§6).

2 Form and Structure of Treaties between City-States in the Classical Era

Treaties between city-states in the classical era are known to us through inscriptions or literary sources. Essentially they consist of two parts. The first, called *χσυνθέκαι*, *ὁμολογία*, *χσυμμαχία*, *σπονδαί*, or some other similar term, sets forth the stipulations and period of enforcement. The second, called *ὅρκος*, uses either direct or indirect speech to cite the oath to be sworn by each party, and to establish which gods each one is to swear by, gives the rank or name of the representatives designated to swear on behalf of each state, and specifies how many copies are to be made of the treaty, where each copy is to be kept, and when the oath has to be renewed. The Athenian copy was normally kept on the Acropolis, as some texts indicate, and indeed it is there that some have been found. For instance, the treaty of 377 between Athens and Chalcis (*IG* ii/iii^2. 44. 15 ff.) establishes *κα[ὶ ἀν]αγράψαι ἐστήληι λιθί[ν]|ηι κ[αὶ στ]ῆσα[ι Ἀθή]νησι μὲν ἐν ἀκροπόλ[ει], | [ἐ]ν [δὲ Χαλ]κίδ[ι ἐν τ]ῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Ἀθηναίας τ|[ὸν ὅρκο]ν καὶ [τὰς σ]υνθήκας*. Some add blessings on those who respect the pact and curses against those who transgress it. Some fourth-century treaties are presented as part of a decree by the Attic assembly, whereas other fourth- or fifth-century treaties make no reference to their approval by the assembly. It is to be supposed that the inscriptions containing no allusion to the decree of approval by the assembly simply take it as understood.[2]

The same structure is displayed by treaties known through literary sources. Such, for instance, is the case of the truce known as the Peace of Nicias (421), concluded between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians together with their respective allies, and cited verbatim by Thucydides (5. 18–19). Its one peculiarity is that the stipulations are more extensive, as befits the complex nature of a multilateral treaty.[3]

The structure of treaties not originating in Athens is similar, but far

[2] For a description of the structure of international treaties in ancient Greece, see Guarducci (1969: 543 ff.).

[3] A major role in determining the expression of the Athenian treaties must have been played by the founding treaty of the Attic–Delian league (478/7), referred to by Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 23. 5.

fewer are known. One case is the alliance between Lacedaemonia and the Erxadieis, documented in an inscription found at Sparta, estimations of whose date range from 470 to 390 BC (*SEG* xxvi. 461; xxviii. 408; xxxii. 398; xxxv. 326). Only the stipulations, however, have been preserved.

The international treaties of the sixth century BC have the same structure but are briefer. The best-known examples are on inscriptions from Olympia, such as the alliance of *c.*550–500 between Sybaris and the Serdaioi (*SEG* xxii. 236), that of *c.*500–450 between the Eleans and the Erwaioi (*IvO* 9. 1), and that of *c.*500–450 between the Anaitoi and the Metapioi (*IvO* 10. 1). It is interesting to note that these treaties are drawn up in the Elean dialect, the one spoken in the area of the sanctuary where the written text was kept or exhibited. The sixth-century treaties were normally deposited in a pan-Hellenic shrine. If a third state acted as guarantor for the pact, it would presumably have kept a further copy of the treaty.[4]

3 The Formula for the Oath of the Non-Attic Party in the Attic Treaties of the Fifth Century BC

In the Attic inscriptions of the fifth century BC the treaty, and in particular the formula for the oath to be sworn by the signatory states, is always in the Attic dialect. In the documents from Athens it is quite unremarkable that the stipulations and the oath to be sworn by the Athenians should be in Attic. But it is interesting, and by no means only to be expected, that the formula of the oath to be sworn by the representatives of the state making the pact with the Athenians should likewise be written in Attic. Some of these states belonged to the Attic–Delian league, and some did not. Here is a list of the inscriptions citing the literal text of the oath sworn in each case by the representatives of the state signing a pact with the Athenians:

IG i³. 14. 21 ff. (453/2 BC): regulations for the city of Erythrae

> *ὀμν[ύ]να[ι δὲ τά]δε [τὲν] β̣ολέν· β̣ολεύσο hος ἂν [δύ]νο[μ]α̣[ι] ἄρ̣ι̣στ[α κα-]*
> *[ὶ] δ[ι]κα[ιότα]τα Ἐρυθραίον τôι πλέθει καὶ Ἀθεναίον καὶ τôν [χσυ-]*
> *νμά[χ]ον [κ]αὶ οὐκ [ἀποσ]τέσομαι Ἀθεναίον τô π[λ]έθος οὐδὲ [τ-]*
> *[ôν] χσυνμάχον τôν Ἀθεναίον οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐγὸ ο[ὔ]τ᾽ ἄ[λ]λοι̣ π̣ε[ί]σομ̣[αι]*
> *[οὐδ̣᾽--- οὔτ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐγὸ οὔτ᾽ ἄλλο[ι π]εί[σομαι] ----------*
> *-- τôν φ̣[υγάδ]ον [κατ]αδέχσομαι οὐδ[ὲ] hένα οὔτ᾽ ----------*
> *[ἄλλο]ι πείσο̣[μ]α̣[ι τôν ἐς] Μέδος φε[υ]γ̣ό[ντο]ν ἄνευ τε̣̂[ς] β̣ο[λε̂ς τε̂ς]*
> *[Ἀθε]ναίον καὶ τô [δ]έ̣μο [ο]ὐδὲ τôν μενόντον ἐχσελô [ἄ]ν[ευ] τε̣̂ς β̣[ο]-*
> *[λε̂ς] τ̣ε̂ς Ἀθεναίον καὶ [τὸ] δ̣έμ̣ο.*

[4] The relevant epigraphical and literary texts are collected in Bengtson (1962).

IG i³. 15 (*c*.450) also contains regulations concerning Erythrae and cites the oath of the demos, which is similar to that on the previous inscription. The text is in Attic but is preserved in a very fragmentary condition.

This is also the case with *IG* i³. 37 (447/6), which records the treaty between Athens and Colophon.

IG i³. 40 (446) contains a decree concerning Chalcis. The oath is cited as follows (ll. 21 ff.):

> *κατὰ τάδε Χαλκιδέας ὀμόσαι· οὐκ ἀπο[σ]τέ-*
> *σομαι ἀπὸ τô [δ]έμο τô Ἀθεναίον οὔτε τέ[χ]ν-*
> *ει οὔτε μεχανêι οὐδεμιâι οὐδ' ἔπει οὐδὲ*
> *ἔργοι οὐδὲ τôι ἀφισταμένοι πείσομαι, κ-*
> *αὶ ἐὰν ἀφιστêι τις κατερô Ἀθεναίοισι, κ-*
> *αὶ τὸν φόρον hυποτελô Ἀθεναίοισιν, hὸν*
> *ἂν πείθο Ἀθεναίος, καὶ χσύμμαχος ἔσομα-*
> *ι hοîος ἂν δύνομαι ἄριστος καὶ δικαιότ-*
> *ατος καὶ τôι δέμοι Ἀθεναίον βοεθέσ-*
> *ο καὶ ἀμυνô, ἐάν τις ἀδικêι τὸν δêμον τὸν*
> *Ἀθεναίον, καὶ πείσομαι τôι δέμοι τôι Ἀθ-*
> *εναίον.*

IG i³. 39 (446/5) contains an analogous decree concerning Eretria and cites the oath of the Eretrians. The text is very fragmentary.

IG i³. 48 (439/8) contains the treaty signed between Athens and Samos after the island's revolt against the Athenians. The text cites the oaths of both parties in Attic, but the Samian oath is preserved in a very fragmentary form.

IG i³. 54 contains two decrees of *c*.448 and 433/2 recording the alliance of Athens and Leontini; the preserved text citing the oath to be sworn by the citizens of Leontini is extremely fragmentary, but also written in Attic.

IG i³. 75 (424/3) records the Athenian treaty with the Halienses. The text of their oath is also cited, but is not in a good state of preservation.

IG i³. 76 (422) records an Athenian treaty with the Bottiaei, whose oath is cited as follows (ll. 16 ff.):

> *[Βοττιαîοι δὲ ὀμν]υόντον κατὰ [τάδε]·*
> *φίλοι ἐσόμε[θα Ἀθεναίοις καὶ χσύμ]μαχοι πιστô[ς] κα[ὶ]*
> *ἀδόλος καὶ τ[ὸς αὐ]τὸ[ς φίλος καὶ ἐχθ]ρὸς νομιôμε[ν] hόσ-*

*περ ἂν Ἀθενα[ῖοι], καὶ ο[ὐκ ὀφελέσο τὸ]ς ἐχθρὸς τὸς Ἀθεν-
αίον οὔτε χρ[έμα]σ̣ιν h[απλôς οὔτε δυ]νάμει οὐδεμιᾶι, ο-
ὐδὲ μνεσικ[ακέσο] τὸ̣ν [παροιχομέν]ον ἕνεκα.*

IG i³. 89 (417–413?) contains a treaty with the Macedonian king Perdiccas. The Macedonian oath is cited as follows (ll. 27 ff.):

ὀμνύντον δέ· δράσο κα̣[ὶ ἐρô . . . 35 . .]
[. . 30 . . *καὶ τὸ]ς αὐτὸς φίλος νομιô καὶ ἐχθρ̣[ὸς hόσπερ ἂν Ἀθεναῖοι* . . 21 . .]
[. . 27 . . *πρὸς Ἀθε]ν̣αίος δικαίος καὶ ἀδόλος κα[ὶ ἀβλαβôς* . . 32 . .]
[. . 33 . . *κ]ατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τôι δέμοι τôι Ἀθεναίον* [. . 32 . .]
[. . 23 . . *καὶ οὐδένα κο]πέας ἐχσάγεν ἐάσο ἐὰμ μὲ Ἀθε[ναίο* . . 36 . .]
[. . 36 . .]*ς Ἀ̣θ̣εναίον ἐὰμ μὲ Ἀθενα̣ιον* [. . 38 . .]
[. . 38 . . *δ]υ̣ν̣ατὸν hόσοι ἂν ἐθέλοσι* [. . 38 . .]
[. . 42 . .]*ιας πρ̣ὸς Ἀθεναίος, το[ῖ]ς δὲ* [. . 34 . .]
[. . 31 . . *Περδίκκα]ν̣ καὶ τὸς βασιλέας τὸς [μ]ετ̣ὰ Περδ̣[ίκκο* . . 28 . .]
[. . 34 . . *ἐπὶ τοῖ]ς ἴσοις καὶ τοῖς ὁμ[οίο]ις.*

One special case is the alliance of the Athenians with Argos, Mantinea, and Elis of 420 BC (*IG* i³. 83). With slight variations, the text coincides with that cited by Thucydides (5. 47), but the inscription is broken off at the start of the oath. Thucydides, who gives the full treaty, cites the oath as follows (5. 47. 8):

ὁ δὲ ὅρκος ἔστω ὅδε· "ἐμμενῶ τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα δικαίως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς καὶ ἀδόλως, καὶ οὐ παραβήσομαι τέχνῃ οὐδὲ μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ."

Other Attic inscriptions lack or fail to cite the formula for the oath to be sworn by the different parties.[5]

4 The Formula for the Oath of the Non-Attic Party in Attic Treaties of the Fourth Century BC

The structure of the texts recording international treaties remained practically unaltered in the fourth century. Until at least 338 BC, there were only slight changes. Some documents allude to the *ὅρκος νόμιμος* or to the *ὅρκος μέγιστος*, which indicates that each state used a traditional form of oath to sanction a treaty unless otherwise stated. Thus, the treaty of 394 between

[5] This is the case with *IG* i³. 11 (treaty with Segesta, earlier than mid-5th cent.), *IG* i³. 21 ([*Μι*]*λεσί̣*[*οις χσυγ*]*γρ*[*αφαί*], 450/49), and *IG* i³. 31 (*c*.450). The treaty with Phaselis (*IG* i³. 10) is earlier and does not cite the formulae for the oaths. *IG* i³. 53 (alliance between Athens and Rhegion) contains two decrees of *c*.448 and 433/2, but the stone is fractured and only the oath of the Athenians has been preserved.

Athens and Eretria (*IG* ii/iii^2. 16) says *ὀμνύναι δὲ τ[ὸ]ν [ν]όμιμ[ο][ν ὅρκον ἑκατέρο]υς τὸν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτ[ο][ῖς*. There is a very similar indication in the text of the alliance of 368/7 between Dionysius of Syracuse and Athens (*IG* ii/iii^2. 105; Tod, *GHI* 136). Moreover, the Athenians are always mentioned after the other signatory state. The following fourth-century treaties give a literal citation of the oath of the non-Attic party:

IG ii/iii^2. 97 (375/4) contains a treaty between Corcyra and Athens. The oath to be sworn be the Corcyreans is cited as follows (ll. 27 ff.):

> *[βοηθήσω Ἀθ]ηναίων τῶι [δ]ήμωι παντὶ σθέν-*
> *[ει κατὰ τὸ δυν]ατόν, αἴ κά τις ἐ[πίηι ἐπὶ πο]-*
> *[λέμωι ἢ κατὰ γ]ῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐ[πὶ τὴγ]*
> *[χώραν τὴν Ἀθην]αίων, καθ᾿ ὅτι κ᾿ ἐπαγ[γέ]λλω-*
> *[ντι Ἀθηναῖ]οι, καὶ περὶ πολέμ[ο]υ κ[αὶ εἰρ]ή-*
> *[νης πράξω καθ᾿ ὅτ]ι κ[α] Ἀ[θ]ηναίο[ι]ς κ[α]ὶ [τῶι] π-*
> *[λήθει τῶν συμμάχ]ων δ[ο]κῆι κ[αὶ τἆ]λλα ποι-*
> *[ήσω κατὰ τὰ δόγματα] τὰ Ἀθηνα[ί]ων κα[ὶ τῶ]ν*
> *[συμμάχων· ἀληθῆ δὲ ταῦ]τα να[ὶ τ]ὸν Δία [κα]ὶ*
> *[τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὰν Δά]ματ[ρα]· εὐορκ[έο]ν-*
> *[τι μέμ μοι εἴη πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθ]ά, εἰ δὲ μή, [τἀ-]*
> *[ναντία].*

IG ii/iii^2. 111 (362) contains an alliance treaty between the city of Iulis on the island of Ceos and the Athenians. Both oaths are preserved, and both are in Attic.

IG ii/iii^2. 116 (361/0) records a treaty between the Thessalians and Athens. The Thessalian oath is cited as follows (ll. 26 ff.):

> *βο[η]θ[ήσ]ω παντὶ σθέ-*
> *νει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ἐάν τις ἴ[ηι] ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀθ-*
> *[ην]αίων ἐπὶ πολέμωι ἢ τὸν δῆμον καταλύει τὸν Ἀθηνα-*
> *[ίων].*

IG ii/iii^2. 230 (341/0) contains an alliance treaty with Eretria. It cites the oaths of both the Athenians and the Eretrians. Both are in Attic, and are similar to those in the previous treaty.

IG ii/iii^2 236 (338/7) records the Athenian treaty with Philip of Macedonia after the battle of Chaeronea. The oath is as follows (ll. 2 ff.):

> [. . . 21 . . *Ποσ]ειδῶ* . . 5 . .
> . . . 22 . *ς ἐμμεν[ῶ* . . 4 . .]

. . .22. .νον[τ]ας τ. . .4. .
[. . .18. . οὐδ]ὲ ὅπλα ἐ[π]οί[σω ἐ-]
[πὶ πημονῆι ἐπ᾽ οὐδένα τῶν] ἐμμενόντ[ω]ν ἐν τ-
[οῖς ὅρκοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν] οὔτε κατὰ [θ]άλασ-
[σαν· οὐδὲ πόλιν οὐδὲ φρο]ύριον καταλήψομ-
[αι οὔτε λιμένα ἐπὶ πολέ]μωι οὐθενὸς τῶν τ-
[ῆς εἰρήνης κοινωνούντ]ων τέχνηι οὐδεμι-
[ᾶι οὔτε μηχανῆι· οὐδὲ τ]ὴν βασιλείαν [τ]ὴν Φ-
[ιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκγόν]ων καταλύσω ὀδὲ τὰ-
[ς πολιτείας τὰς οὔσας] παρ᾽ ἑκάστοις ὅτε τ-
[οὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τ]ῆς εἰρήνης ὤμνυον·
[οὐδὲ ποιήσω οὐδὲν ἐνα]ντίον ταῖσδε ταῖς
[σπονδαῖς οὔτ᾽ ἐγὼ οὔτ᾽ ἄλ]λωι ἐπιτρέψω εἰς
[δύναμιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν τις ποεῖ τι] παράσπονδ[ον] πε-
[ρὶ τὰς συνθήκας, βοηθήσω] καθότι ἂν παραγ-
[γέλλωσιν οἱ ἀεὶ δεόμενοι] καὶ πολεμήσω τῶ-
[ι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην παρ]αβαίνοντι καθότι
[ἂν ῆι συντεταγμένον ἐμαυ]τῶι καὶ ὁ ἡγε[μὼ]-
[ν κελεύηι . .12. . κα]ταλείψω τε. .

In short, three inscriptions cite the oaths in the Attic dialect, while the treaties with Corcyra and Philip respectively adopt forms of Dorian and Koine.[6]

Besides the preceding examples, *IG* ii/iii². 127 (356/5) contains a *συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Κετρίπορ[ιν τὸν Θρᾶικα καὶ το]ὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πρὸς Λύππειον τὸν [Παίονα καὶ πρὸς Γρά]βον τὸν Ἰλλυριόν*, of which the verbatim text of the Athenian oath has been preserved but not that of the Thracians. *IG* ii/iii². 148 (356/5) is likewise fragmentary.[7]

5 Use of the Attic Dialect by Athens in International Relations

The most obvious interpretation of the fact that the oath is cited in Attic is that it was spoken in Attic, both by the Athenian state and by the other signatory state.[8] This means that the Athenians used the Attic dialect as a

[6] The Athenian treaties with Corcyra and Philip quoted above and the alliance with Naxos (*IG* ii/iii². 179 a, *c.*350, cf. *SEG* xxi. 260) are the only Attic inscriptions with *σσ* instead of *ττ* (apart from the *titulus sepulcralis IG* i². 1042), according to Threatte (1980: 538).

[7] Moreover, the oath is mentioned but not cited in the following Athenian treaties: with Boeotia (*IG* ii/iii². 14, 395/4); with the Locrians (*IG* ii/iii². 15, 395/4); with Eretria (*IG* ii/iii². 16, 394); with Chios (*IG* ii/iii² 34, 384); with Thebes and Mytilene (*IG* ii/iii². 40, 378/7); with Byzantium (*IG* ii/iii². 41, 378/7); with Methymna (*IG* ii/iii². 42, 378/7); with Chalcis (*IG* ii/iii². 44, 377; *IG* ii/iii². 105, 368/7); with Arcadia, Achaia, Elis, and Phlius (*IG* ii/iii². 112, 362/1).

[8] Aesch. 3. 110 ff. quotes the curse contained in an oath sworn in the Attic dialect by

standard form of written communication in their relations with the Greek city-states. Such an interpretation is particularly likely in the case of the treaties imposed on Erythrae in 453/2, Colophon in 447/6, Eretria and Chalcis in 446/5, and Samos in 439/8, all of them members of the Attic–Delian league which tried to defect and were curbed by force of arms.[9]

Other alternative interpretations present difficulties. For example, it might be imagined that since it is the Attic copy of the treaty that has come down to us in all the cases mentioned so far, the copy in the other state (or at least the text of the oath) would have been in a dialect other than Attic, probably that spoken by the citizens of the state in question. However, certain indicators make this interpretation implausible. On the one hand, in the few cases where we have two copies of the same document, such as the Athenian decree of 423/2 on the first fruits of Eleusis (*IG* i³. 78; *SIG*³. 83; Tod, *GHI* 74; Meiggs–Lewis 73), the differences between them are limited to the notation of initial *h* and some word-endings.[10] On the other hand, in the rare cases where the copy from the non-Attic state has survived, the decree is none the less in Attic. A case in point is *IG* i³. 1454 a (= *IG* xii/1. 977; Tod, *GHI* 110; *c.*445–430 BC), which records the granting of the title of benefactor of the Athenians to the *koinon* of Carpathos. This decree, which is in Attic even though the inscription was found on the island of Carpathos near Rhodes, provides for the erection of a stone stele on the Athenian Acropolis and another at the shrine of Apollo on Carpathos. It can therefore be deduced that it is the Carpathos copy which has reached us:

> [γράψαι δὲ τ]αῦτα ἐν στήληι [λ]-
> [ιθίνηι ἐμ] πόληι καὶ ἐγ Καρ[π]-
> [άθωι ἐν τῶι] ἱερῶι τô Ἀπόλλ[ω]-
> [νος

Furthermore, the decree on the unification of coinage, weights, and measures in the Attic–Delian league (*IG* i³. 1453), earlier than 414 and probably datable to 449/8, has come down to us in the form of six or seven fragmen-

the members of the Delphic amphictiony. The textual conventions of international treaties, however, may not have been the same as those of political speeches.

[9] This interpretation is supported, for instance, by the fact that the alliance between Amyntas of Macedonia and the Chalcidians (*SIG*³. 135; Tod, *GHI* 111) is in the Euboean dialect. The treaty between Iulis (Ceos) and Histiaea (*c.*364 BC) (*IG* xii/5. 594; *SIG*³ 172; Tod, *GHI* 141) contains the following formula for the oath: καὶ τῶι ὅρκωι πρ[οστίθεσθαι τῶι τῆς] βουλῆς· "καὶ περὶ Ἱστιαιέωμ [βουλεύσειν ⟨ἀγαθὸν⟩ ὅ,τι ἂν] δύνωνται", ἐν Ἱστιαίαι δὲ τῶι [ὅρκωι· "καὶ περὶ] Κείωμ βουλεύσειν ἀγα[θὸν ὅ,τι ἂν δύνωνται πλεῖστο][ν]".

[10] The Eleusis copy has χιλίαισιν δραχμέσι (20), while the fragmentary Athens copy has χιλίαις δραχμαῖς.

tary copies found at Siphnos, Syme, Smyrna, Aphytis, Cos, Odessa, and perhaps Hamaxitos in the Troad. Although other dialects were spoken at these places, all the copies are in Attic.[11] The decree itself lays down that a copy should be made for each city. According to the *textus compositus* preserved by the copies, the reading is as follows: (8) [*ἀναγ*]*ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τ*[*όδε τὸς ἄ*]*ρχοντα*[*ς ἐ*]*ν ταῖσι πόλεσιν* [*καὶ θεῖναι ἐν στή*]*λῃι λιθίνῃι ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι* [*ἑκάστης*] *τῆ*[*ς πό*]*λεως καὶ τὸς ἐπιστ*[*άτας ἔμπροσθεν*] *τô ἀργυροκοπίο· ταῦτα δὲ ἐπ*[*ιτελέσαι Ἀθηναίος, ἐ*]*ὰμ μὴ αὐτοὶ βόλωνται.*

These examples suggest that copies made for the international diffusion of an Attic decree were written in the Attic dialect, regardless of the dialect spoken in a particular city, since nothing would seem to indicate that the decrees mentioned above are in any way exceptional.

6 Attic Linguistic Imperialism

Why was Attic used for the oath to be sworn by the representative of a state signing a treaty with Athens, even if Attic was not spoken there? The most plausible answer is that the Attic state imposed the use of its dialect, either because it was profiting from its military power and cultural influence, or because its military and cultural superiority was accepted by the allies and other states, or because the other state attached no importance to the dialectal form that was used. In any case, one is led to the conclusion—supported also by other data[12]—that the state of Athens pursued a linguistic policy geared towards the diffusion of the Attic dialect, and that this was decisive for the creation and expansion of the Koine.

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[11] For a linguistic analysis of this document, cf. Crespo (forthcoming).

[12] In inscriptions recording the first fruits of the tribute offered to Athena, the names of the allied peoples of the Attic–Delian league are generally given in Attic, though there are exceptions (cf. Threatte 1980: 496, 524). Many legal hearings affecting members of the Attic–Delian league are known to have been held compulsorily in Athens, which makes it plausible that the use of the Attic dialect should have predominated.

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9

Rules without Reasons? Words for Children in Papyrus Letters

Eleanor Dickey

1 Background

Greek papyrus letters are full of words for children; when not sending greetings to children or passing on greetings from children, the writers are likely to be discussing their offspring's health, activities, or clothing. Some children are mentioned by name, but many are identified only by a kinship term, or by a combination of name and kinship term. The use of these kinship terms in letters seems to have little to do with their individual meanings but rather follows a peculiar set of rules, different both from the usage of their English equivalents and from that of the same Greek words in classical literature. One can identify the rules concerned and the deviations from classical usage, but a full understanding of the reasons for these developments requires a greater mind than mine. It is with pleasure, therefore, that I offer these riddles to one who has such a mind, in hopes that she may enjoy solving them.

In Classical Attic there are five main words for children: *υἱός* 'son', *θυγάτηρ* 'daughter', *παῖς* 'child', *παιδίον* 'little child', and *τέκνον* 'child'; many rarer terms also exist. These words are used largely as their English translations suggest: *υἱός* and *θυγάτηρ* describe offspring who may be any age but must have the appropriate gender and relationship, while the other three may be used for both males and females (though the preponderance of males in literature means that such terms are normally used of males), as long as they are young and/or the offspring of some specific person. The one major difference from English usage is that *παῖς*/*παιδίον* and *τέκνον* tend to represent different aspects of the meaning of 'child': *παῖς* and *παιδίον* stress age more than kinship (as does 'children' in English 'She really

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loves children', which is more likely to be said of someone fond of young people than of someone who loves all offspring of any set of parents), while *τέκνον* stresses kinship more than age (as does 'children' in English 'All her children have doctorates', which is more likely to be said of someone whose offspring are grown than of the mother of multiple child prodigies).[1] A related complication is that *παῖς* and *παιδίον* can be used for slaves of any age (cf. 'boy' for servants in some varieties of English).

The usage of these terms in the classical period is divided by genre and register as well as by meaning. *Τέκνον* is basically a poetic word, accounting for 36 per cent of the occurrences of these five words in Euripides and only 2 per cent in Plato, while *παιδίον* is a prose word, accounting for 6 per cent of the occurrences of these words in Plato but never found in Euripides.[2] *Παῖς* is thoroughly at home in all genres and in each is more frequent than the other 'child' words, usually by a considerable margin. *Υἱός* and *θυγάτηρ*, on the other hand, are not common in any genre; the rarity of *θυγάτηρ* may have to do with a lack of discussion of females, but since *υἱός* is even rarer than *θυγάτηρ* in both prose and tragedy, its scarcity has to do with the word itself rather than with extralinguistic factors.

In papyrus letters the usage of these terms alters significantly.[3] *Παῖς*, the

[1] This distinction is by no means absolute; for example, vocative patronymics are normally formed with *παῖ* rather than *τέκνον*, and such forms are freely addressed to adults, thereby making it clear that *παῖ* indicates kinship rather than age in this context (e.g. *παῖ Ἀρίστωνος* 'child of Ariston', Plato, *Rep.* 427 D; *παῖ τοκέων ἀγαθῶν Ἡράκλεις* 'Herakles, child of good parents', Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 33). For more information on the usage of *παῖς*, *τέκνον*, and other words for children in the classical period see Menge (1905: 7–14), Golden (1985; 1990: 12–16), and Dickey (1996: 63–72).

[2] Statistics on classical usage are based on electronic searches of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* online (www.tlg.uci.edu) in October 2002. They are probably not completely accurate, but certainly close to accurate. They exclude uses to slaves and examples in Plato's letters and Euripides' fragments. The raw numbers are: Plato: *τέκνον* 14, *παῖς* 530, *παιδίον* 38, *υἱός* 1, *θυγάτηρ* 38; Euripides: *τέκνον* 509, *παῖς* 800, *παιδίον* 0, *υἱός* 3, *θυγάτηρ* 109. The figures for *παῖς* are approximations, calculated by taking the results of an electronic search for the word, reading through the first 200 examples of it in each author to determine the percentage that is applied to slaves, and then subtracting that percentage from the original search results.

[3] The corpus for this study is based on the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens* (http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/gvz.html) as of May 2002; it consists of those documents identified by the *Gesamtverzeichnis* as letters written in the 3rd cent. AD or earlier. Letters written later than the 3rd cent. are excluded because the growing influence of Christianity on the use of kinshp terms causes a break with earlier patterns. Other types of papyrus document, such as petitions and census records, are excluded because they often involve the formulaic use of large numbers of kinship terms (e.g. in imperial genealogies) in a way quite different from the more conversational language of the letters. The resulting corpus consists of 4,738 letters, with the largest concentrations coming from the 3rd cent. BC (1,586) and the 2nd cent. AD (1,057), and the smallest from the

most common of the 'child' words in the classical period, is virtually absent from papyrus letters from their beginnings in the third century BC onwards (except in the meaning 'slave').[4] Its place is taken by a dramatic expansion of the use of *υἱός*, *τέκνον*, and *παιδίον*. In the absence of *παῖς*, *παιδίον* seems to lose much of its diminutive force, so that it means 'child' rather than 'little child'.[5] And a new set of rules for determining the choice between these different words emerges.

Given that the loss of *παῖς* meant that there were only four major terms[6] for children in papyrus letters, *υἱός*, *θυγάτηρ*, *τέκνον*, and *παιδίον*, and given that each of these had a different meaning, one would expect the choice between them to be based on their meanings, and indeed a detailed explanation of their usage in Koine Greek, based on distinctions of meaning, has been produced.[7] Yet this explanation, based on a much wider variety of sources than merely the papyrus letters but not on a systematic collection of data, fails to account for the way that, in letters, the four terms for children are found in almost complete complementary distribution with respect to two factors that have little to do with meaning: person and number. That is, there are sharp distinctions between the way the 'child' words are used when applied to the addressee of a letter and when applied to another person, and in the latter case there is a major difference between singular and plural usage.

1st cent. BC (182). These letters contain 825 examples of *υἱός*, *θυγάτηρ*, *παιδίον*, and *τέκνον* (excluding words that are wholly editorial supplements, but including partial supplements; in the case of *παιδίον* I have counted only examples in which the context makes it clear that the word refers to children rather than to slaves, and there are an additional 21 examples in which the meaning of *παιδίον* is unclear).

4 In letters from the 3rd cent. BC, *παῖς* is common in the meaning 'slave'; later there are fewer discussions of slaves, and when they are mentioned the usual term is *παιδάριον*, so that *παῖς* vanishes altogether from letters. The only passages I can find in the letters in which *παῖς* certainly or probably refers to children rather than slaves are *UPZ* 1. 144. 19 (ii BC) and *P. Oxy*. 1. 113. 31, *P. Tebt*. 2. 314. 8, *PSI* 1. 94. 7 (all ii AD), but there are many doubtful passages in the early letters. For further information on the use of *παῖς* and other 'child' words for slaves in the papyri, see Scholl (1983: 4–12).

5 For example, the word is used for a member of a legion at *P. Oxy*. 14. 1666. 13 and for a couple about to be married at *P. Oxy*. 46. 3313. 18. See Shipp (1979: 432).

6 Rarer terms also occur, of course; these include *παιδάριον* 'little child' (e.g. *P. Col*. 3. 6. 1; *P. Lond*. 7. 2042. 11; this word is also common in use to slaves), *θυγάτριον* 'little daughter' (*P. Münch*. 3. 57. 20; *P. Petr*. 3. 53(r). 3), and *τεκνία* 'children' (*P. Flor*. 3. 365. 15; *P. Oxy*. 14. 1766. 14). Such terms are normally confined to referential usage and never appear in the vocative in letters.

7 Stanton (1988); also Shipp (1979: 430–5, 530).

2 Distinctions of Number

Most of the time, words for children occurring in papyrus letters are used for third-person reference (i.e. not to the addressee), and in this context the choice among the different words appears to be governed primarily by number. If a single child is mentioned, *υἱός* or *θυγάτηρ* is normally used, and these two words therefore make up 89 per cent of the 395 examples in the singular. If two or more children are mentioned, one of the gender-neutral terms is normally preferred, so that *υἱός* and *θυγάτηρ* make up only 8 per cent of the 304 examples in the plural. That the operative distinction is indeed number, rather than another factor to which number might be coincidentally related, is suggested by texts in which the alternation occurs within a single sentence, as

ἀσπάζομαι τὴν ἀδε[λ]φήν μο[υ] καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ Ἐλουᾶθ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ Διοσκοροῦν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ Τ[ά]μαλιν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ Ἥρωνα καὶ Ἀμμωνάριον καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτῆς καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ Σανπατ' καὶ τὰ παιδία αὐτῆς (*BGU* 7. 1680. 4–8)

I greet my sister and her children and Elouath and his wife and Dioskorous and her husband and children and Tamalis and her husband and son and Heron and Ammonarion and her children and husband and Sampas and her children;

or

ἀσπάζου τὴν ἀδελφ[ήν μο]υ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτ[ῆς καὶ . . . ̣]ν καὶ Ἐπιτυχίαν καὶ Μαργ[αρίδα]ν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. (*P. Oxy.* 14. 1769. 12–17)

Greet my sister and her children and N. and Epitychia and Margarida and her daughter and all our people by name.

To some extent this distinction does depend on the different meanings of the words: since groups of children, particularly the family groups most often mentioned in letters, are likely to contain both boys and girls, they can only be referred to by gender-neutral terms, and therefore *υἱός* and *θυγάτηρ* are bound to be rare in the plural. But the other half of the distinction does not come from the words' meanings, for there is no reason why gender-neutral terms should not be used in the singular. The difference can be illustrated by comparison with classical literature, in which the use of words for children is clearly based primarily on factors other than number. In the fifth and fourth centuries *υἱός* and *θυγάτηρ* were of course rare in the plural, but in most authors they were not common even

in the singular.[8] By far the most common term, in both singular and plural, was the gender-neutral παῖς, and both παιδίον and τέκνον were used freely in the singular, so that in some authors their singulars are more frequent than their plurals.[9]

It is not unlikely that the distinction of number found in the papyri has something to do with the disappearance of παῖς and the vastly increased popularity of υἱός. (Υἱός is surprisingly infrequent in the classical period: despite the general preponderance of male to female terms, υἱός occurs less than once for every thirty occurrences of θυγάτηρ in Plato and Euripides. By contrast, in papyrus letters υἱός occurs more than twice as often as θυγάτηρ.) Yet these changes should not by themselves cause τέκνον and παιδίον to become largely restricted to plural usage, and in fact we can see that they did not originally do so. The decline of παῖς and the rise of υἱός are already visible in papyri of the third century BC, but during the Ptolemaic period the popularity of υἱός does not appear to limit the usage of τέκνον or παιδίον in the singular. Until the first century AD παιδίον is used approximately equally in the singular and in the plural, while τέκνον is so rare in papyri that its usage cannot be meaningfully analysed.[10] From the first century AD, however, both τέκνον and παιδίον become rare in the singular and common in the plural.[11] It therefore looks as though the classical distinction of meaning among these terms was largely replaced by a distinction of number around the beginning of the Roman period, but it is difficult to determine how or why such a change took place.

This distinction of number leaves a large body of plural references divided between παιδία and τέκνα; during the Ptolemaic period, as we have seen, τέκνα is rare and the preferred term is clearly παιδία, but from the first century AD the division is fairly equal. Here, since the words have different meanings and no other constraints on usage can be identified, one would expect the choice between these terms to be based on meaning. Indeed,

[8] e.g. Plato, υἱός sing. 1, pl. 0, θυγάτηρ sing. 25, pl. 13; Euripides, υἱός sing. 3, pl. 0, θυγάτηρ sing. 100, pl. 9; Aristophanes, υἱός sing. 31, pl. 4, θυγάτηρ sing. 13, pl. 0.

[9] e.g. Plato, τέκνον sing. 0, pl. 14, παιδίον sing. 9, pl. 27; Euripides, τέκνον sing. 181, pl. 328, παιδίον sing. 0, pl. 0; Aristophanes, τέκνον sing. 12, pl. 8, παιδίον sing. 21, pl. 22; Menander, τέκνον sing. 16, pl. 14, παιδίον sing. 77, pl. 4.

[10] iii BC: παιδίον at *P. Cair.Zen.* 3. 59335. 5; *P. Col.* 3. 6. 4, 8; παιδία at *P. Lond.* 7. 1976. 18; *P. Petr.* 2. 2 (4). 1; *PSI* 5. 498. 4; τέκνον at *P. Zen. Pestm.* 51. 16; *P. Lille* 1. 17. 13. ii BC: παιδίον at *UPZ* 1. 59. 5, 14; 1. 60. 4, 12; παιδία at *BGU* 10. 2006. 2, 4; *P. Bad.* 4. 48. 14; *P. Rein.* 2. 109. 5; *P. Tebt.* 3. 2. 948. 5; *UPZ* 1. 60. 4, 19; τέκνα at *P. Genova* 3. 92b1. 28. i BC: παιδίον at *BGU* 4. 1203. 8; 4. 1204. 11; 4. 1205. 25, 8; 4. 1871. 6; *P. Oxy.* 4. 744. 7; παιδία at *P. Lips.* 104. 11; *P. Oxy.* 7. 1061. 25; *P. Tebt.* 2. 284. 9, 11; τέκνα at *BGU* 16. 2632. 11. i BC–i AD: παιδίον at *PSI* 12. 1242. 11.

[11] In referential use in the 1st–3rd cents. AD, τέκνον is used in the plural 93% of the time and παιδίον 87% of the time.

one passage can be found in which such a distinction seems to be made, with *τέκνα* stressing (metaphorical) relationship more than *παιδία*: *ἔχομεν τὰ παιδία ὡς ἴδια τέκνα* 'we consider the [i.e. your] children like our own offspring' (*P. Oxy*. 46. 3313. 18–19). Even in this passage, however, *ἴδια* was needed to get the meaning across,[12] and in other letters that employ both terms no distinction in meaning can be found.[13] Nor is there an apparent distinction between one letter and the next: within the corpus of Oxyrhynchus papyri one can find pairs such as

(1a) *πρὸ παντὸς εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν μετὰ τῶν ἀβασκάντων σου παιδίων* 'before everything I pray that you are well, along with your children, [may they be] unharmed' (*P. Oxy*. 14. 1758. 3–5, ii AD).
(1b) *πρὸ τῶν ὅλων εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων σου* 'before all I pray that you are well, along with your children' (*P. Oxy*. 12. 1586. 3–5, iii AD).

(2a) *ἄσπασαι τὰ παιδία καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ* 'Greet your children and those in the house' (*P. Oxy*. 36. 2787. 6–7, ii AD).
(2b) *ἄσπασαι πολλὰ τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου τέκνα καὶ τὴν σύμβιον* 'Greet very much your children, [may they be] unharmed, and your wife' (*P. Oxy. Hels*. 50. 20–2, iii AD).

(3a) *ἀσπάζεταί σε Χαιρήμων καὶ τὰ παιδία* 'Chairemon and his children greet you' (*P. Oxy*. 36. 2787. 7–8, iiAD).
(3b) *ἀσπάζετ[αί] σε Γαί⟨α⟩ καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτ[ῆς] καὶ ὁ σύμβιος* 'Gaia and her children and her husband greet you' (*P. Oxy*. 46. 3312. 8–10, ii AD).

(4a) *πρὸ μὲν πάντων σε πολλὰ προσαγορεύω καὶ τὰ ἀβάσκαντά σου παιδία* 'before all I greet you very much, and your children, [may they be] unharmed' (*P. Oxy*. 17. 2150. 3–4, iii AD).
(4b) *πρὸ π[άντων] γράφω ἀσπαζόμενος [τὰ] τέκνα ὑμῶν* 'before all I write greeting your children' (*P. Oxy*. 12. 1584. 3–5, ii AD).

(5a) *ἀσπάζου Στράτ[ο]ν καὶ Στρατονείκη καὶ τὰ πεδ[ία] αὐτῶν* 'Greet [from me] Straton and Stratonike and their children' (*P. Oxy*. 12. 1489. 9–10, iii AD).

[12] The *ὡς ἴδια τέκνα* phrase seems to be a set expression; it is used in the singular at *PSI* 12. 1248. 3–5: *μάρτυρες οἱ θεοὶ ὡς πυθόμενος περὶ τοῦ κυρίου μου, υἱοῦ ἡμῶν, οὕτως ἠχθέσθην καὶ ἐπένθησα ὡς ἴδιον τέκνον* 'The gods are witnesses that when I learnt about my lord our [i.e. your] son, I was as grieved and filled with lamentation as for my own child.' See also *P. Lond*. 3. 897. 28.

[13] *BGU* 2. 380. 7, 23; 3. 714. 8, 12, 14; *P. Mich*. 3. 203. 21, 22, 24, 26, 29, 30; 3. 209. 20, 21; 8. 464. 9, 24; 8. 504. 3, 8, 10; 8. 514. 32, 33, 38; *P. Oxy*. 49. 3506. 23, 24; *P. Wisc*. 2. 72. 6, 25; *P. Würzb*. 21B. 10, 15.

(5b) ἀσπ[άζ]ο[μ]ε . . . καὶ Ἄννειν κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς 'I greet . . . and Anneis and her children' (*P. Oxy.* 14. 1678. 18–22, iii AD).

In fact, since alternation between παιδία and τέκνα within a single letter is rare, it appears that where one writer uses τέκνα, another simply prefers παιδία, so that even those arguing for distinctions of meaning between these terms in other situations conclude that in such references the choice is usually simply random.[14]

3 Distinctions between Address and Referential Usage

When words for children are used to the addressee of the letter rather than in reference to another person, they may appear in the vocative case.[15] In such situations the normal term, indeed the only one used at all before the third century, is τέκνον. Since all vocatives using terms for children are singular in the papyri, the use of τέκνον in these addresses is in direct contradiction to the distinction of number found in reference; it is clear that a completely different rule operates for direct address. Eventually, however, at the end of our time period, the vocative υἱέ makes its appearance in letters, and in the fourth century it is more common than τέκνον in direct address. The appearance and rapid growth of υἱέ could be due to an effort to bridge the gap between reference and address usage and eliminate the oddity of using the singular vocative of a word that is almost always plural in other cases, but the possibility of such an effort only serves to emphasize the peculiar nature of the original situation.

Differences between address and referential usage are common in many languages (see Braun 1988: 259–65; Dickey 1997); for example, it is normal to begin speeches in English by addressing the audience as 'ladies and

[14] Stanton (1988: 469–70). It is also clear that the distinction found in tragedy between παῖς and τέκνον, by which παῖς is used with reference to the father and τέκνον with reference to the mother (see Menge 1905: 7, 12–14; and LSJ, s.v. τέκνον), does not apply in papyrus letters. Compare the use of τέκνα in phrases meaning 'wife and children' at *BGU* 2. 601. 25; *P. Mich.* 3. 219. 23; 15. 752. 40; *P. Oxy.* 3. 533. 2; *P. Princ.* 2. 70. 15; *SB* 14. 11906. 4 with παιδία in similar phrases at *P. Cair.Isid.* 132. 18; *P. Erl.* 113. 11; *P. Mich.* 3. 208. 8; *P. Oxy.* 31. 2559. 12; *P. Princ.* 2. 71. 21; *P. Tebt.* 2. 421. 12; *UPZ* 1. 60. 19. Note also the use of τέκνα with a masculine possessive genitive at *BGU* 2. 601. 24; 4. 1097. 23; *P. Mert.* 2. 63. 20; *P. Mich.* 3. 203. 29; but a feminine at *BGU* 2. 601. 29; 4. 1097. 25; *P. Mert.* 2. 63. 25; *P. Mich.* 3. 203. 30; and παιδία with a masculine genitive at *P. Cair. Isid.* 132. 16, 18; *P. Lond.* 2. 479. 20; *P. Oxy.* 9. 1218. 11; 59. 3989. 13; but a feminine at *P. Cair. Isid.* 132. 15–16; *BGU* 7. 1680. 8; *P. Tebt.* 2. 414. 6; *SB* 10. 10557. 16.

[15] Vocatives of all kinship terms are rare in letters before the 2nd cent. AD and non-existent in the Ptolemaic period; the scarcity of vocatives of 'child' words at an early period is thus due to something other than the properties of these particular words. For a more complete discussion see Dickey (forthcoming[1]; forthcoming[2]).

gentlemen', but it is most abnormal to refer to the audience in that way, for example by saying 'Tomorrow I must give a speech to the ladies and gentlemen'. There is, however, more than one type of address: free address in the vocative, such as 'Ladies and gentlemen', and bound address in other cases, such as 'I hope Your Majesty will enjoy the ceremony' (see Braun 1988: 11–12). Bound addresses are standard at the beginnings of Greek letters; while we begin with a free address ('Dear Jimmy', 'Dear Sir', etc.), Greek letter-writers of all periods tended to open their epistles with a formula that put the addressee in the dative, as *Ἀσκληπιάδης Ζωίλῳ υἱῷ χαίρειν* 'Asklepiades to his son Zoilos, greetings' (*P. Oxy.* 17. 2152. 1). This dative is thus a type of address, so one might expect words in such a position to behave like those used in the vocative.[16]

In letter-headings, however, the *τέκνον* so preferred in the vocative is almost never used. Instead we find, in letters of all periods, an overwhelming preference for *υἱός* or *θυγάτηρ*. At first glance, this preference might seem to indicate that 'child' words in headings behave like those in referential usage, rather than those in direct address; i.e. it might suggest that there is a simple bipartite division between vocative and non-vocative usage. For the rarity of *τέκνον* and *παιδίον* in headings, despite their frequency in referential usage, could be a natural consequence of the distinction of number made in third-person reference. A letter is normally addressed to a single individual, so the term in the dative is usually singular, and hence one would expect *υἱός* or *θυγάτηρ* to be used about 89 per cent of the time.

But in fact the preference for these terms in headings is stronger than in singular references. They are used not 89 per cent of the time, but 95 per cent of the time.[17] Moreover, efforts are made to use *υἱός* and *θυγάτηρ* even when there are two addressees of different genders. This can be done by naming each one separately, as *. . δ . . Ἀριστάρχῳ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ Μικκάλῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ χαίρειν* 'N. to his son Aristarchos and his daughter Mikkale, greetings' (*P. Lille* 1. 17. 1–3) and *Τρυφᾶς Ἀθηνοδώρῳ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ Ἀρτέμιτι τῇ θυγατρὶ πλεῖστα χαίρειν* 'Truphas to his son Athenodoros and his daughter Artemis, very many greetings' (*BGU* 16. 2618. 1–3). In referential usage this elaborate type of division is unusual (though not impossible), so that even if there is a need to name each child, the names can simply be added to *τέκνα* or *παιδία*, as in *ἄσπασαι . . . [τὰ ἀβ]άσκαντα παιδία [Σα]ραπιάδα κα[ὶ Κ]λέωνα* 'greet . . . the children Sarapias and Kleon, [may they be] unharmed' (*SB*

[16] Essentially the same dative is found in the delivery information on the outside of a letter, which often echoes the heading. For this reason the kinship terms used in such information tend to be the same as those found in the heading of the same letter.

[17] Exact figures: *υἱός* 84, *θυγάτηρ* 18, *παιδίον* 2, *τέκνον* 3, total 107.

14. 11899. 5–6) and ἄσπασε . . . [τ]ὰ τέκνα Σῶμα καὶ Νεστορίαινα 'greet . . . the children Soma and Nestoriaina' (*BGU* 3. 714. 10–15).

One heading seems to employ an even more unusual device to allow the use of the standard heading terminology even with two addressees of mixed gender: the plural υἱοῖς is used despite the probable feminine gender of one addressee. This heading reads Κοπρῦς κ[α]ὶ Σινθῶνις Σαραπάμμωνι καὶ Σύρᾳ τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις υἱοῖς χαίρειν 'Koprys and Sinthonis to Sarapammon and Syra their most honoured sons, greetings' (*P. Oxy*. 59. 3993. 1–2). The editors note that the second addressee could possibly be masculine but is more likely to be feminine, and that therefore this use of υἱός is very unusual, but they suggest no motivation for the usage (see notes ad loc.); a general tendency to avoid παιδίον and τέκνον in headings would provide the missing explanation here. It therefore seems likely that there was, in addition to the convention of preferring υἱός and θυγάτηρ to other terms in the singular, a convention of preferring these terms in headings irrespective of number.

The finding that υἱός and θυγάτηρ were the standard terms for offspring in headings while τέκνον was standard in the vocative is surprising, since the division normally made by linguists is a binary one between address and reference, not the tripartite one among headings, vocatives, and referential use that emerges here. Moreover, since the choice of forms of address often carries a great deal of meaning, one would expect the different meanings of υἱός and τέκνον to make at least some difference in their usage as addresses. It is therefore interesting that there are a number of letters in which a heading using υἱός or θυγάτηρ is followed by a vocative using τέκνον to the same addressee; the existence of such letters shows that the difference between τέκνον and υἱός/θυγάτηρ is not based on a difference of addressees, and it raises hopes that in such a controlled context the reasons for the alternation between the two words will surely be recoverable.

Such letters have been used as evidence that there is indeed a difference of meaning between υἱός/θυγάτηρ and τέκνον.[18] In two of them the υἱῷ in the heading is qualified by γλυκυτάτῳ 'sweetest', while the vocative τέκνον has no affectionate modifiers: Κορνήλιος Ἱέρακι τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ υἱῷ χαίρειν . . . τέκνον (*P. Oxy*. 3. 531. 1–2, 28) and Δωρίων Σερήνῳ τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ υἱῷ χαίρειν . . . κύριε τέκνον (*P. Mich*. 3. 212. 2, 15). It has been suggested that this difference occurs because τέκνον is in itself an affectionate, emotional

[18] The phenomenon of letters that use υἱός in the heading but τέκνον as a vocative was first observed by Eisner (1913: 52), who cited 6 examples, and is also discussed by Stanton (1988: 463–4), who adds another example; I have found three more within our time frame, as well as two from the fourth century: *P. Giss*. 1. 103 and *SB* 18. 13589.

term, whereas the more factual *υἱός* needs a modifier to express the same degree of affection (Stanton 1988: 464). Yet there are seven other letters in which the same alternation between *υἱῷ* (or *θυγατρί*) and vocative *τέκνον* occurs without any such modifiers: *Ἀλέξ[α]νδρος Θαῖβι τῇ [θ]υγατρὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν . . . τέκνον* (*P. Bad.* 2. 34. 1–2, 8), *Σαραπίων Εὐτυχίδῃ τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν . . . Εὐτυχ(ίδη) τέκνον* (*P. Sarap.* 83a. 1–2, 17), *Ἀπίων Ὡρίωνι τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν . . . τέκνον* (*P. Amh.* 2. 136. 1–2, 4), *Εὔδα[ι]μονὶς Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ υἱῷ πλεῖστα χαίρειν . . . τέκνον* (*P. Giss.* 1. 21. 1–2, 20), *Ἡραῒς Ἀγριππ[ί]νῳ τῷ υἱῷ πλεῖστα χ(αίρειν) . . . τέκνον* (*P. Gen.* 1. 74. 1, 3), *ἡ μήτη[ρ . .]ελόχῳ τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν . . . τέχνον* (*BGU* 2. 380. 1–2, 19), *Ἀρίστανδρος Ἀπίωνι τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν . . . τέκνον* (*P. Oxy.* 9. 1219. 1–2, 18). In another papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 6. 930) the heading is lost, but the vocative *τέκνον* (line 18) contrasts with the *Πτολεμαίῳ υἱῷ* of the address (line 30), making it virtually certain that the lost heading also contained *υἱῷ*. In these letters one can find no significant differences between the level of affection expressed at the start of the letter and the level expressed in the vocative, nor can one find such differences between the letters in which *τέκνον* is used and the few in which *υἱέ* occurs. The only explanation that fits the evidence, therefore, is that the factor governing the shift from *υἱῷ* to *τέκνον* was the difference between the conventions of usage in headings and the conventions of usage as vocatives.

4 Conclusions

The writers of papyrus letters were therefore following a complex set of rules when choosing among the different words for children, rather than considering the meanings of the individual terms. In the vocative, until the end of our period, they used *τέκνον*. In headings they used *υἱῷ* or *θυγατρί* according to the addressee's gender. In third-person reference they used *υἱός* or *θυγάτηρ* in the singular, but *παιδία* or *τέκνα*, apparently at random, in the plural.

All of this results in peculiar patterns of usage for the individual terms. *Θυγάτηρ*, which in the classical period was freely used in the vocative, apparently lost its ability to be used in address altogether.[19] *Υἱός*, which in the classical period was rare in general and even rarer in prose, became common in papyrus letters by the third century BC but was not usable in the vocative for another five centuries. *Παιδίον* was largely restricted to the plural and to referential usage. And *τέκνον*, a poetic word that we would not expect to see in the papyri at all, becomes one of the most common words

[19] I have found only two papyri in which this vocative occurs, both later than our period: *P. Oxy.* 59. 3998. 15, 35 and *SB* 14. 11437. 26.

for children from the first century AD onwards and is oddly split between vocative use, in which it is always singular, and referential use, in which it is almost always plural. The works of Homer show the same split between singular and plural use, though it had disappeared by the classical period; can there be any connection between Homeric use and that of the papyri? Alternatively, a sudden change at the beginning of the Roman period is often a sign of Latin influence, and such influence cannot be ruled out in this case: Latin has a term *liberi* with the same meaning as τέκνα, and it is notable that *liberi* occurs exclusively in the plural, that it occurs in contexts such as Pompeian graffiti that suggest it was in common use in non-literary language at this period and therefore suitable for borrowing, and that at least one letter in our corpus uses τέκνων to translate *liberorum* (*P. Mich.* 12. 627. 4). On the other hand, Latin offers no parallel for the (singular) vocative usage of τέκνον, and the tendency of referential τέκνον to be restricted to the plural is shared with παιδίον, which is most unlikely to be a translation of *liberi*.

These peculiar patterns, and the lack of any apparent explanation for the rules that were clearly being followed by the writers of papyrus letters, suggest that some forces are at work here that have not yet been successfully identified. It is to be hoped that the dedicatee of this volume, or other readers, may be able to find the reasons for the distribution.

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10

Langage de femmes et d'hommes en grec ancien: l'exemple de *Lysistrata*

Yves Duhoux

Nous aimerions savoir à quoi pouvait ressembler le grec parlé en Attique à l'époque classique. Ceci suppose que l'on définisse ce que peut être ce 'grec parlé'. Une première difficulté vient évidemment de l'absence de tout document oral conservé. Une deuxième, de ce que la situation linguistique attique classique n'était pas unitaire.[1] Une troisième, de la méthodologie à utiliser pour accéder, autant que faire se peut, au grec parlé à travers le corpus attique écrit. Quelle catégorie de textes faut-il prendre comme référence? Dans un ouvrage réellement excellent, Dickey (1996: 38–41) considère que 'the best place to look for conversational Greek will be in prose dialogues which are not especially humorous'. A-t-elle raison? Oui et non. Oui, parce que, bien entendu, ce type de textes est réellement utilisable pour une approche de l'oral. Non, parce qu'il ne livre le reflet que d'*une seule forme* d'attique oral. A l'extrême fin de son livre, Dickey (1996: 255) reconnaît elle-même que son corpus fournit 'an approximation of the upper-class Athenian system'. Cette appréciation est déjà moins éloignée de la réalité, mais elle oblitère une caractéristique essentielle du corpus utilisé: il est, en fait, presque exclusivement masculin. Ceci tient à une double masculinité. Il y a d'abord, celle de tous les auteurs; ensuite, celle de l'écrasante majorité des personnages dont les discours (directs ou indirects) sont rapportés. Il en résulte que le corpus, pourtant admirable par son énormité,[2] de Dickey élimine tout simplement la moitié de la population attique. Pour se rendre compte de la perte que ceci représente, une pierre de touche intéressante est fournie par les invocations aux dieux. Leur emploi et leur liste sont donnés par Dickey (1996: 187–9, 307–9). Prenons maintenant le petit corpus de la *Lysistrata* d'Aristophane—seulement 1318 vers, occupant à peine une soixantaine de pages. Il s'y trouve sept invoca-

[1] Bremer (1993: 148); Brixhe (1997); Dickey (1995); Dover (1987: 16–30); Duhoux (1988: 188–9; 1997*b*: 17–18); López Eire (1986).

[2] Voir la liste des auteurs et des œuvres (qui inclut par exemple tout Démosthène et tout Platon) dans Dickey (1996: 259–61).

tions aux dieux prononcées par les femmes.[3] Or, pas moins de cinq ou six d'entre elles sont absentes du relevé de Dickey . . . Il est facile (bien que vertigineux) d'imaginer les suppléments d'informations que nous apporterait la prise en compte de textes faisant parler des femmes.

Peut-on toutefois trouver des textes attiques féminins? La réponse est totalement négative pour les auteurs, puisque tous sont des hommes. Elle ne l'est toutefois pas toujours pour les œuvres. Ceci est surtout vrai pour les pièces de théâtre. Bien sûr, il n'est pas difficile d'en trouver où la majorité des rôles sont masculins.[4] A titre d'exemple, dans les 4,080 lignes de l'intégralité du théâtre conservé de Ménandre, Bain (1984: 31) ne relève que 346 lignes placées dans la bouche de rôles féminins: ceci signifie que plus de 90% des lignes sont prononcées par des personnages masculins . . . Il n'en est cependant pas toujours ainsi: d'après McClure (1995: 39–40), le théâtre d'Euripide compte 11228 lignes féminines (chœurs féminins inclus) contre 12096 lignes masculines. Bien entendu, l'auteur est encore toujours masculin, mais au moins il fait parler les femmes presque aussi souvent que les hommes (48,14%~51,86%).

Il est incontestable que la forme versifiée des pièces de théâtre grecques les éloigne nécessairement de la langue réellement parlée. Toutefois, le théâtre avait une caractéristique absente de toutes les autres œuvres: il tendait à créer l'illusion de la réalité (Duhoux 1997*b*: 40). Platon décrit d'ailleurs explicitement tragédie et comédie comme faisant partie d'une espèce '*entièrement imitative*'.[5] De ce point de vue, le théâtre s'oppose à toutes les autres œuvres littéraires. Et comme l'immense majorité des passages théâtraux est constituée de dialogues, on peut penser qu'ils fournissent une voie royale d'accès à ce que pouvait être une des formes de conversation attique.

Si cette façon de voir est exacte, elle devrait se traduire linguistiquement par une série d'oppositions linguistiques entre les textes scéniques et les autres œuvres littéraires.

Or, il en existe. Ainsi, le nombre de particules chute significativement dans les pièces de théâtre, alors qu'il est bien plus élevé dans les autres genres littéraires (Duhoux 1997*b*: 31–5). De même, la fréquence de plusieurs conjonctions de subordination est significativement plus basse au théâtre qu'ailleurs (Duhoux 1997*b*: 43). On observe aussi que les interrogations

[3] Voir p. 138.

[4] Rappelons que les acteurs athéniens étaient tous des hommes, mais qu'ils pouvaient interpréter des rôles aussi bien féminins que masculins.

[5] . . . ἡ μὲν διὰ μιμήσεως ὅλη ἐστίν, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, τραγῳδία τε καὶ κωμῳδία: *Rép.* 394 B–C.

directes sont en général significativement plus fréquentes au théâtre que dans les autres œuvres (Duhoux 1997*a*: 286). Des indices de ce genre confirment le caractère spécifique de la langue de la scène et invitent à conclure que le grec d'Athènes utilisait probablement moins de mots-outils du type des conjonctions de subordination et des particules à l'oral qu'à l'écrit.

Il est notoire que les parlers des femmes et des hommes peuvent se différencier dans une même langue: cette caractéristique a été relevée dans les langues modernes depuis au moins le XVIe s.[6] et elle y fait l'objet d'études régulières,[7] qui ont mis en valeur des particularités aussi bien phonétiques que morphologiques, syntaxiques ou lexicales individualisant les sociolectes féminin et masculin.[8] Pour le grec, Platon avait déjà été frappé par le conservatisme linguistique des femmes attiques[9] et avait signalé un trait de leur sociolecte.[10] Depuis Gilleland 1980,[11] les modernes ont commencé à s'intéresser aux langages féminin et masculin dans les langues classiques,[12] voire même en indo-européen.[13]

Il m'a semblé intéressant de faire une comparaison systématique de quelques particularités de ces sociolectes dans une pièce de théâtre, puisqu'elle se prête spécialement bien à la recherche d'énoncés reflétant une

[6] Ainsi, Key (1996: 3).

[7] État de la question et bibliographie dans Key (1996)—cette bibliographie ignore les études relatives aux langues anciennes (voir ci-dessous).

[8] Pour ces différents aspects, voir par exemple Key (1996: 61–5, 65–7, 67–70, 24–7), une série de titres de sa bibliographie et Adams (1984: 43).

[9] Dans le *Cratyle* 418 B–C (Bain 1984: 28–9; Duhoux 1988: 192–5; Sommerstein 1995: 81–3). Le même archaïsme est attribué aux Romaines (Adams 1984: 44; Gilleland 1980) et s'observe dans des langues modernes (Adams 1984: 43).

[10] Dans *Ménon* 99 D. Il s'agit de l'emploi de *θεῖος* au lieu d'*ἀγαθός* pour qualifier des gens de qualité (Bain 1984: 29)—Platon signale de plus que les femmes athéniennes partagent cette caractéristique avec les Laconiens.

[11] Dans un court article de pionnier, Gilleland (1980) a rassemblé une petite collection d'appréciations anciennes portant sur le langage des Grecques et des Romaines.

[12] Ainsi, Adams (1984); Bain (1984); Brixhe (1997: 409–12); Dickey (1996: 65–6, 162–3, 221, 241–6); Gilleland (1980); McClure (1995); Sommerstein (1995). Gilleland (1980: 183 n. 17) signale l'existence de caractérisations spécifiques du langage féminin en sumérien et en sanskrit. Alors que la bibliographie de Key (1996) se veut 'comprehensive', *aucun* des articles qui viennent d'être mentionnés n'y figure. L'index de cet ouvrage ne mentionne d'ailleurs pas 'Greek', et si 'Latin' y figure, c'est parce que Key (1996: 33) signale le recours à des 'scientific Latin words' pour évoquer l'union sexuelle . . .

[13] Knobloch (1984). Cet auteur propose d'expliquer une série de termes attestés dans des langues indo-européennes comme des créations typiquement féminines faites à date préhistorique.

forme d'oralité (p. 132). Comme la comédie passe pour être moins éloignée de l'oral que la tragédie,[14] une pièce comique s'imposait.

Ce qu'il fallait, c'était trouver d'abondants textes comiques mis dans la bouche de femmes aussi bien que d'hommes. Il fallait de plus, si possible, que ces textes proviennent d'une seule et même pièce, de manière à être sûr de l'homogénéité des deux groupes. Par chance, Aristophane nous livre plusieurs œuvres de ce genre. Celle que j'ai choisie est *Lysistrata* (ci-dessous: *L*)—cette comédie, qui est un pur chef d'œuvre,[15] date vraisemblablement de 411 avant J.-C. Les femmes y jouent un rôle majeur: ce sont elles qui, grâce à une grève panhellénique du sexe, contraindront les Athéniens et les Spartiates à mettre fin à la désastreuse guerre du Péloponnèse. Comme les femmes et les hommes de *L* forment deux clans opposés, on peut se demander si Aristophane n'aurait pas tenu à y caractériser linguistiquement ces deux groupes. Cette recherche aurait normalement dû aboutir à une réponse négative. En effet, on a pu dire que 'Aristophanes generally shows regional but no social variation in the language of his characters' (Dickey 1995: 262) et qu'il est 'very doubtful whether Aristophanes made a consistent effort to individualize his characters by linguistic means' (Bain 1984: 27). On verra ci-dessous que la réalité est toute différente.

Pour effectuer l'examen, j'ai regroupé tous les textes de *L* mis dans des bouches d'acteurs représentant des femmes ou des hommes[16]—ceci m'a fait éliminer les vers 1043–71, qui réunissent en un seul ensemble les chœurs des femmes *et* des hommes. L'édition de référence est celle de Coulon et Van Daele (1928), reprise dans le *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* d'Irvine. Les dénombrements ont été effectués avec l'aide du logiciel *Lexis*.[17] J'ai conventionnellement considéré les deux corpus ainsi constitués comme unitaires. En fait, ils comportent des différences internes: en effet, il s'y trouve des

[14] Dickey (1995: 261–2); Dover (1987: 19–20); McClure (1995: 59). Noter toutefois que, contrairement à ce que l'on pense souvent, la comédie n'a pas davantage de particules que la tragédie (Duhoux 1997*a*: 284). Il faut aussi retenir que la langue de Ménandre est probablement plus représentative de l'oral que celle d'Aristophane, comme Dickey (1995) l'a bien montré dans l'emploi des interpellations et ainsi qu'en témoigne la fréquence des particules, significativement plus basse chez Ménandre que chez Aristophane (Duhoux 1997*b*: 44–6).

[15] Van Daele (Coulon et Van Daele 1928: 115) note à juste titre que 'c'est . . . celle des comédies d'Aristophane qui honore le plus et l'auteur et l'homme'. C'est à cette édition que seront reprises les traductions de *L* données ci-dessous.

[16] Par conséquent, des propos masculins mis dans la bouche d'un acteur représentant une femme (ainsi, *L* 519–20) seront conventionnellement considérés comme féminins.

[17] Ce logiciel, dont j'ai utilisé la version 3.04, a été conçu et réalisé par Richard Goulet (CNRS). Voir à ce sujet Duhoux (1996). J'ai aussi, bien entendu, utilisé le précieux index de Todd (1962).

propos émanant d'individus aussi bien que de groupes, et les dialectes grecs utilisés peuvent varier (l'attique est évidemment majoritaire, mais on a des textes qui se présentent comme laconiens—on verra à l'instant (p. 137) une différence dialectale qui oppose les sociolectes féminins qu'Aristophane attribue à l'attique et au laconien de *L*). Les répliques féminines ainsi rassemblées totalisent 828 lignes contre 576 pour les rôles masculins:[18] une seule pièce d'Aristophane livre donc un corpus féminin deux fois plus étendu que les 346 lignes de l'intégralité du théâtre conservé de Ménandre (p. 132).

La recherche portera exclusivement sur des caractéristiques *linguistiques* pouvant opposer le langage des femmes et des hommes. Il ne sera donc pas question de l'image que chacun de ces deux groupes donne de lui-même et de l'autre sexe. Cette dernière approche serait, bien entendu, pleine d'intérêt. Ainsi, on ne peut qu'être frappé par la dévalorisation que les femmes (telles que les fait parler l'homme qu'était Aristophane . . .) s'infligent plusieurs fois à elles-mêmes lorsqu'elles s'adressent aux hommes: 'Si je suis née femme, ne m'en faites pas un crime' (*L* 649); 'Je suis femme il est vrai, mais j'ai du jugement' (*L* 1123: citation d'Euripide). Une analyse de ce genre porterait toutefois sur le *contenu* des discours féminin et masculin. Ce qui me retiendra ici, c'est leur *expression linguistique*. L'objectif du travail que voici n'est cependant *pas* de décrire les sociolectes réellement parlés par les femmes et les hommes grecs de la fin du ve s. avant notre ère. Le but poursuivi est bien plus limité (et plus réaliste): savoir si Aristophane distinguait le langage des femmes et des hommes, et, si oui, comment.[19]

Bien des caractéristiques *lexicales* opposent femmes (ci-dessous: F) et hommes (ci-dessous: H) dans *Lysistrata*. Ainsi, des verbes qui expriment crûment l'union sexuelle sont mis, les uns (*σπλεκόω*: *L* 152), dans la bouche des femmes, les autres (*βινέω*,[20] *κύω*[21]), dans celle des hommes.[22] Seules

[18] Pour ce comptage, je n'ai pas fait de différence entre les lignes complètes et les autres. Sommerstein (1995: 62 n. 4) arrive à 768 lignes de corpus féminin pour *L* (mais son édition de référence n'est pas la même que la mienne; d'autre part, j'ai éliminé de l'examen les 28 lignes des vers 1043–71—voir ci-dessus).

[19] Il va donc sans dire que l'image ainsi donnée reflète un regard masculin, et non pas féminin, sur les femmes . . .

[20] *L* 934, 954, 966, 1092, 1180. Noter cependant que c'est dans la bouche d'une femme qu'apparaît le seul exemple de *βινητιάω* 'souffrir d'un manque sexuel' (*L* 715).

[21] *L* 797, 923.

[22] En revanche, une série de termes à connotation sexuelle sont utilisés par les deux sexes: ainsi, *στύω* 'être en érection' (F: *L* 152, 214, 215~H: *L* 598, 869, 989, 996, 1178); *ψωλή* 'gland' (F: *L* 143~H: *L* 979); etc. Sommerstein (1995: 78–80) traite globalement d'un certain nombre

les femmes emploient *κυέω* 'être enceinte',[23] *παρατίλλω* 'épiler',[24] ou *τίκτω* 'accoucher'.[25] Les femmes sont les seules à invoquer Ilythie, la déesse des accouchements (*L* 742). Des scolies et des notes lexicographiques nous apprennent que *ὦ οὗτος*, *ὦ μέλε* et *ὦ τάλαν* se disaient à date récente seulement chez les femmes, alors qu'à date ancienne elles étaient utilisées par les deux sexes[26]—dans *L*, les quatre exemples de *ὦ μέλε* et de *ὦ τάλαν* sont, de fait, mis exclusivement dans la bouche de femmes.[27] Ceci recoupe l'usage observé chez Ménandre (Bain 1984: 33–4) et montre que, pour ces commentateurs, Aristophane faisait apparemment partie des *νεώτεροι* tout comme Ménandre . . . On observera aussi que *τάλας* se trouve majoritairement employé par des femmes dans *L* (F: 7~H: 1)[28] et il en va de même pour *ὦ* suivi d'un qualificatif affectueux ou élogieux: c'est surtout chez les femmes qu'on le trouve (17~5).[29] Le nom d''Aphrodite' ne vient qu'une seule fois dans la bouche d'un homme, contre huit fois chez les femmes.[30] On a régulièrement relevé que des expressions caractéristiques de chacun des sexes sont souvent constituées par les serments.[31] Ainsi, les femmes

de ces termes dits obscènes, sans examiner leurs emplois particuliers par les femmes et les hommes.

23 *L* 745, 752 (2 ex.).

24 *L* 89, 151.

25 *L* 589, 636, 695, 744, 754, 884.

26 Ainsi, scolies à l'*Apologie de Socrate*, 25 c: *ὦ οὗτος, ὦ τάλαν, καὶ ὦ μέλε. ταῦτα παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις ὑπὸ μόνων λέγεται γυναικῶν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν* (voir Bain 1984: 33; Gilleland 1980).

27 *Ὦ μέλε*: *L* 56, 157, 471; *ὦ τάλαν*: *L* 102.

28 Sommerstein (1995: 68) donne le total suivant pour l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Aristophane: 30 (F)~39 (H)—mais il y distingue six types d'emploi différent, caractérisés par des 'sharp contrasts between the sexes'. *Τάλαιν' ἐγώ* est, forcément, toujours mis dans la bouche d'une locutrice, mais est plus fréquent dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Aristophane que son pendant masculin *τάλας ἐγώ*—les données de Sommerstein (1995: 69) sont les suivantes: 6 (F; dont *L* 735, 944)~3 (H; aucun exemple en *L*).

29 *Femmes*: *ὦ ἀνδρειοτάτη* (*L* 549); *ὦγαθαί* (*L* 765); *ὦγαθ'* (*L* 1166); *ὦ γλυκύτατον* . . . (*L* 889); *ὦ φίλη/φίλαι* (. . .) (*L* 21, 95, 135, 140, 238, 637); *ὦ* (. . .) *φίλτατ(ε)* (*L* 853, 950); *ὦ φιλτάτη/φίλταται* (. . .) (*L* 15, 78, 145, 200, 780). *Hommes*: *ὦ* . . . *ἀνδρειοτάτη* (*L* 1108); *ὦ γλυκύτατον* . . . (*L* 872); *ὦ πολυχαρεῖδα* (*L* 1098, 1242); *ὦ χρυσίον* (*L* 930). Bain (1984: 36) relève que 'in affectionate address [*γλυκύς*] is used predominantly by women' chez Ménandre. Tel n'est pas le cas dans *L*, où *ὦ γλυκύτατον* n'est pas utilisé davantage par les femmes que par les hommes (1~1)—noter d'ailleurs que ces deux emplois figurent dans un dialogue entre deux époux, et que la femme ne fait que reprendre, à l'intention de son enfant, la formule que lui avait adressée son mari. Sur l'emploi de *γλυκύς* qualifiant des personnes chez Aristophane et Ménandre, voir Sommerstein (1995: 70–2). Ce dernier auteur remarque qu'Aristophane livre les proportions suivantes pour le vocatif et le superlatif de *φίλος* chez les femmes et les hommes (Sommerstein 1995: 72–3): 15 + 15 (F)~19 + 22 (H). Il en conclut que 'it is disproportionately women who employ the word'.

30 F: *L* 208, 252, 551, 556, 749, 832, 858, 939~H: *L* 898.

31 Voir par exemple Sommerstein (1995: 64–8). Bain (1984: 42) note que 'men have many more (real) oaths in Menander'. Sommerstein (1995: 64 n. 12) a compté les serments dans

sont les seules à jurer par Aphrodite,[32] Artémis,[33] Pandrosos (*L* 439) ou Phôsphoros (*L* 443, 738), alors que les hommes ont l'exclusivité des serments par Déméter[34] et Poséidon (*L* 403, 1165). Un exemple extrêmement intéressant de serment est livré par l'usage du syntagme attique *νὴ τὼ θεώ* et de son correspondant laconien *ναὶ τὼ σιώ*. Ces deux formules apparemment identiques (aux caractéristiques dialectales près) rappellent qu'il ne faut jamais se fier à la seule identité matérielle de termes du lexique, mais toujours vérifier leurs référents. A première vue, *νὴ τὼ θεώ* et *ναὶ τὼ σιώ* sont pratiqués dans *L* aussi bien par les femmes que par les hommes (F: 10 ~ H: 5). C'est cependant une pure illusion. En effet, l'expression *attique* est exclusivement attestée chez les femmes, au sens de 'oui, par les deux divinités féminines [Déméter et Perséphone]',[35] alors que son pendant *laconien* se trouve aussi bien dans la bouche d'une femme que d'un homme au sens de 'oui, par les deux divinités masculines [les Dioscures]'.[36] Aristophane livre donc ici des sociolectes qui caractérisent subtilement *à la fois le sexe et le dialecte* des locuteurs.[37] Le mode d'expression du serment peut être lui-même révélateur du sexe du personnage: lorsqu'elle est introduite par *νή/ναί*, l'invocation du nom de 'Zeus' n'est presque jamais précédée par

l'œuvre complète d'Aristophane: chez les femmes, on en a un toutes les 23 lignes, contre toutes les 35 lignes chez les hommes. Il y aurait donc plus grande fréquence féminine que masculine. Toutefois, dans *L*, la fréquence des serments introduits par *μά* ou *νή/ναί* n'est guère plus élevée chez les femmes que chez les hommes. F: 50 ex. sur 4700 mots (1,06%) ~ H: 32 ex. sur 3222 mots (0,99%); la différence n'est pas significative et a 76,26% de chances d'être due au hasard. Toutes les appréciations des différences de fréquences données dans le présent article se fondent sur le test statistique du chi carré. Comme on le fait généralement, j'exclurai que la différence entre les échantillons comparés soit fortuite lorsqu'elle a moins de 5% de chances d'être due au hasard. Je n'ai utilisé ce test dans aucune autre comparaison mettant en jeu le vocabulaire de *L*, étant donné que les effectifs en jeu sont généralement trop réduits.

[32] *L* 208, 252, 556, 749, 858, 939. Sommerstein (1995: 66–7) donne un total de 13 (F) ~ 1 (H) serments par Aphrodite pour l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Aristophane. Même phénomène chez Ménandre (Bain 1984: 40).

[33] *L* 435, 922, 949—à quoi l'on ajoutera le serment par (Artémis) Tauropolos (*L* 447). Le phénomène se confirme dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Aristophane (Sommerstein 1995: 67) et chez Ménandre (Bain 1984: 40).

[34] *L* 271, 500—Sommerstein (1995: 66) donne un total de 0 (F) ~ 23 (H) serments par Déméter pour l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Aristophane. Le serment en question exclut bien entendu celui qui invoque 'les deux déesses', Déméter et Perséphone; sur ce dernier, voir ci-dessous.

[35] F: 6 (*L* 51, 112, 148, 452, 682, 731) ~ H: 0. Le caractère féminin de ce serment en attique avait été relevé par les commentateurs anciens (Bain 1984: 40 n. 67).

[36] F: 4 (*L* 81, 86, 90, 142) ~ H: 5 (*L* 983, 1095, 1105, 1174, 1180; y ajouter *τὼ σιώ* en 1171).

[37] Rappelons que je ne cherche pas à examiner les sociolectes réellement parlés à Athènes ou à Sparte: l'objectif poursuivi est de savoir si et comment Aristophane distinguait le langage des femmes et des hommes (p. 135).

l'article chez les femmes (2 ex. contre 16 sans l'article); chez les hommes, les deux tournures sont aussi fréquentes l'une que l'autre (6~7).[38] Bain (1984: 42 n. 80) signale 'the lack of variety in women's oaths' chez Ménandre. Il faut faire l'observation inverse dans *L*,[39] où les femmes recourent à 14 formules différentes de serments introduits par *μά* ou *ναί/νή*,[40] contre 13 chez les hommes[41]—sur un total de quinze formules différentes, les deux groupes n'en ont que six en commun.[42] Constat encore plus net à propos des invocations aux dieux introduites par *ὦ*: les femmes en ont sept différentes, contre quatre chez les hommes.[43]

Des exemples de ce genre pourraient être multipliés presque à l'infini.[44] Ils montrent que les rôles féminins et masculins de *Lysistrata* sont très nettement caractérisés par un vocabulaire systématiquement différencié. Ceci ne constitue toutefois pas une vraie surprise à mes yeux: Aristophane ne serait pas le génie comique que l'on sait s'il avait fait autrement. La question qui me paraît vraiment intéressante est celle-ci: Aristophane a-t-il été plus loin? A-t-il dépassé le stade du lexique et a-t-il individualisé le langage des femmes et des hommes de manière plus fine? Cette matière n'a guère été examinée jusqu'ici. Je me propose de l'explorer ci-dessous en étudiant les caractéristiques suivantes: la longueur des phrases et des mots (pp. 139–40); la fréquence des interrogations directes (p. 140); l'emploi

[38] La situation de l'invocation du nom de 'Zeus' introduite par *μά* est différente: elle n'est presque jamais précédée par l'article. F: 7~0; H: 4~1. Je signale aussi que le seul exemple de serment introduit par le syntagme *ναὶ μά* se trouve chez les hommes (*L* 1181).

[39] Malgré Sommerstein (1995: 64 n. 12), pour qui 'as regards oath-types the statement [Bain 1984: YD] is true . . . In Aristophanes . . . there are fourteen oath-types used by men . . . and nine used by women.'

[40] *Μὰ Δί'* (*L* 55, 74, 130, 524, 594, 873, 900); *μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην* (*L* 208, 252, 749); *μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω* (*L* 917); *ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα* (*L* 206); *ναὶ τὼ σιώ* (*L* 81, 86, 90, 142); *νὴ Δία* (*L* 12, 24, 34, 87, 88, 95, 194, 237, 561, 582, 752, 777, 836, 837, 897, 927); *νὴ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν* (*L* 435, 922, 949); *νὴ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην* (*L* 858, 939); *νὴ τὴν Πάνδροσον* (*L* 439); *νὴ τὴν Παφίαν Ἀφροδίτην* (*L* 556); *νὴ τὴν Ταυροπόλον* (*L* 447); *νὴ τὴν Φωσφόρον* (*L* 443, 738); *νὴ τὸν Δία* (*L* 67, 91); *νὴ τὼ θεώ* (*L* 51, 112, 148, 452, 682, 731).

[41] *Μά Δί'* (*L* 908, 934, 970, 1090); *μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ'* (*L* 271); *μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω* (*L* 938, 942); *μὰ τὸν Δί'* (*L* 1022); *μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ* (*L* 1165); *ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα* (*L* 988); *ναὶ τὼ σιώ* (*L* 983, 1095, 1105, 1174, 1180); *νὴ Δία* (*L* 360, 521, 559, 933, 1033, 1147); *νὴ τὴν Δήμητρ'* (*L* 500); *νὴ τὸν Ἀπόλλω* (*L* 465); *νὴ τὸν Δία* (*L* 486, 609, 862, 1029, 1095, 1188, 1241); *νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τὸν ἁλυκόν* (*L* 403). Y ajouter *ναὶ μὰ Δία* (*L* 1181).

[42] Il s'agit de *μὰ Δί'*, *μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω*, *ναὶ τὸν Κάστορα*, *ναὶ τὼ σιώ*, *νὴ Δία*, et *νὴ τὸν Δία*.

[43] *Femmes*: *ὦ Ζεῦ* (*L* 1031); *ὦ θεά* (*L* 341); *ὦ πάντες θεοί* (*L* 777); *ὦ πότνια* (*L* 833); *ὦ πότνι' Ἰλείθυ'* (*L* 742); *ὦ Τριτογένει'* (*L* 346–7); *ὦ χρυσολόφα πολιοῦχε* (*L* 344–5). *Hommes*: *ὦ Ζεῦ* (*L* 476, 967, 971); *ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα* (*L* 940); *ὦ κυναγὲ παρσένε* (*L* 1272); *ὦναξ Ἡράκλεις* (*L* 296). Sur un total de dix formules différentes, les deux groupes n'en ont qu'une seule en commun (*ὦ Ζεῦ*).

[44] Ainsi, Sommerstein (1995: 75–8) donne une série intéressante de différences liées au sexe dans la façon d'adresser la parole à quelqu'un.

d'un certain nombre de mots-outils: les particules (pp. 140–1), les adverbes *εἶτα* et *ἔπειτα* (p. 141), les conjonctions de subordination (p. 141); certaines crases (p. 142).

Une caractéristique qui pourrait théoriquement avoir opposé les énoncés féminins et masculins est leur *longueur*: Aristophane n'aurait-il pas présenté les femmes comme plus ou moins disertes que les hommes? Rappelons que les femmes athéniennes étaient censées *se taire*: l'*Ajax* de Sophocle, 293, mentionne le *topos* bien connu du 'silence qui est la parure des femmes'[45] et *L* livre des passages répétés allant dans ce sens.[46] La tradition ultérieure a d'ailleurs largement continué dans cette voie, tout en présentant en même temps les femmes comme bavardes . . .[47] (Key 1996: 122–30). Les femmes de *L* parlent-elles donc plus ou moins que les hommes? Si l'on compare le nombre de mots prononcés, elles parlent plus qu'eux. F: 4700 mots (59,33% du total considéré) ~ H: 3222 (40,67%).[48] Cette donnée ne me semble toutefois pas vraiment appropriée, puisque la longueur des propos tient évidemment aux nécessités de l'intrigue. Ce qu'il faut savoir, c'est si les femmes sont plus bavardes que les hommes. Pour en juger, l'un des critères disponibles me semble fourni par *le nombre de mots par phrase*: il permet de savoir si Aristophane prêtait aux femmes des propos démesurément longs; de plus, il offre l'avantage de se fonder sur une unité syntaxique incontournable. Voici les résultats de cet examen. F: 583 phrases pour 4700 mots (longueur moyenne des phrases: 8,06 mots) ~ H: 403 phrases pour 3222 mots (longueur moyenne des phrases: 7,99 mots). Les phrases féminines sont légèrement plus longues que les masculines, mais la différence n'est pas statistiquement significative.[49] Si l'on prend en compte *la longueur des mots* utilisés, on obtient les données suivantes. F: 22147 lettres pour 4700 mots (longueur moyenne des mots: 4,71 lettres) ~ H: 15116 lettres pour 3222 mots (longueur moyenne des mots: 4,69 lettres). Ici aussi, les mots féminins sont en moyenne légèrement plus longs que les masculins, mais la différence n'est pas statistiquement significative.[50] Si, donc, les femmes passent pour

[45] *Γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει*. La formule est explicitement présentée comme un 'refrain perpétuel' (*ἀεὶ . . . ὑμνούμενα*: *Ajax* 292).

[46] Ainsi, en *L* 509, 515, 516, 519–21.

[47] Tel est le cas de la comédie latine (Adams 1984: 46).

[48] Comparer cette estimation de l'importance des rôles féminins et masculins avec celle qui utilise le critère du nombre de lignes. Pour cette dernière, on avait les proportions suivantes (p. 135): F 58,97% (828 lignes) ~ H: 41,03% (576 lignes). Contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait peut-être croire, le nombre de lignes ne donne donc pas une idée trop déformée de la longueur d'un texte (du moins lorsque la typographie utilisée est uniforme).

[49] Elle a 90,37% de chances d'être due au hasard.

[50] Elle a 86,17% de chances d'être due au hasard.

bavardes, ce n'est pas parce qu'elles le sont réellement: c'est parce qu'elles parlent au lieu de se taire . . .

On a vu que les *interrogations directes* ont en général une fréquence significativement plus élevée au théâtre que dans les autres œuvres littéraires (pp. 132–3). Les femmes et les hommes de *L* s'opposeraient-ils par le nombre de leurs questions directes? La réponse est la suivante. F: 125 questions pour 4700 mots (2,65%) ~ H: 95 pour 3222 mots (2,94%). Les hommes posent davantage de questions que les femmes, mais la différence n'est pas significative.[51]

Les mots-outils ne pourraient-ils pas être révélateurs d'une éventuelle caractérisation des sociolectes féminin et masculin? Parmi eux, on trouve bien entendu les *particules.*[52] Une différence de leurs fréquences entre femmes et hommes ne pourrait-elle pas s'observer dans *L*?[53]

Pour cette recherche, les syntagmes de particules (ainsi, τε καί) n'ont pas été analysés comme tels, mais ont été conventionnellement incorporés dans les occurrences de chacune de leurs composantes (dans l'exemple choisi, sous τε et sous καί). En ce qui concerne καί, j'ai éliminé ses emplois adverbiaux (au sens de 'aussi' ou 'même'). Voici les résultats de cet examen dans *L*. F: 661 particules sur 4700 mots (14,06%) ~ H: 417 sur 3222 mots (12,94%). Il y a donc davantage de particules employées par les femmes,[54] mais la différence n'est pas significative.[55] De cet ensemble émerge cependant une

[51] Elle a 45,48% de chances d'être due au hasard. Si l'on effectue la comparaison non plus avec le nombre total de mots, mais avec le nombre de phrases, le résultat est encore plus clair: la différence a 52,93% de chances d'être due au hasard.

[52] Pour ma définition des particules, voir Duhoux (1997*b*: 15–16). Sommerstein (1995: 81) consacre un bref paragraphe aux particules. Il y signale un usage selon lui spécifique aux femmes: l'emploi très fréquents des 'heavier adversative particles, those which can be roughly rendered by "but on the other hand"', à savoir, selon lui, ἀλλ' οὖν, γε μέντοι, γε μήν, καὶ μὲν δή, καὶ μήν . . . γε, καίτοι . . . γε. Ceci ne semble se vérifier dans *L* que pour γε μήν (attesté exclusivement chez une Laconienne . . .: γα μάν en *L* 144, 170).

[53] Les particules qui ont été examinées ci-dessous sont les suivantes: ἀλλά, ἄρα, ἆρα, ἄταρ, αὖ, αὖτε, γάρ, γε, γοῦν, δαί, δέ, δή, δήπου, δῆτα, εἴθε, ἤ, ἦ, καί, καίτοι, μέν, μέντοι, μηδέ, μήν, μήτε, μῶν, νυν, ὅμως, οὐδέ, οὔκουν, οὐκοῦν, οὖν, οὔτε, περ, ποτε, που, τε, τοι, τοίγαρ, τοίνυν.

[54] Denniston (1954: lxxiii) avait soupçonné que 'perhaps women . . . were peculiarly addicted to the use of particles, just as women to-day are fond of underlining words in their letters' et avait signalé un emploi possible de γε en ce sens dans les *Grenouilles*.

[55] Il y a 15,27% de chances pour qu'elle soit due au hasard. L'éventail des particules utilisées par les femmes et les hommes est essentiellement le même—il n'y a que sept d'entre elles qui sont présentes chez les uns, et absentes chez les autres (absences chez les femmes: δήπου, εἴθε, περ; absences chez les hommes: δαί, καίτοι, μήτε, οὐκοῦν). Comme la plupart des particules absentes chez l'un des deux sexes ont une fréquence très basse (un ou

particule à usage différencié, *τοι*, qui est significativement plus fréquente chez les femmes. F: 15 ex. (0,31%)~H: 2 ex. (0,06%).[56]

Dover (1987: 28) observe que 'narrative which is predominantly cast in short units tends to develop substantial boundary-markers ("then", "so", etc.), and one of the most striking differences between narrative in Old Comedy and the narrative speeches of tragedy is the use made by the former of *εἶτα*, *κᾆτα*, *ἔπειτα* and *κἄπειτα*, which are virtually absent from the latter'. Il est donc intéressant de voir si les usages féminin et masculin de ces adverbes diffèrent dans *L.* Voici ce qu'il en est. F: 20 ex. pour 4700 mots (0,42%)~H: 12 ex. pour 3222 mots (0,37%). Les deux adverbes attestent une plus grande fréquence dans l'usage féminin, tout comme les particules (pp. 140–1), mais la différence n'est pas significative.[57]

Parmi les mots-outils, on trouve aussi les *conjonctions de subordination.* Existe-t-il une différence significative dans leur emploi par les femmes et les hommes dans *L*?[58] Les données sont les suivantes. F: 129 conjonctions de subordination pour 4700 mots (2,74%)~H: 73 pour 3222 mots (2,26%). A nouveau, on a une fréquence plus élevée chez les femmes, mais sans différence significative.[59] Toutefois, il existe deux conjonctions dont l'usage est différencié.[60] La première, *εἰ*, est significativement plus fréquente chez les femmes. F: 73 ex. (1,55%)~H: 27 ex. (0,83%).[61] Pour la seconde, *ὡς*, c'est l'inverse. F: 10 ex. (0,21%)~H: 15 ex. (0,46%).[62] On pourrait peut-être ajouter *ὅτι*, dont la répartition est la suivante. F: 10 ex. (0,21%)~H: 0 ex. (0,00%)—toutefois, ses effectifs sont un peu trop faibles pour pouvoir être appréciés en toute sûreté par le χ^2.[63]

deux ex.—seule exception: *καίτοι*, 6 ex.), la différence de répartition pourrait parfaitement être fortuite pour la plupart d'entre elles.

56 Il y a 1,51% de chances pour que la différence soit due au hasard.

57 Il y a 71,44% de chances pour qu'elle soit due au hasard. Il en va de même si l'on considère les seules formes *κᾆτα/κἄπειτα*. F: 10 ex. pour 4700 mots (0,21%)~H: 6 ex. pour 3222 mots (0,18%). Il y a 79,6% de chances pour que cette différence soit due au hasard.

58 Les conjonctions de subordination que je prendrai en compte sont les suivantes: *εἰ*, *εἴπερ*, *ἐπεί*, *ἐπειδή*, *ἕως*, *ἵνα*, *ὁπότε*, *ὅπως*, *ὅτε*, *ὅτι*, *ὁτιή*, *πρίν*, *ὡς* (en excluant tous les emplois relatifs), *ὥστε*.

59 Il y a 18,40% de chances pour que la différence soit due au hasard.

60 Sans compter deux conjonctions absentes chez les hommes, *ἕως* et *ὁπότε*. Mais comme elles ont des fréquences très basses (deux ex.), leurs absences pourraient être fortuites.

61 Il y a 0,51% de chances pour que la différence soit due au hasard.

62 Il y a 4,88% de chances pour que la différence soit due au hasard.

63 Il y a 0,88% de chances pour que la différence soit due au hasard, mais l'un des effectifs attendus est inférieur à 5 (4,07).

D'après ce qui précède, on ne peut pas soutenir l'idée qu'Aristophane ne différencierait pas socialement le langage de ses personnages (p. 134): c'est très exactement l'inverse.[64] En ce qui concerne les femmes et les hommes, il procède de diverses façons. Le vocabulaire est manifestement une ressource majeure (pp. 135–8), avec une série de termes utilisés exclusivement ou préférentiellement par un sexe, évités ou rarement employés par l'autre, ou utilisés dans des formulations subtilement spécifiques. En ce qui concerne les marqueurs syntaxiques examinés, le résultat global est le suivant: les femmes en emploient plus que les hommes,[65] mais les différences ne se révèlent pas statistiquement significatives. Pour certains marqueurs, on a cependant des oppositions indiscutables. *Τοι* et *εἰ* sont significativement plus fréquents chez les femmes que chez les hommes (on pourrait peut-être y ajouter *ὅτι*); la situation inverse s'observe avec *ὡς* (pp. 140–1).

Des relevés supplémentaires peuvent révéler d'autres éléments de contraste entre langages féminin et masculin. Ainsi, les femmes de *L* emploient *εἰ* en crase de façon significativement plus fréquente que les hommes. F: 43 ex. sur 73 emplois de *εἰ* (58,90%)~H: 9 ex. sur 27 (33,33%).[66] De même (mais le trop petit nombre d'exemples empêche l'emploi du χ^2), il n'existe aucun exemple de la crase de *τοι* et *ἄρα* chez les hommes: ses sept exemples sont exclusivement féminins[67]—*ἄρα* est d'ailleurs utilisé davantage par les femmes que par les hommes.[68]

Il semble donc assuré qu'Aristophane utilise intensivement toute une panoplie de moyens, parfois raffinés, pour caractériser linguistiquement les personnages féminins et masculins de *L*, contrairement à ce que l'on a parfois tendance à croire.

L'enquête ci-dessus gagnerait évidemment à être étendue, de manière à cerner de plus près les différences entre parlers féminin et masculin en Grèce ancienne.

Ceci pourrait se faire en examinant l'emploi d'autres éléments-clés du langage. Ainsi, pourrait-on chercher si l'usage des aspects verbaux est le

[64] Sommerstein (1995: 84) conclut à l'existence de 'sex differentiation in a variety of areas of the lexicon, in some features on the borders of lexicon and grammar (diminutives, particles), and in some features of phonology. Definite as these differences are, however, they are not immense.' J'ai l'impression que cette dernière appréciation sous-estime grandement le phénomène.

[65] Particules (pp. 140–1): 14,06% (F)~12,94% (H). Adverbes *εἶτα/ἔπειτα* (p. 141): 0,42% (F)~0,37% (H). Conjonctions de subordination (p. 141): 2,74% (F)~2,26% (H).

[66] Il y a 2,31% de chances pour que la différence soit due au hasard.

[67] Noter que deux d'entre eux sont des restitutions modernes (*L* 20, 31).

[68] F: 10 ex. sur 4700 mots (0,21%)~H: 2 ex. sur 3222 mots (0,06%). Le trop petit nombre d'exemples empêche l'emploi du χ^2.

même chez les femmes et les hommes—il a été possible d'observer des différences significatives de temps d'après que le sujet du verbe est, ou n'est pas, une femme.[69] L'emploi des modes pourrait lui aussi faire l'objet d'une investigation différenciée d'après les sexes.

Certains points de détail gagneraient à être analysés systématiquement à l'intérieur des grands ensembles grammaticaux. Ainsi en est-il des crases. Il existe dans *L* au moins un terme (εἰ) dont la crase est significativement plus fréquente chez les femmes que chez les hommes (p. 142). Cet emploi est-il isolé, ou non? Il serait intéressant de l'établir, de manière à déterminer si ce recours plus intensif à la crase avait pour but de caractériser le langage féminin comme plus spontané ou moins contrôlé que celui des hommes.

On pourrait également voir si tous ces paramètres des sociolectes féminin et masculin sont utilisés de la même façon dans d'autres comédies d'Aristophane où les femmes jouent un rôle essentiel, comme les *Thesmophories* ou *l'Assemblée des femmes.*

En globalisant les corpus féminins ainsi obtenus, on pourrait d'ailleurs reprendre sur de nouvelles bases la comparaison des particules, des adverbes εἶτα/ἔπειτα et des conjonctions de subordination chez les femmes et les hommes. On se souvient que le χ^2 n'a pas découvert de différence significative dans *L* pour ces trois éléments examinés chacun globalement. Il faut toutefois rappeler une caractéristique importante de ce test. Il n'a de valeur probante que lorsqu'il repère une divergence significative: dans ce cas, et dans ce cas seulement, on peut être raisonnablement assuré que le jeu du hasard est exclu (dans les limites du degré de probabilité pris comme référence). *Dans le cas contraire, on ne peut en tirer aucune conclusion.* En effet, il pourrait se faire aussi bien qu'il n'y ait réellement aucune différence, ou qu'il en existe une, mais qui deviendrait détectable seulement dans un autre examen (par exemple en cas d'augmentation de la taille du corpus . . .). Il en résulte que le test du χ^2 n'a nullement démontré que les femmes et les hommes de *L* utilisaient de la même façon les particules, les adverbes εἶτα/ἔπειτα et les conjonctions de subordination: il a simplement été incapable d'y découvrir une différence significative (à l'exception de τοι, εἰ et ὡς). Or, l'addition des *Thesmophories* et de *l'Assemblée des femmes* à *L* aboutirait à fournir un corpus incomparablement plus fourni—au moins 2112 lignes féminines,[70] soit deux fois et demie les 828 lignes de *L* (p. 135). Cette augmentation spectaculaire pourrait peut-être conduire à d'autres

[69] Duhoux (2003)—cette étude porte sur un corpus dorien de Crète, les *Lois de Gortyne.*

[70] Sommerstein (1995: 62 n. 5) (mais il existe des différences dans nos comptages pour *L*: p. 135). Cet auteur ne livre pas le nombre de lignes masculines correspondantes. Je les estime à environ 1623. Ceci donnerait les proportions suivantes: ±56,55% (F) ~ ±43,45% (H).

résultats. Et elle permettrait sans aucun doute l'emploi du χ^2 dans l'examen du *vocabulaire* féminin et masculin, ce que n'autorisait presque jamais le petit nombre d'effectifs de *L* (pp. 135–8).

On pourrait enfin effectuer les recherches ci-dessus dans l'œuvre d'Euripide, l'auteur scénique grec qui fournit la masse la plus impressionnante de rôles de femmes—pas moins de 11228 lignes (p. 132), c'est-à-dire cinq fois plus que tout le corpus d'Aristophane. Ceci permettrait de comparer entre eux les usages de ces deux maîtres de la scène.

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11

Die Tmesis bei Homer und auf den mykenischen Linear B-Tafeln: ein chronologisches Paradox?

Ivo Hajnal

1 Einleitung

Vor knapp zwanzig Jahren hat Anna Morpurgo Davies in einem viel beachteten Überblicksartikel das Verhältnis von epischer und mykenischer Sprache beleuchtet. In diesem Zusammenhang brachte die Jubilarin auch ein viel diskutiertes Paradoxon zur Sprache: die Tatsache, dass das Epos Homers die ererbte Trennung von 'Präverb'[1] und Verb (die so genannte 'Tmesis') ausgiebig bezeugt, die um mindestens 500 Jahre älteren Linear B-Tafeln jedoch keine Spur dieses Archaismus zeigen.[2] Anna Morpurgo Davies gelangte dabei zu folgender Beurteilung: Es sei nicht zu leugnen, dass die Tmesis im Epos ein archaisches syntaktisches Feature sei. Folglich müsse die Tmesis auf Hörer des ersten Jahrtausends sprachfremd gewirkt haben.[3] Umgekehrt sei sie als stilistische Freiheit in der späteren Dichtung bis zu einem gewissen Grad produktiv.[4] Daher habe sie nicht nur als Archaismus, sondern auch als Stilmittel der griechischen Dichter- und Literatursprache zu gelten. Konsequenterweise verzichtete Morpurgo Davies darauf, das Merkmal der Tmesis für eine relative Chronologie der homerischen Sprache und damit der Hexameter-Dichtung zu verwenden.

In der Folge möchte ich zeigen, dass diese Beurteilung den richtigen Weg weist. Die homerisch-mykenische Diskrepanz—reichliche Verwendung der Tmesis bei Homer, Fehlen der Tmesis auf mykenischen Texten—

[1] Wir reden vorerst unter Vorbehalt von 'Präverb', da wir in §3 eine präzisere Begriffswahl vornehmen.

[2] S. Morpurgo Davies (1985: 86 ff.).

[3] S. Morpurgo Davies (1985: 87): 'It is likely that from the Dark Ages onwards, i.e. in our terms through the whole of Greek literature, the audience of epic poetry was exposed to a syntactic feature, tmesis, which was alien to the contemporary language.'

[4] S. Morpurgo Davies (1985: 88): 'it seems clear that the normal forms of tmesis "sounded" poetic at all stages of Greek literature and it is likely that this is linked with the very early date at which tmesis disappeared from common usage and the way in which it was preserved as a stilistic option in oral poetry'.

kann nicht als Beweis dienen, dass die epische Sprache einen archaischeren Sprachstand als das Mykenische repräsentiert. Vielmehr reflektiert sie die unterschiedlichen Stilebenen, in denen sich das Epos beziehungsweise die mykenische Kanzleisprache bewegt. Von einem chronologischen Paradox kann nicht die Rede sein. Zum Nachweis dieser These bringt mein Beitrag folgende Punkte zur Sprache:

- die Beurteilung der Tmesis in der jüngeren Fachliteratur (§2).
- die Definition des Begriffs 'Präverb' (§3).
- die Stellung der Präverbien im homerischen Satz sowie eine genauere Beschreibung der Tmesisstellung (§4).
- die Stellung der Präverbien im mykenischen Satz (§5).
- die Zweitstellung des Verbs als Innovation der mykenischen wie homerischen Sprache (§6).
- die abschließende Bewertung der Tmesis im Rahmen der griechischen Sprachgeschichte (§7).

2 Die Tmesis in der jüngeren Fachliteratur

Traditionelle Darstellungen beschreiben die Entwicklung der griechischen Verbalkomposita wie folgt: Im Frühgriechischen selbständige adverbiale Partikel rücken als Präverbien näher zum Verb, modifizieren darauf die Bedeutung des Verbs und werden schließlich mit diesem zu einem Verbalkompositum univerbiert. Im klassischen Griechisch ist diese Univerbierung abgeschlossen. Umgekehrt scheinen homerische Belege mit ungebundenem Gebrauch des Präverbs den ursprünglichen Zustand zu belegen.[5] Vgl. so:

Il. 8. 94 *πῇ φεύγεις μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν κακὸς ὣς ἐν ὁμίλῳ* (*μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν* 'den Rücken zuwendend' zu klass. *μετα-βάλλω* 'umdrehen').

Il. 11. 146 *χεῖρας ἀπὸ ξίφεϊ τμήξας ἀπό τ' αὐχένα κόψας* (*χεῖρας ἀπὸ . . . τμήξας* 'die Hände abschneidend' zu klass. *ἀπο-τμήγω* 'abschneiden', *ἀπό . . . αὐχένα κόψας* 'den Kopf abschlagend' zu klass. *ἀπο-κόπτω* 'abschlagen').

Diese Auffassung ist lange Zeit auf wenig Widerspruch gestoßen, zumal die freie Stellung des Präverbs in archaischen indogermanischen Einzelsprachen wie im Hethitischen oder im rigvedischen Indisch die Regel ist. Die Entdeckung des mykenischen Griechisch hat sie jedoch ins Wanken

[5] S. für diese klassische Darstellung Chantraine (1953: 82 ff.) sowie die Zusammenfassung bei Horrocks (1981: 6 ff.).

gebracht. Denn wider Erwarten zeigen die Tafeln in Linear B keinerlei Spur von Tmesis.[6]

In der Fachliteratur ist bislang versucht worden, dieses vermeintliche chronologische Paradox durch drei—sich gegenseitig ausschließende—Annahmen zu lösen:

- Erste Annahme: Die homerische Sprache belegt mit der Tmesis den ererbten Zustand und verhält sich diesbezüglich archaischer als das Mykenische des 14. bis 12. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts. Die südgriechische Dialektgruppe, welcher der Dialekt Homers wie das Mykenische angehören, ist dabei in der ausgehenden Bronzezeit noch einheitlich. Daher muss das Epos zwingend einen vormykenischen Sprachzustand konservieren.
- Zweite Annahme: Die homerische Sprache belegt mit der Tmesis den ererbten Zustand und verhält sich diesbezüglich archaischer als das Mykenische des 14. bis 12. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts. Die südgriechische Dialektgruppe hat sich in der Bronzezeit bereits in Einzeldialekte aufgespalten. Daher kann der Dialekt Homers—bzw. können Schichten davon—auf einen südgriechischen Dialekt zurückgehen, der anders als das Mykenische die Tmesis bis ins erste Jahrtausend bewahrt. Das Epos kann in diesem Fall einen vormykenischen Sprachzustand konservieren, muss dies aber nicht.
- Dritte Annahme: Die Tmesis bei Homer steht in keiner direkten Verbindung zur ererbten freien Stellung des Präverbs. Sie ist vielmehr als dichterische Lizenz entstanden. Das Epos kann also keinen vormykenischen Sprachzustand konservieren.

Die jüngere Forschungsgeschichte lässt sich hinsichtlich dieser drei Annahmen wie folgt skizzieren:

- Klar zugunsten der ersten Annahme spricht sich G. C. Horrocks aus.[7] Für Horrocks bezeugt das homerische Griechisch das selbständige Präverb vorzugsweise in zwei ererbten Positionen: einerseits am Satzbeginn, andererseits vor dem direkten Objekt. Die Tmesis ist also ein Archaismus, wovon das Mykenische keine Spur zeigt. Allerdings verweist Horrocks auf Fälle, in denen im Mykenischen das Präverb durch Worttrenner vom Verb getrennt ist: vgl. so PY Ta 641. 1 *ti-ri-po, ke-re-si-jo, we-ke, a-pu, ke-ka-u-me-ṇọ*[.1a *ke-re-a*$_2$. Für Horrocks sind diese Fälle Hinweis dafür, dass sich das Mykenische am Ende der Entwicklung vom

[6] Einen Überblick der mykenischen Belege von Präverb und Verb liefert Duhoux (1994–5; 1998: 72 ff.).

[7] S. Horrocks (1980*a*: 2 ff.; 1981: 148 ff.; 1997: 201–2).

selbständigen Präverb zum Verbalkompositum befindet.[8] Für die Erhaltung dieses syntaktischen Archaismus bei Homer macht Horrocks den Umstand verantwortlich, dass Tmesis ein unverzichtbarer Bestandteil mündlicher Dichtung ist.[9] Horrocks stützt sich dabei auf das Konzept der 'flexible formula' nach J. B. Hainsworth.[10] Gemäß diesem Konzept sind Formeln vorformulierte Wortgruppen, die einerseits in einer bestimmten Häufigkeit bezeugt sind, andererseits flexibel gehandhabt werden, um die geforderte Vers- und Satzposition auszufüllen.[11] Die zweite wie dritte Annahme wird von Horrocks nirgends in Betracht gezogen.

- Wie in §1 bereits ausgeführt, geht A. Morpurgo Davies von der Archaizität der griechischen Tmesis aus. Explizit beruft sie sich hierbei auf die Ergebnisse von Horrocks.[12] Ihr Hinweis auf den stilistischen Hintergrund der Tmesis in der Dichtung des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends schließt ein bedingungsloses Bekenntnis zur ersten Annahme jedoch aus und gestattet eine partielle Zustimmung zur dritten Annahme. Denn es scheint auf Grund der Produktivität der Tmesis in der späteren Dichtung zumindest denkbar, dass gewisse Gebrauchsweisen bei Homer erst in der dichterischen Praxis möglich werden. Zudem zieht die Autorin in anderem Zusammenhang in Betracht, dass sich die südgriechische Dialektgruppe in der Bronzezeit bereits in Einzeldialekte gespalten hat[13]—was grundsätzlich mit der zweiten Annahme vereinbar wäre.
- Eine entscheidende Modifikation an der These von Horrocks bringt Y. Duhoux an. Nach Duhoux sind die von Horrocks ins Feld geführten Belege mykenischer Getrenntschreibung—wie obiges ⟨*a-pu, ke-ka-u-me-no*⟩—rein graphisch bedingt.[14] Sie stellen also kein Relikt mykenischer Tmesis dar, sondern zeugen vom Bedürfnis der Schreiber (und insbesondere der pylischen Hand 2), vielsilbige Komposita zu reetymologisieren und damit lesbarer zu gestalten.[15] Bestes Argument für diese

[8] S. Horrocks (1981: 4): 'Perhaps then Mycenaean exemplifies this middle period, with particles already tending to form compounds with verbs but with a feeling for the original word autonomy still manifesting itself in a few cases.'

[9] S. Horrocks (1981: 5): 'It can now be demonstrated, that the preservation of these archaic rules of syntax in the language of the Epic is due entirely to the fact that they are absolutely fundamental to the art of oral composition of dactylic verse.'

[10] S. Hainsworth (1968).

[11] S. Hainsworth (1968: 35): 'The genus of the formula is thus a "repeated word-group".'

[12] S. Morpurgo Davies (1985: 87): 'Thus paradoxically Homeric syntax is linguistically more archaic than the syntax of the Mycenaean tablets. So much has been forcefully argued by G. Horrocks.'

[13] S. Morpurgo Davies (1985: 96 ff.).

[14] S. Duhoux (1994–5; 1998: 72 ff.).

[15] Duhoux folgt damit der Analyse von Morpurgo Davies (1987: 268): 'we could argue that

Annahme: von derselben Getrenntschreibung sind auch Nominalkomposita wie (adj.) ⟨*e-ne-wo, pe-za*⟩ PY Ta 715. 1 ‘neunfüßig’ betroffen (neben der erwarteten Schreibung ⟨*e-ne-wo-pe-za*⟩ PY Ta 642. 1++).

Die Tatsache, dass die mykenischen Tafeln keinerlei Relikte von Tmesis bezeugen, macht den Graben zwischen mykenischen Texten und Homer noch größer als durch Horrocks’ Annahme vorausgesetzt. Deshalb zieht Duhoux ernsthaft die zweite Annahme in Betracht: Die Existenz der Tmesis im klassischen Ionisch lässt für ihn zumindest die Möglichkeit zu, dass die homerische Tmesis nicht einen vormykenischen Zustand reflektiert, sondern aus einem in der Bronzezeit bereits verselbständigten (Proto-)Ionischen übernommen ist—einem Dialekt also, der anders als das Mykenische die Tmesis bewahrt.[16] Diese Annahme besitzt für das Epos erhebliche Konsequenzen: Die achäischen Formeln mit Tmesis—also diejenigen, die mykenisch-dialektale Elemente aufweisen—gingen in diesem Fall auf eine vormykenische Sprachphase zurück. Die ionischen bzw. äolischen Formeln könnten hingegen auch in einer postmykenischen Phase entstanden sein.

Schließlich schneidet Duhoux auch die dritte Annahme an, wonach die Tmesis bei Homer eine jüngere Erscheinung ist und quasi die im Mykenischen vollzogene Univerbierung rückgängig macht. Er lehnt sie jedoch als nicht verifizierbar ab.[17] Alles in allem spricht sich Duhoux nicht endgültig zugunsten einer der beiden ersten Annahmen aus. Doch aus seiner Darstellung geht hervor, dass aller Alternativen zum Trotz auch für ihn die erste Annahme im Sinne von Horrocks am plausibelsten bleibt.

Dieses Meinungsbild zeigt: Ein—nunmehr auch zu Recht in die einschlägigen Lexika eingeflossener[18]—Konsens besteht darin, in der homerischen Tmesis ein Merkmal archaischer Syntax zu erkennen. Eine gewisse Zurückhaltung herrscht jedoch bei der Beurteilung der homerisch-mykenischen Divergenz. Der Folgerung, dass das Epos einen älteren Sprachzustand als die Linear B-Tafeln repräsentiert, schließt sich nur gerade Horrocks ohne Bedenken an. Dagegen fasst Duhoux explizit Alternativen ins Auge, die implizit auch den Bemerkungen von Morpurgo Davies nicht widersprechen.

besides the accentual and other criteria which justify the treatment of compounds as single words, the Mycenaean scribes consciously or unconsciously made use of semantic criteria which induced them to treat compounds as formed of separate words’.

[16] S. Duhoux (1998: 77): ‘Dans cette nouvelle perspective, l’autonomie des “préverbes” de l’épopée ne remonterait plus obligatoirement à date prétablettique, puisque la tmèse épique pourrait provenir *a priori* aussi bien du mycénien que, au minimum, du proto-ionien.’

[17] S. Duhoux (1998: 78).

[18] S. so den Lexikonartikel von Plath (2002).

Angesichts dieser Pattsituation verdient die jüngst geäußerte Position von D. Haug größere Beachtung. Wie die Autoren zuvor geht auch Haug von der Altertümlichkeit der homerischen Tmesis aus.[19] Doch regt er dazu an, den mykenischen Befund neu zu beurteilen. In Berufung auf Horrocks setzt Haug für das Präverb in Tmesisstellung zwei präferierte Positionen an: am absoluten Satzanfang sowie vor dem direkten Objekt. Beide Positionen scheiden jedoch im Kontext der mykenischen Texte als stilistisch unangemessen aus: Die Topikposition des Präverbs am Satzanfang ist stark markiert; die prosaische Syntax der Linear B-Tafeln hat für solch eine stilistische Markierung keinen Bedarf.[20] Umgekehrt stellt die Position vor direktem Objekt das Präverb als neues Rhema in den Fokus. Die bezeugten mykenischen Texte präsentieren jedoch stets das Objekt als Rhema beziehungsweise als neue Information, was durch die Wortfolge *Objekt—Präverb—Verb* bewerkstelligt wird. Mit anderen Worten zweifelt Haug daran, dass das Fehlen der Tmesis auf den Linear B-Tafeln für das restliche Griechisch der Bronzezeit repräsentativ ist. Vielmehr nimmt er an, dass die durch die Linear B-Tafeln vertretene Textsorte das stilistische Mittel der Tmesis nicht benötigt. Wie Morpurgo Davies fasst Haug also die stilistische Dimension der Tmesis ins Auge. Sein Ansatz führt insofern weiter, als er die Bedeutung der mykenischen Belege univerbierter Verbalkomposita relativiert. Allerdings besitzt er den Nachteil, mit nur subjektiv überprüfbaren stilistischen Kriterien zu argumentieren und dabei das Augenmerk einseitig auf dem Mykenischen zu belassen.

Eine objektiv verifizierbare Beurteilung des mykenischen wie des homerischen Befunds muss hingegen weiterhin vom ererbten Zustand ausgehen und dabei untersuchen, wie weit sich mykenisches wie homerisches Griechisch davon entfernt haben. Deshalb konzentrieren wir uns im folgenden auf zwei Fragen:

- Erstens: Wie archaisch sind die Fälle von Tmesis bei Homer?
- Zweitens: Wie innovativ sind die Beispiele von Univerbierung im Mykenischen?

Um beide Fragen zu beantworten, müssen wir zuvor in §3 den Begriff des 'Präverbs' terminologisch klären sowie in §4 das Phänomen der 'Tmesis' genauer beschreiben. Dies wird uns bereits in §4 in die Lage versetzen, die erste Frage nach der Altertümlichkeit der homerischen Sprache zu

[19] S. Haug (2002: 42 ff.).

[20] Dies wird übrigens bereits von Horrocks selbst konzediert: 'It might be argued that the absence of tmesis is only to be expected, given that such a marked construction type would hardly be appropriate in the prosaic context of the Linear B tablets' (Horrocks 1981: 141).

beantworten. Die zweite Frage nach der Innovationskraft des Mykenischen kommt nachfolgend in §5 und §6 zur Sprache.

3 Adverbiale versus präpositionale Partikel

Wie zu Beginn von §2 dargelegt, verstehen wir unter dem Begriff der 'Tmesis' die selbständige, vom Verb losgelöste Stellung eines Präverbs. Was genau ist aber unter 'Präverb' bei Homer zu verstehen? Die folgende Gegenüberstellung illustriert die Schwierigkeiten einer klaren Begriffsbestimmung:

Il. 5. 632 τὸν καὶ Τληπόλεμος πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·
Il. 3. 155 ἦκα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ᾽ ἀγόρευον·

In *Il.* 5. 632 fungiert πρός nach klassischer Auffassung als Präverb in Tmesisstellung (zum Verbum ἔειπε mit doppeltem Akkusativ), in *Il.* 3. 155 hingegen als Präposition (mit akkusativischem Bezugswort ἀλλήλους). Angesichts der semantischen Nähe der beiden Verben stellt sich jedoch die Frage, wie sinnvoll eine Trennung zwischen Präverb und Präposition für die epische Sprache ist. Die Problematik manifestiert sich ebenso deutlich an folgendem Beispiel:

(κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει,) ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὤμοις ἀΐσσονται· (ὃ δ᾽ ἀγλαΐηφι πεποιθὼς)
(*Il.* 15. 266–7)

Wie Horrocks (1981: 19 ff.) hervorhebt, kann ἀμφί in *Il.* 15. 266 nicht als Präposition im eigentlichen Sinn dienen, da das vermeintliche Bezugswort ὤμοις erst im nächsten Vers folgt. Vielmehr genügt der bloße Dativ ὤμοις als Lokalangabe, die durch das Präverb ἀμφί im Folgevers bestenfalls modifiziert wird.

Konsequenterweise ersetzt Horrocks (1981: 20) 'Präposition' durch 'präpositionale Partikel'. Dieser Begriff beinhaltet alle Fälle einer Herkunfts-, Orts- oder Richtungspartikel, die modifizierend neben einem in einem Herkunfts-, Orts- oder Richtungskasus flektierten Nomen auftritt. Im Gegenzug prägt Horrocks (1981: 25 ff.) den Begriff der 'adverbialen Partikel' anstelle von 'Präverb'. Diese Unterart der Partikel tritt nie neben einem in einem Herkunfts-, Orts- oder Richtungskasus flektierten Nomen auf, sondern modifiziert stets das Verb.

Durch die Wahl des Oberbegriffs 'Partikel' sowie durch die grundlegende Differenzierung in zwei Untergruppen 'präpositionale Partikel' (im folgenden: PrepPart) beziehungsweise 'adverbiale Partikel' (im folgen-

den: AdvPart) gelingt es Horrocks (1981: 29 ff.), die Typologie der unterschiedlichen Gebrauchsweisen dieser 'Partikel' wie in Tabelle 11.1 zu erstellen.

Tabelle 11.1. *Gebrauchsweisen von* PrepPart *und* AdvPart

Typus	Beispiel	Beschreibung/Kriterien
(i) Verb mit Partikelphrase außerhalb des Satzkerns	*Il.* 1. 318 *ὣς οἳ μὲν τὰ πένοντο κατὰ στρατόν* . . . Anmerkung: Die Partikelphrase *κατὰ στρατόν* liefert eine periphrastische Zusatzangabe.	• Die Partikelphrase mit PrepPart steht als optionaler Zusatz außerhalb des Satzkerns, da sie nicht vom Valenzrahmen des Verbums gefordert wird.
(ii) Verb mit lokaler Ergänzung	*Od.* 20. 260 *πὰρ δ' ἐτίθει σπλάγχνων μοίρας, ἐν δ' οἶνον ἔχευεν* Anmerkung: Die Partikelphrase *παρά* bzw. *ἐν* nennt die vom Verbum geforderte Orts- beziehungsweise Richtungsangabe. Ohne die Partikelphrase ist der Satz unvollständig (vgl. dt. **ich giesse Wasser* versus grammatikalischem *ich giesse Wasser ins Glas*).	• Die Partikelphrase mit PrepPart wird vom Valenzrahmen des Verbums mit komplexem Objekt gefordert.[a] • Die PrepPart ist nicht vorgegeben, da das entsprechende Verbum mit unterschiedlichen konkreten Herkunfts-, Orts- beziehungsweise Richtungsangaben ergänzt werden kann. • Der Verbalinhalt (die Semantik) des Verbums bleibt unverändert.
(iii) Präpositionalverb	*Od.* 20. 128 *στῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰών, προς δ' Εὐρύκλειαν ἔειπε·* Anmerkung: Die Partikelphrase *πρὸς* (*δ'*) *Εὐρύκλειαν* nennt das vom Verbum geforderte Objekt/Ziel der Handlung. Das Verbum *ἔειπε*(*ν*) wird dabei im Sinne von 'zu jmd. etw. sagen; jmd. anreden' fest mit der PrepPart *πρός* verbunden.	• Die Partikelphrase mit PrepPart wird vom Valenzrahmen des Verbums gefordert. • Innerhalb der semantischen Einheit von PrepPart und Verb fungiert die Partikelphrase als logisches Objekt ('Präpositionalobjekt') oder als erforderliche räumliche Ergänzung bei intransitiven Bewegungsverben. • Die Wahl der PrepPart ist nicht frei, sondern vom Verb vorgegeben.

(iv) 'Phrasal verb'	*Il.* 6. 416 . . . κατὰ δ᾽ ἔκτανεν Ἠετίωνα Anmerkung: Die Partikelphrase κατά gibt an, dass das Objekt als Resultat der Verbalhandlung nunmehr getötet (unten) am Boden liegt.	• Die Partikelphrase mit AdvPart gibt an, dass die Verbalhandlung das logische Objekt in eine neue Lage beziehungsweise in einen neuen Zustand versetzt. • Das Verb steht in übertragener Bedeutung. Gleichzeitig wird es um eine resultative Bedeutungskomponente ergänzt. • Die Partikelphrase besitzt keinerlei konkreten Herkunfts-, Orts- oder Richtungsbezug.
(v) Verbalkompositum	*Od.* 4. 105 . . . ὅς τέ μοι ὕπνον ἀπεχθαίρει καὶ ἐδωδήν Anmerkung: Die mit dem Verbum univerbierte AdvPart ἀπ- ergänzt die Aktionsart des Simplex ἐχθαίρω 'verhasst machen' um eine intensive Bedeutungsnuance.	• Die Partikelphrase mit AdvPart verändert die Aktionsart des Verbums. • Das AdvPart ist mit dem Verbum univerbiert.

[a] Zur verbalen Valenz und ihrer Bestimmung s. die grundlegenden Bemerkungen bei Pinkster (1988: 9 ff.).

Wie diese Typologie zeigt, befindet sich die Partikelphrase bei den Typen (ii) bis (v) als obligatorisches Komplement innerhalb des Satzkerns.[21] Dabei erfolgt ein gradueller Übergang von freier Ergänzung zur verfestigten lexikalischen Einheit. Die Partikel rückt zunehmend näher ans Verb; ihre Semantik wird abstrakt, verliert also an lokalem Bezug. Zugleich verringert sich die Referenz beziehungsweise anaphorische Funktion der Partikel schrittweise. Und zwar in folgendem Sinne: Besteht eine Partikelphrase nur aus einer Partikel (ohne beigeordnete Nominalphrase), so fungiert sie als anaphorische 'Pro-Form': vgl. als Paralle dt. *er geht aus dem Haus* → *er geht hinaus* (mit *hinaus* als 'Pro-Form' zur komplexeren Partikelphrase *aus dem Haus*).[22] Bei Komposita des Typus (v) besteht keinerlei Referenz mehr.

Ergänzt sei, dass die Unterscheidung zwischen den beiden Verbtypen (iv) und (v) mit AdvPart fließend ist: Zu Typus (iv) gehören etwa ἐξ-όλλυμι 'aus-löschen' (*Il.* 7. 360 ἐξ ἄρα δή τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί) oder ἀποδίδωμι 'ab-geben, zurückerstatten' (vgl. *Il.* 3. 285 Τρῶας ἔπειθ᾽ Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντ᾽ ἀποδοῦναι), zu Typus (v) beispielsweise durch ἀπό intensivierte Verben (z.B. ἀπ-ατιμάω 'völlig entehren' wie in *Il.* 13. 113 οὕνεκ᾽ ἀπητίμησε ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα) beziehungsweise Ingressiva auf

[21] Zu den Abstufungen im Verhältnis von Verb und Partikelphrase s. Steinitz (1969: 10 ff.).
[22] S. hierzu Krisch (1984: 113 ff.) sowie Horrocks (1981: 18–19).

ἐπί (z.B. *ἐπι-μένω* 'noch eine Weile warten' wie in *Od.* 4. 587 *ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖσιν*).[23] Den fließenden Übergang zwischen Typus (iv) und (v) illustriert folgendes Beispiel: *ἀποβάλλω* 'weg-werfen' erfüllt in *Il.* 2. 183 . . . *ἀπὸ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλε* alle Kriterien eines Phrasal verbs des Typus (iv): die AdvPart *ἀπό* bezieht sich auf keinen konkreten Herkunftsort (geringe Referenz), das Objekt der Verbalhandlung wird in eine andere Lage versetzt, die Bedeutung ist übertragen. Gleichzeitig ist in *ἀποβάλλω* eine resultative Bedeutungskomponente und damit bereits eine Aktionsartveränderung zu erkennen, wobei die Nähe zu intensivem *ἀπό-* in Komposita des Typus (v) augenfällig ist ('*etw. von sich weg werfen→ etw. weg-werfen, so dass es fort ist→etw. ganz von sich werfen').

Diese Typendifferenzierung sowie der grundlegende Unterschied zwischen PrepPart und AdvPart lässt sich—zumindest für die Typen (ii) bis (iv)—anhand des Phrasenstrukturmodells des frühgriechischen Satzes (Fig. 11.1) illustrieren.[24]

Klar wird darin ersichtlich, dass die PrepPart und die AdvPart in verschiedenen Knoten untergebracht sind. Nicht berücksichtigt sind in dieser Graphik nota bene Partikelphrasen (hier: PP) des Typus (i). Da sie vom Valenzrahmen des Verbums nicht gefordert werden und außerhalb des Satzkerns (hier: VP) stehen, wäre für sie der Ansatz eines weiteren Knotens erforderlich. Darauf wird aus folgendem Grund verzichtet: Partikelphrasen des Typus (i) belassen die PrepPart stets vor der beigeordneten NP.[25] Daher spielen sie für die Frage der Tmesis keine Rolle und werden im Verlauf der weiteren Darstellung nicht mehr berücksichtigt.

Horrocks' Typologie beziehungsweise das hier gezeichnete Phrasenstrukturmodell helfen uns nunmehr, das Phänomen der Tmesis adäquater zu beschreiben. Dies soll in §4 geschehen.

[23] Vgl. zur ingressiven Funktion von *ἐπί* die Bemerkungen bei Brunel (1939: 56 ff.).—Zu den homerischen Ingressiva auf *ἐπί* gehört etwa *ἐπ-εγείρω* 'auf-wecken' (quasi bedeutungsgleich mit *ἐγείρω* 'wecken'), das in der Regel als Verb des Typus (v), also als univerbiertes Kompositum ohne die Möglichkeit der Tmesisstellung behandelt wird (vgl. *Od.* 22. 431 *μή πω τήν γ' ἐπέγειρε*). Wie fließend der Übergang zwischen den Typen (iv) und (v) tatsächlich ist, zeigt sich an *Il.* 15. 56 *ἕρκεϊ χαλκείῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ Ζεὺς Τρῶας ἔγειρεν*, wo bei *ἐπ-εγείρω* nach Art des Typus (iv) Tmesisstellung belegt ist.

[24] S. im Kern Horrocks (1980*b*: 201) beziehungsweise (1981: 50). Im folgenden stütze ich mich allerdings auf ein aktualisiertes Phrasenstrukturmodell (wozu im einzelnen Krisch 1998: 360 ff.).—Als Standardwortstellung veranschlage ich für das Griechische Subjekt-Objekt-Verb (s. Watkins 1964: 1041–2). In Partikelphrasen (hier: PP) mit PrepPart (Typen (ii) und (iii)) nehme ich in §4 an, dass die PrepPart vor einer allfälligen Nominalphrase (hier: NP^{P}) steht (Begründung bei Krisch 1984: 115 ff.).

[25] S. Horrocks (1981: 16 ff. bzw. 32 ff.).

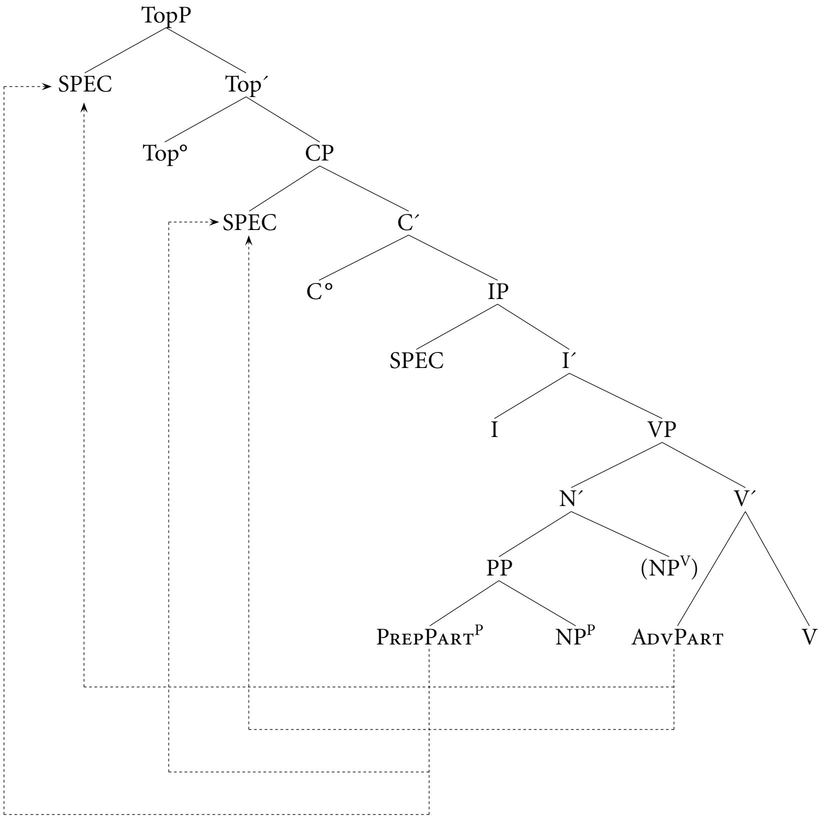

Fig. 11.1. Phrasenstrukturmodell des frühgriech. Satzes

4 Die Position der Partikel bei Homer und die Frage der Tmesis

Nachdem wir in §3 die für den frühgriechischen Satz grundlegende Unterscheidung zwischen PrepPart und AdvPart eingeführt haben, prüfen wir nunmehr die Positionen der beiden Partikelarten bei Homer. Vorausgesetzt ist, dass das in §3 abgebildete Phrasenstrukturmodell Linksversetzungen—in die Positionen SPEC, TopP (in die Topikposition) sowie SPEC, CP—zulässt. Damit sind auf Grund der gängigen Transformationsregeln a priori folgende Wortstellungsmuster möglich und zu erwarten:

A: Wortstellungsmuster für Sätze mit PrepPart und Verben des Typus (ii) und (iii)

Stellung der PP		Wortstellung	Beispiel/Anmerkungen
unmarkiert, basisgeneriert	A.1	# . . . [PrepPart^{P}] NP^{P} (NP^{V}) [V][a]	*Il.* 18. 338 *τόφρα δέ μοι παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσι κείσεαι αὔτως* Die PrepPart *παρά* spezifiziert die Aussage der NP im Dat.Pl.
	A.2	# . . . [PrepPart] (NP^{V}) [V]	*Il.* 3. 405 *τοὔνεκα δὴ νῦν δεῦρο δολοφρονέουσα παρέστης* Die PP besteht ausschließlich aus der PrepPart *παρά* (ohne beigeordnete NP). Die PrepPart wirkt dabei als anaphorische Pro-Form (gemäß §3).
markiert, durch Transformationen generiert	A.3	# [PrepPart^{P} (E) NP^{P}] . . . (NP^{V}) [V]	*Od.* 19. 592 . . . *ἐπὶ γάρ τοι ἑκάστῳ μοῖραν ἔθηκαν* Die PrepPart *ἐπί* steht in der Position SPEC, CP (allenfalls SPEC, TopP).[b]
	A.4	# [PrepPart (E)] . . . (NP^{V}) [V]	*Il.* 13. 35 (*λύσας ἐξ ὀχέων*) *παρὰ δ' ἀμβρόσιον βάλεν εἶδαρ* Die PP besteht ausschließlich aus der PrepPart *παρά* (ohne beigeordnete NP) als anaphorische Pro-Form. Sie steht in der Position SPEC, CP (allenfalls SPEC, TopP).

[a] Hochgestelltes ^{P} steht für den Richtungskasus, dem die PrepPart sowie die beigeordnete NP auf Grund des geforderten Herkunfts-, Orts- beziehungsweise Richtungsbezugs entsprechen. Hochgestelltes ^{V} steht für den vom Verb geforderten grammatischen Kasus der NP; in der Regel also für den Objektsakkusativ oder -dativ.

[b] In Sätzen wie *Il.* 9. 90 (. . .) *παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει μενοεικέα δαῖτα* beziehungsweise *Il.* 13. 35 . . . *παρὰ δ' ἀμβρόσιον βάλεν εἶδαρ* nimmt die PrepPart *παρά* aus folgenden Überlegungen wohl die Position SPEC, CP (und nicht SPEC, TopP) ein: Sätze, die das Verb in Erst- beziehungsweise Zweitstellung zeigen, schließen jeweils besonders eng an den vorhergehenden Satz an. Wie Krisch (1997: 292 ff.) sowie (2001: 165 ff.) zeigt, lässt sich das Verb in anaphorischer Funktion dabei der Position SPEC, CP zuweisen (s. auch Anm. 34 unten). Da die PrepPart ebenso eine anaphorische Funktion wahrnimmt (s. §3), scheint in Analogie zum anaphorischen Verb eine Zuweisung an die SPEC, CP plausibel. Zwei Argumente stützen diesen Ansatz: Erstens zeigen *Il.* 10. 466 (*θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρίκην·*) *δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκε* oder *Il.* 12. 169 *οὐδ' ἀπολείπουσιν κοῖλον δόμον, ἀλλὰ μένοντες*, dass die PrepPart unter gewissen Umständen die Position SPEC, CP einnimmt. In den zitierten Passagen ist SPEC, TopP nämlich durch das Objekt *δέελον* beziehungsweise die Negation *οὐδέ* besetzt, sodass für die PrepPart *ἐπί* beziehungsweise *ἀπο*(*λείπουσιν*) nur die Position

SPEC, CP übrigbleibt. Zweitens ist die anaphorische Funktion der PrepPart besonders gut in verblosen 'Adverbialsätzen' ersichtlich: vgl. *Il.* 1. 611 (*ἔνθα καθεῦδ' ἀναβάς,*) *παρὰ δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη*. Hierin wird deutlich, dass die PrepPart auch die Funktion eines Satzkonnektors (neben enklitischem -*δέ*) übernimmt, was sie wiederum für SPEC, CP prädestiniert. Im folgenden lokalisieren wir deshalb, sofern keine gegenteiligen Hinweise vorliegen, die markierte PrepPart in der Position SPEC, CP.

B: Wortstellungsmuster für Sätze mit AdvPart und Phrasal verbs des Typus (iv)

Stellung der PP		Wortstellung	Beispiel/Anmerkungen
unmarkiert, basisgeneriert	B.1	# . . . (NP^V) [AdvPart V]	*Il.* 10. 449 *εἰ μὲν γάρ σε νῦν ἀπολύσομεν ἠὲ μεθῶμεν* Die VP besteht aus der AdvPart *ἀπό* sowie V.
markiert, durch Transformationen generiert	B.2	# [AdvPart (E)] . . . (NP^V) [V]	*Il.* 24. 76 (*δώρων ἐκ Πριάμοιο λάχῃ*) *ἀπό θ' Ἕκτορα λύσῃ*. Die VP besteht aus der AdvPart *ἀπό* sowie V. Die AdvPart steht in der Position SPEC, CP (allenfalls SPEC, TopP)[a]

[a] Im folgenden nehmen wir an, dass die markierte AdvPart analog zur PrepPart die Position SPEC, CP besetzt. Im Gegensatz zur PrepPart (s. A: Anm. b) eignet sich die AdvPart jedoch in geringem Maß für die Position SPEC, CP. Denn sie besitzt für sich alleine gestellt keine anaphorische Funktion (gemäß §3), sondern modifiziert das Verb. Wie in §6 gezeigt wird, ist dies die Ursache für die zusätzliche Linksversetzung des Verbs, das nunmehr zusammen mit der AdvPart die anaphorische Funktion der CP wahrnimmt (also die Fortführung der Handlung signalisiert).

C: Wortstellungsmuster für Sätze mit AdvPart und univerbierten Verbalkomposita des Typus (v)

Stellung der PP		Wortstellung	Beispiel/Anmerkungen
unmarkiert, basisgeneriert	C.1	# . . . (NP^V) [AdvPart + V]	*Il.* 22. 271 . . . *νῦν δ' ἀθρόα πάντ' ἀποτίσεις* Die VP besteht aus einem komponierten V.

markiert, durch Transformationen generiert	C.2 # [AdvPart + V (E)] . . . (NP^{V})	*Il.* 12. 169 *οὐδ' ἀπολείπουσιν κοῖλον δόμον, ἀλλὰ μένοντες* Die VP besteht aus einem komponierten V, das die Position SPEC, TopP oder SPEC, CP (in diesem Beispiel gemäss A: Anm. b) einnimmt.

Diese Zusammenstellung macht deutlich, dass im Rahmen der Tmesis die folgenden beiden markierten Wortstellungsmuster relevant sind:

- A.4 # [PrepPart (E)] . . . (NP^{V}) [V] bei Verben des Typus (ii) und (iii): vgl. *Il.* 10. 75 *παρὰ δ' ἔντεα ποικίλ' ἔκειτο* (versus unmarkiertem Muster A.2 wie in *Od.* 21. 416 *εἵλετο δ' ὠκὺν ὀϊστόν, ὅ οἱ παρέκειτο τραπέζῃ*).
- B.2 # [AdvPart (E)] . . . (NP^{V}) [V] bei Verben des Typus (iv): vgl. *Il.* 3. 294 . . . *ἀπὸ γὰρ μένος εἵλετο χαλκός* (versus unmarkiertem Muster B.1 wie in *Il.* 22. 18 *ἐμὲ μὲν μέγα κῦδος ἀφείλεο*).

Wie gesagt entsprechen die unter A., B. und C. aufgeführten Wortstellungsmuster den Erwartungen. Daneben belegt die homerische Sprache jedoch weitere Muster, die über die gängigen Transformationregeln hinausgehen. Wir müssen diese Muster deshalb als geneuert ansehen. Innerhalb dieser geneuerten Muster lassen sich zwei Tendenzen beobachten: einerseits die Tendenz zur Univerbierung, andererseits die Tendenz zur Ausdehnung der Tmesis. Wir wollen diese beiden Tendenzen im folgenden getrennt betrachten.

D: Wortstellungsmuster für Sätze mit geneuerter Univerbierung

Verben Typus	Wortstellung neu (← Wortstellung alt)	Beispiel/Anmerkungen
Typus (ii) und (iii)	D.1 # . . .[NP^{P}] (NP^{V}) [PrepPart^{P}] [V] (←# . . . [PrepPart^{P} NP^{P}] (NP^{V}) [V] wie nach A.1)	(Typus ii) *Il.* 5. 879 *ταύτην δ' οὔτ' ἔπεϊ προτιβάλλεται οὔτέ τι ἔργῳ* (versus Muster A.1 in *Od.* 9. 284 (*Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων*) *πρὸς πέτρῃσι βαλὼν ὑμῆς ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης*) Es besteht Kasusrestriktion: das neue Kompositum verlangt denselben Kasus, den die NP auch in Kombination mit der PrepPart besitzt.

E: Wortstellungsmuster für Sätze mit geneuerter Tmesis[26]

Verben Typus		Wortstellung neu (← Wortstellung alt)	Beispiel/Anmerkungen
Typus (ii) und (iii)	E.1	# . . . [NP^P] [PrepPart^P] (NP^V) [V] (←# . . . [NP^P] (NP^V) [PrepPart^P] [V] wie nach D.1)	(Typus ii) *Il.* 18. 387 *ἀλλ' ἕπεο προτέρω, ἵνα τοι παρ ξείνια θείω* (versus Muster D.1 in *Il.* 23. 810 *καί σφιν δαῖτ' ἀγαθὴν παραθήσομεν ἐν κλισίῃσιν*) (Typus iii) *Il.* 23. 68 *στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν* (versus Muster D.1 in *Il.* 22. 329 *ὄφρά τί μιν προτιείποι ἀμειβόμενος ἐπέεσσιν*).
Typus (iv)	E.2	# . . . [AdvPart] (NP^V) [V] (←# . . . (NP^V) [AdvPart V] wie nach B.1)	*Il.* 8. 90 . . . *καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ὁ γέρων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσεν*

Die geneuerten Wortstellungsmuster sind im Hinblick auf die Entwicklungstendenzen der griechischen Sprache unterschiedlich zu beurteilen:

- Die sekundäre Univerbierung nach Muster D.1 entsteht aus Muster A.1. Und zwar vornehmlich durch Analogie nach Muster A.2, wo die PP durch eine PrepPart ohne beigeordnete NP^P bestritten wird. Besitzt das Syntagma in Muster A.2 kein Objekt (keine NP^V), rücken PrepPart und V zusammen: vgl. *Od.* 10. 142 *ἔνθα τότ' ἐκβάντες*.—Die Neuerung entspricht der Entwicklungstendenz der griechischen Sprache, Verben mit lokalen Ergänzungen (Typus ii), Präpositionalverben (Typus iii) sowie Phrasal verbs (Typus iv) zu univerbieren.
- Die sekundäre Tmesis nach Muster E.1 entsteht aus dem sekundären Muster D.1. Und zwar vornehmlich durch Analogie nach Muster A.2, wo die PP durch eine PrepPart ohne beigeordnete NP^P bestritten wird. Besitzt das Syntagma in Muster A.2 ein Objekt (eine NP^V), so steht dieses zwischen PrepPart und V: vgl. Od. 14. 264 . . . *ἐκ δὲ γυναῖκας ἄγον καὶ νήπια τέκνα*.—Die Neuerung läuft der in Richtung Univerbierung weisenden Entwicklungstendenz der griechischen Sprache zuwider.
- Die sekundäre Tmesis des Musters E.2 entsteht aus Muster B.1 vornehmlich durch Analogie nach Muster E.1.—Die Neuerung läuft der in Richtung Univerbierung weisenden Entwicklungstendenz der griechischen Sprache zuwider.

[26] S. zu den folgenden Wortstellungsmustern generell auch Horrocks (1981: 72 ff.).

Unsere Analyse gestattet bezüglich der Tmesisstellung bei Homer folgende Aussagen:

- Die in den Mustern A.4 und B.2 belegte Tmesisstellung ist im Satzbauplan vorgegeben und daher archaisch.
- Im Gegensatz dazu erweitern die Muster E.1 und E.2 die Möglichkeiten der Tmesisstellung, da sie nicht im Satzbauplan vorgegeben sind, sondern auf einer analogischen Neuerung beruhen. Da sie ferner dem Sprachtrend zur Univerbierung zuwiderlaufen, muss es sich bei ihnen um 'dichterische Freiheiten' handeln.
- Dem Sprachtrend entspricht hingegen Muster D.1, da es zu univerbierten Verbalkomposita führt.

Die in §2 gestellte Frage nach der Altertümlichkeit der epischen Sprache ist also differenziert zu beurteilen: Die Mehrzahl, aber eben nicht die Gesamtheit der homerischen Tmesisbelege ist alt. Diese Erkenntnis unterstützt uns, in §5 den mykenischen Befund adäquat zu bewerten.

5 Die Position der Partikel im Mykenischen

In §2 haben wir die Frage nach der Innovationskraft des Mykenischen gestellt, in §4 die Vorarbeit geleistet, um die mykenischen Belege von Partikel und Verb zu bewerten und im Vergleich zur epischen Sprache zu situieren. Zweierlei ist dabei vorauszusetzen:

- Gewisse Fälle von Tmesis bei Homer sind sekundär, da sie auf dichterischer Innovation beruhen. Im Mykenischen nicht zu erwarten sind in diesem Sinne die Wortstellungsmuster E.1 und E.2.
- Homer kennt Fälle von 'alter' Verbalkomposition (im Gegensatz zur sekundären Komposition nach Satzmuster D.1). Es handelt sich hierbei um Verbalkomposita des Typus (v) gemäß §3 mit aktionsartverändernder AdvPart. Es ist nicht von vornherein zu erwarten, dass diese Verben im Mykenischen Tmesis zeigen.

Diese Aussagen sind im Hinblick auf das viel diskutierte Fehlen der Tmesis auf den Linear B-Tafeln zentral. Denn sie verringern zumindest in Theorie bereits jetzt die Kluft zwischen mykenischer und homerischer Sprache. Im folgenden wollen wir die mykenischen Belege für Partikel und Verb sammeln und mit den für Homer festgestellten Wortstellungsmustern abgleichen. Die Belege sind dabei alphabetisch nach dem eigentlichen V

aufgeführt,[27] die Analyse erfolgt nach Position im mykenischen Satz (allenfalls mit Bemerkungen zur Interpretation), Verbtypus bei Homer und im Mykenischen (gemäß §3) sowie Wortstellungsmuster im mykenischen Satz (gemäß §4):

- */agō/*

(1) PY Aq 218. 1 *o-da-a*$_2$*, a-na-ke-e, o-pe-ro-te*[

Position: Der Infinitiv *a-na-ke-e /an-age*^{h}*en/* steht als Objekt vor dem regierenden Partizip */op*^{h}*ellontes/*.

Verbtypus: Da der Eintrag kein Objekt anführt, scheint */an-age*^{h}*en/* absolut gebraucht zu sein: etwa im Sinne von ‘einen Tribut bringen’ oder von ‘auf-brechen (zu einer militärischen Operation); in See stechen’ (in Zeile 2 ff. folgt eine Liste von Männernamen). Als Fachterminus in den oben genannten übertragenen Bedeutungen verwendet Homer ἀνάγω als Verbum des Typus (iv) mit Lageveränderung des Objekts, übertragener Bedeutung und resultativer Komponente, allenfalls auch als Verbum des Typus (v) mit veränderter Aktionsart: vgl. *Il.* 8. 203 οἵ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ᾽ ἀνάγουσι (Typus (iv)) beziehungsweise *Od.* 19. 202 τῇ τρεισκαιδεκάτῃ δ᾽ ἄνεμος πέσε, τοὶ δ᾽ ἀνάγοντο (Typus (v) mit Medialflexion und ingressiver Aktionsart).[28]

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Wortstellung in (1) ist unmarkiert, der Objektinfinitiv nimmt die Position vor dem Regens (dem Partizip */op*^{h}*ellontes/*) ein.

- */datei̯omai/*

(2) PY Vn 20.1 *o-a*$_2$*, e-pi-de-da-to* .2 *pa-ra-we-wo, wo-no*

Position: Die 3.Pers.Sg. Perf.med. */epi-dedastoi/* steht in Zweitstellung hinter der einleitenden Partikelkette *o-a*$_2$.

Verbtypus: Homer bietet keinen Beleg, einmalig jedoch Hesiod *Th.* 789 . . . δεκάτῃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ μοῖρα δέδασται. Dabei wird ἐπι-δατέομαι bedeutungsgleich mit δατέομαι verwendet (vgl. *h. Merc.* 520 ταύτην γάρ οἱ μοῖραν ἐδάσσατο μητίετα Ζεύς), eine übertragene Bedeutung ist also nicht auszumachen. Dennoch liegt ein Phrasal verb des Typus (iv) mit AdvPart vor, da ἐπι-δατέομαι die Kriterien einer Lageveränderung des Objekts sowie einer resultativen Bedeutungskomponente erfüllt.[29]

[27] Für Sekundärliteratur zu den einzelnen Verben verweise ich auf die entsprechenden Lemmata bei Aura Jorro (1985–93).

[28] Vgl. zur ingressiven Aktionsart bei ἀνά Brunel (1939: 42 ff.).

[29] Weitere Kombinationen von Partikel und δατέομαι gehören ebenfalls dem Typus (iv) an und bezeugen Tmesisstellung: vgl. *Il.* 9. 333 δεξάμενος διὰ παῦρα δασάσκετο.

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Zweitstellung von Partikel plus Verb in (2) entspricht keinem der oben genannten Muster.

- */didōmi/*

(3) PY Fr 1184. 1 *ko-ka-ro, a-pe-do-ke, e-ra*$_3$*-wo, to-so* 2. *e-u-me-de-i*

(4) KN Od 681. b *qo-ja-ṭẹ a-pu-do-ke, ti-ra*[

(5) KN Wb 8711. 11]*o-a-pu-*[*ḍọ-*

Position: Die 3.Pers.Sg. Aor. */ap-e-dōke/* beziehungsweise */apu-dōke/* ‘er hat abgegeben’ steht in (3) wie (4) in Zweitstellung hinter dem Subjekt, das SPEC, TopP einnimmt. In (5) findet sich *a-pu*[*do-ke*? in Zweitstellung hinter der satzeinleitenden Partikel.

Verbtypus: Homer verwendet *ἀποδίδωμι* im Sinne von ‘ab-geben; als Ersatz geben; herausgeben, worauf ein anderer Anspruch hat’ mit Lageveränderung des Objekts, übertragener Bedeutung und resultativer Bedeutungskomponente. Es handelt sich somit um ein Phrasal verb des Typus (iv) mit AdvPart. Tmesis ist bei Homer zwar belegt, doch dem Muster E.2 zuzuordnen und damit sekundär: vgl. *Il.* 9. 387 *πρίν γ’ ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμαλγέα λώβην* (der sekundäre Charakter der Tmesis manifestiert sich in diesem Beispiel auch am inneren Objekt, das eine nochmals veränderte Verbalsemantik ‘Genugtuung geben für eine Schmach’ voraussetzt).

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Zweitstellung von Partikel plus Verb in (3–5) entspricht keinem der oben genannten Muster.

- */emmi/*

(6) PY An 614. 7]*a-pe-e-ṣị*[ ] Vir

(7) PY An 5.1 ff. *e-ta-je-u, te-ko-to-a-pe* Vir 1

(8) PY An 724. 1 *ro-o-wa, e-re-ta, a-pe-o-te* (ähnlich PY An 18. 6, KN Ak 615; Ap 618. 1; B 810, 823)

(9) PY En 609. 2 *to-so-de, te-re-ta, e-ne-e-si* Vir 14

(10) KN Sd 4422. b]*ị-qi-ja,* | *a-ro-mo-te-me-na, o-u-qe, a-ni-ja, po-si, e-e-si*[

Position: In den Syntagmen (6–10) erscheint */ap-emmi/* (als 3.Pers.Sg. Prät. */ap-ēs/* sowie als Part. */ap-e^{h}ōn, -ont-/*) jeweils am Satzende. Gleich verhält es sich mit */en-emmi/* in (9) sowie */posi emmi/* in (10).

Verbtypus: Homer verwendet *ἄπειμι* wie *ἔνειμι* in der auch für das

Mykenische vorauszusetzenden Bedeutung von ‘ab-wesend sein’ beziehungsweise ‘dabei sein’ mit Lageveränderung des logischen Objekts (hier also: des grammatischen Subjekts), übertragener Bedeutung und resultativer Bedeutungskomponente. Es handelt sich somit um Phrasal verb des Typus (iv) mit AdvPart. Tmesisstellung ist bei Homer nicht bezeugt. Analog verhält es sich bei *po-si e-e-si/posi e^hensi/* ‘dabei sein’ (bei Homer ist *πρόσειμι* nicht belegt, hingegen bei Hes. *Op.* 353 in der übertragenen Bedeutung ‘beisammen sein’).

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Wortstellung in (6–10) entspricht dem unmarkierten Muster B.1. Nota bene: Bei *po-si e-e-si* in (10) sind Adv Part wie Verb selbständig (eine Univerbierung würde die Graphie †⟨*po-si-je-e-si*⟩ erfordern). Möglicherweise handelt es sich um eine etymologische Schreibweise gemäß §2.

- */eimi/*

(11) KN Od 666. a] *to-so o* Lana 14. b]*ḳẹ-me-no* | *au-u-te, a-pe-i-si*

Position: Die 3.Pers.Sg. Präs. */ap-eisi/* ‘er entfernt sich’ steht in (11) am Satzende.

Verbtypus: Homerisch *ἄπειμι* muss als Präpositionalverb der Kategorie (iii) mit PrepPart angesehen werden, da die Partikelphrase bei diesem intransitiven Bewegungsverb die erforderliche räumliche Ergänzung liefert. Dennoch ist Tmesisstellung bei Homer nicht belegt (vgl. vielmehr für die unmarkierte, basisgenerierte Wortstellung *Od.* 23. 359 *ἀλλ’ ἤ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ πολυδένδρεον ἀγρὸν ἄπειμι*).

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Wortstellung in (11) entspricht dem unmarkierten Muster A.2.

- */gignomai/*

(12) PY Ad 686.a *o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne-*[ ]*ka-wo-ta-ra*[ ]*p̣ọ-ṛọ*

Position(/Interpretation): Die Silbenfolge *pa-ro-ke-ne-*[lässt sich im Hinblick auf den folgenden Eintrag (eine Liste von *ra-wi-ja-ja-o ko-wo*) zur 3.Pers.Sg. Aor.med. */paro-geneto/* ergänzen. In diesem Fall steht */paro-geneto/* in (12) in Zweitstellung hinter der Negation */ou-/*.

Verbtypus: Das Verbum *παραγίγνομαι* steht bei Homer in der Bedeutung ‘sich einfinden’. Es erfüllt die Kriterien eines Verbums des Typus (iii) mit PrepPart, da die Partikelphrase bei diesem intransitiven Bewegungsgverb die erforderliche räumliche Ergänzung liefert. Allerdings zeigt *Od.* 17. 173 . . . *καί σφιν παρεγίνετο δαιτί* eine Univerbierung nach Muster D.1.

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Zweitstellung von Partikel plus Verb in (12) entspricht keinem der oben genannten Muster.

- */hīi̯ēmi/*

(13) PY An 714. 2 *me-nu-wa, a-pe-e-ke, a-re-sa-ni-e* [[ṾỊṚ]] (ähnlich: Zeile 7)

Position(/Interpretation): Die Interpretation der Verbalform *a-pe-e-ke* ist strittig. Am plausibelsten ist trotz aller lautlichen Probleme die Auffassung als 3.Pers.Sg. Aor. */ap-e-hēke/* 'er hat entsandt'. Der ganze Zusammenhang der Tafel sowie im einzelnen die Interpretation von *a-re-sa-ni-e* ist umstritten. Deutlich ist immerhin, dass */ap-e-hēke/* in Zweitstellung hinter dem Subjekt steht, das SPEC, TopP einnimmt.

Verbtypus: Bei Homer wird ἀφίημι im Zusammenhang mit einem belebten Objekt im Sinne von 'weg-schicken; entsenden; freilassen' verwendet. Es handelt sich um ein Verbum des Typus (iv) mit Lageveränderung des Objekts, übertragener Bedeutung und resultativer Bedeutungskomponente.

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Zweitstellung von Partikel plus Verb in (13) entspricht keinem der oben genannten Muster.

- */keimai/*

(14) PY Aq 218. 9 *o-da-a₂, e-ke-jo-to, a-ko-to-no*

Position(/Interpretation): Position: *e-ke-jo-to* wird gemeinhin als 3. Pers.Pl. Präs.med. */en-kei̯ontoi/*—etwa im Sinne von 'verbleiben (sc. ohne *ktoinā*)'—interpretiert. */en-kei̯ontoi/* steht in Zweitstellung hinter der einleitenden Partikelkette *o-da-a₂*.

Verbtypus: Angesichts der zahlreichen Kombinationen von Partikel und κεῖμαι bei Homer, die mit Lageveränderung des logischen Objekts (hier also: des grammatischen Subjekts), übertragener Bedeutung und resultativer Bedeutungskomponente belegt sind,[30] handelt es sich bei ἐγκεῖμαι um ein Verbum des Typus (iv).

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Zweitstellung von Partikel plus Verb in (14) entspricht keinem der oben genannten Muster.

[30] Vgl. etwa κατακεῖμαι 'niedergelegt sein' mit zusätzlicher Partikelphrase in *Il.* 24. 10 ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρὰς <u>κατακείμενος</u>. Tmesisstellung ist bei ὑποκεῖμαι in Il. 21. 364 . . . <u>ὑπὸ</u> δὲ ξύλα κάγκανα <u>κεῖται</u> belegt.

- */kai̯ō/*

(15) PY Ta 641. 1 . . . *ti-ri-po, ke-re-si-jo, we-ke, a-pu, ke-ka-u-me-ṇọ*[.a, *ke-re-a₂*, *2̣0̣1̣VAS[

Position: Das Part.Perf. med. */apu-kekaumenos/* steht in der Rolle der Satzaussage am Satzende.

Verbtypus: Die Notiz verzeichnet ein Gefäß mit Brandschaden. *ἀπο-καίω* ist bei Homer im Sinne von 'weg-brennen' mit Lageveränderung des logischen Objekts, übertragener Bedeutung und resultativer Bedeutungskomponente als Verbum des Typus (iv) belegt: vgl. mit Tmesis *Il.* 21. 336 *ἥ κεν* _*ἀπὸ*_ *Τρώων κεφαλὰς καὶ τεύχεα* _*κήαι*_ 'die . . . durch Brennen verschwinden lässt'.

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Wortstellung in (15) entspricht dem unmarkierten Muster B.1.

- */k^heu̯ō/*

(16) KN Sf 4428. b *i-*]*qi-ja*, | *po-ni-ki-ja, me-ta-ke-ku-me-na*, CAPS 1

Position(/Interpretation): Das Partizip Perf. med. */meta-k^hek^humenā/* bezeichnet eine Beschädigung am Wagen. Es ist am ehesten mit 'befleckt; mit Farbschaden' oder mit 'in Teile zerlegt' wiederzugeben und steht in der Rolle der Satzaussage am Satzende.

Verbtypus: *μεταχέω* ist bei Homer nicht belegt. Doch handelt es sich auf Grund der Lageveränderung des logischen Objekts, der übertragenen Bedeutung und der resultativen Bedeutungskomponente um ein Verb des Typus (iv), allenfalls auch des Typus (v), wenn eine zusätzliche Aktionsartveränderung ('um-gießen') vorliegt.

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Wortstellung in (16) entspricht dem (unmarkierten) Muster C.1.

- */t^hit^hēmi/*

(17) MY Ue 661. 1 *jo-po-ro-te-ke* **190* 100 *155VAS + *NI* 15

Position: Die 3.Pers.Sg. Aor. */pro-t^hēke/* steht in Zweitstellung hinter der satzeinleitenden Partikel *jo-*.

Verbtypus: Homer belegt mannigfaltige Kombinationen von Partikel und *τίθημι*, darunter auch *προτίθημι* 'aussetzen, vorlegen'. In der Regel sind dergestaltige Verben dem Typus (ii) mit komplexem Objekt zuzuordnen: vgl. etwa *Od.* 3. 479 _*ἐν*_ *δὲ γυνὴ ταμίη σῖτον καὶ οἶνον* _*ἔθηκεν*_. Daneben existieren Kombinationen von Partikel und *τίθημι*, die auf Grund unserer Kriterien (Lageveränderung des logi-

schen Objekts, übertragene Bedeutung, resultative Bedeutungskomponente) dem Typus (iv) zuzurechnen sind.[31] Wenig überraschend belegt Homer hier auch die Univerbierung nach Muster D.1: vgl. *Od.* 10. 545 . . . *κεφαλῇ δ' ἐπέθηκε καλύπτρην* oder *Od.* 21. 29 (*τράπεζαν*) *τὴν ἥν οἱ παρέθηκεν.*

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Zweitstellung von Partikel plus Verb in (17) entspricht keinem der oben genannten Muster.

- */^{h}oromai/*

(18) PY Ae 134 *ke-ro-wo, po-me, a-si-ja-ti-ja, o-pi, ta-ra-ma⟨-ta⟩-o qe-to-ro-po-pi* VIR 1 .a *o-ro-me-no* (ähnlich: PY Ae 27. a, 108. a)

Position: Das partizipiale Syntagma *o-pi ta-ra-ma⟨-ta⟩-o qe-to-ro-po-pi o-ro-me-no /opi T^{h}alamātā^{h}o k^{u}etropopp^{h}i ^{h}oromenos/* steht in der Rolle der Satzaussage am Satzende.

Verbtypus: Es handelt sich bei *ἐφόρομαι* um ein Präpositionalverb der Klasse (iii), da die Partikelphrase die Rolle des logischen Objekts (des Präpositionalobjekts) einnimmt (vgl. dt. *achten auf*. . .). Homer bezeugt dieses Verb mit Tmesisstellung (gemäß Muster A.4): vgl. *Od.* 3. 471 . . . *ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρες ἐσθλοὶ ὄροντο.*

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Wortstellung in (18) entspricht dem unmarkierten Muster A.1.

- (°*e-ke*$^{?}$)

(19) PY Un 2.1 *pa-ki-ja-si, mu-jo-me-no, e-pi, wa-na-ka-te,* .2 *a-pi-e-ke, o-pi-te-ke-e-u,* .3 HORD 16 T 4 CYP + *PA* T 1 V 3 *O* V 5 .4 . . .

Position(/Interpretation): Die Tafel verzeichnet die für die Initiationsfeier des Wanax notwendigen Güter. Das—ansonsten schwer zu identifizierende—Verbum steht in Zweitstellung hinter der einleitenden Zeitbestimmung *mu-jo-me-no, e-pi, wa-na-ka-te,* die SPEC, TopP einnimmt (nota bene: die Ortsbezeichnung *pa-ki-ja-si* ist in diesem Fall nicht Bestandteil des Satzes, sondern diesem als Rubrikentitel vorgelagert).

Wortstellungsmuster: Die Zweitstellung von Partikel plus Verbum in (19) entspricht keinem der oben genannten Muster.

[31] Dass die ADVPART bei manchen Kombinationen von Partikel und *τίθημι* keinen räumlichen Bezug mehr besitzt, zeigt sich am Auftreten einer weiteren Partikelphrase mit PREPPART außerhalb des Satzkerns (Typus (i) in §3), die ihrerseits die konkreten lokalen Bedingungen der Verbalhandlung festlegt. Vgl. so für *κατά* und *τίθημι* *Od.* 20. 96 *ἐς μέγαρον κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ θρόνου.*

TABELLE 11.2. *Im Myk. belegte Wortstellungsmuster*

Verb	Text Nr.	Typus	Wortstellungsmuster
/an-agō/	(1)	(iv) oder (v)	(unmarkiert)
/epi-dateịomai/	(2)	(iv) oder (v)	Zweitstellung (hinter Konjunktion)
/apo-, apu-didōmi/	(3–5)	(iv)	Zweitstellung (hinter Subjekt)
/ap-, en-, posi emmi/	(6–10)	(iv)	B.1
/ap-eimi/	(11)	(iii)	A.2
/paro-gignomai/	(12)	(iii)	Zweitstellung (hinter Negation)
/apo-^{h}īi̯ēmi/	(13)	(iv)	Zweitstellung (hinter Subjekt)
/en-keimai/	(14)	(iv)	Zweitstellung (hinter Konjunktion)
/apu-kaii̯ō/	(15)	(iv)	B.1
/meta-k^{h}eu̯ō/	(16)	(iv) oder (v)	C.1
/pro-t^{h}it^{h}ēmi/	(17)	(ii)	Zweitstellung (hinter Konjunktion)
/epi ^{h}oromai/	(18)	(iii)	A.1
(°*e-ke*$^{?}$)	(19)	?	Zweitstellung (hinter Zeitangabe)

Unsere Analyse lässt sich in Tabellenform zusammenfassen (Tabelle 11.2). Aus der Tabelle wird zweierlei ersichtlich:

- Erstens: Im Rahmen der in §4 für Homer beschriebenen Wortstellungsmuster entscheiden sich die mykenischen Schreiber bei fünf Verben für die unmarkierte Variante. In drei Fällen (*/ap-, en-, posi emmi/*, */apu-kaii̯ō/*, */meta-k^{h}eu̯ō/*) gehört das Verb dem Typus (iv) beziehungsweise (v) an, wo die ADVPART in unmarkierter Stellung vor das Verb zu stehen kommt beziehungsweise mit diesem univerbiert ist. In den verbleibenden beiden Fällen wird eine PREPPART einerseits ohne beigeordnete NP verwendet, woraus die Stellung vor dem intransitiven Verb resultiert (*/ap-eimi/* in (11)), andererseits mit beigeordneter NP, woraus Tmesisstellung resultiert (*/epi ^{h}oromai/* in (18)). Zu diesen fünf Fällen unmarkierter Wortstellung gesellt sich der Objektsinfinitiv */an-age^{h}en/* in (1).
- Zweitens: Außerhalb der in §4 für Homer beschriebenen Wortstellungsmuster erscheint die Kombination aus Partikel und Verb auf den mykenischen Tafeln auffällig oft in Zweitstellung hinter Subjekt oder Konjunktion beziehungsweise Negation.

Die erste Beobachtung bestätigt ansatzweise den von D. Haug geäußerten Verdacht (s. §2): das Fehlen der Tmesis auf den Linear B-Tafeln ist in den diskutierten Fällen stilistisch bedingt, die unmarkierten Wortstellungsmuster entsprechen dabei denen der homerischen Sprache. Im Sinne der in §2 gestellten Frage lässt sich also feststellen, dass diese Belege von mykenischer Univerbierung keine grundsätzliche Innovation darstellen.

Vom ursprünglichen Zustand ist das Mykenische nur insofern abgewichen, als Partikel und Verb—nach dem Fehlen des Worttrenners zu urteilen—nunmehr eine akzentuelle Einheit bilden. Eine Ausnahme hierzu ist allenfalls ⟨*po-si, e-e-si*⟩ /*posi e^{h}ensi*/ in (10), sofern es sich nicht um etymologische Schreibweise handelt.

Die zweite Beobachtung ist schwerer einzuordnen. Es handelt sich bei der Zweitstellung des mykenischen Verbs um ein Wortstellungsmuster, das wir für Homer bislang in §4 nicht explizit ausgewiesen haben. Die betreffenden Partikel-Verb-Kombinationen sind zudem univerbiert. Damit stellt sich die Frage, ob eine mykenisch-homerische Diskrepanz vorliegt und das Mykenische in diesem Fall geneuert hat. Sie soll in §6 beantwortet werden.

6 Zweitstellung des Verbs im Mykenischen

Wie in §5 gezeigt, entspricht eine Teilmenge der im Mykenischen belegten Syntagmen mit Partikel und Verb homerischen Wortstellungsmustern. In diesen Fällen belegt das Mykenische keinen weiter entwickelten Zustand als das homerische Epos; das Fehlen der Tmesis ist vielmehr stilistisch bedingt. Anders kann es sich in denjenigen Fällen verhalten, in denen Partikel plus Verb in Zweitstellung hinter dem Subjekt oder der Konjunktion/Negation erscheinen.

Gehen wir vom Phrasenstrukturmodell gemäß §3 aus, ist eine Zweitstellung von Partikel plus Verb möglich, wenn die folgenden beiden Bedingungen erfüllt sind:

- Erste Bedingung: Die Partikel wird nach links bewegt; und zwar in die Positionen SPEC, CP.[32]
- Zweite Bedingung: Der Satz enthält keinerlei NP (und zwar keinerlei NP^P wie NP^V), die eine nach links bewegte Partikel vom Verb trennt. Ausnahme: Es handelt sich um ein bereits univerbiertes Kompositum des Typus (v), das zur Gänze nach links bewegt wird.

Beginnen wir mit der Diskussion der ersten Bedingung. Sie wird von vornherein von solchen Belegen erfüllt, in denen sich die Partikel hinter eine in SPEC, TopP angesiedelte NP einreiht: konkret also von (3), (4), (13) (jeweils topikalisiertes Subjekt) und (18) (topikalisierte Zeitangabe). Die Partikel nimmt in diesem Fall die Position SPEC, CP ein. Umgekehrt scheint die erste Bedingung dort nicht erfüllt, wo sich eine Konjunktion in Erststel-

[32] Eine Bewegung der Partikel in die Position SPEC, TopP bleibt möglich, ist für die mykenischen Belege aber nicht relevant. Gemäß §4, A: Anm. b und B: Anm. a fassen wir sie deshalb in diesem Beitrag nicht in Betracht.

lung befindet. Denn Konjunktionen füllen selbst die CP-Positionen aus. Jedoch löst ein Blick auf die Entwicklung in anderen indogermanischen Sprachzweigen dieses Dilemma. Satzeinleitende Konjunktionen können außerhalb des Satzes stehen. Vgl. so:

heth. KBo 3. 4 ii. 41–2 *nu-za* ^{D}UTU-ŠI *kuin* NAM.RA *INA* É LUGAL *uu̯atenun*

. . . die Deportierten, die ich, meine Sonne, in den Palast brachte.

In diesem Satzbeispiel nimmt das Subjekt (^{D}UTU-ŠI) die Position SPEC, TopP ein, das Relativpronomen die Position SPEC, CP. Die satzeinleitende Konjunktion *nu* (mit Enklitikon *-za*) steht also außerhalb der eigentlichen Satzpositionen.[33] In diesem Sinne können wir annehmen, dass einleitende Satzkonjunktionen auch im mykenischen Satz weder die Bewegung in die TopP- noch in die CP-Positionen blockieren. In Einträgen wie . . .

(2) *o-a*$_2$ *e-pi-de-da-to pa-ra-we-wo wo-no*

oder

(14) *o-da-a*$_2$ *e-ke-jo-to a-ko-to-no*

. . . steht die Partikel somit gleichfalls in SPEC, CP. Damit ist die erste Bedingung für alle Syntagmen mit Partikel und Verb erfüllt, die nicht den in §4 für Homer beschriebenen Wortstellungsmustern entsprechen.

Wenden wir uns deshalb der zweiten Bedingung zu. In den Syntagmen mit Partikel plus Verb in Zweitstellung finden sich keine Verben des univerbierten Typus (v), deren Zweitstellung regulär durch eine Linksbewegung des gesamten Partikel-Verb-Komplexes generiert wird. Die Ausnahme mag */epi-datei̯omai/* bilden, das jedoch aus semantischen Überlegungen auch dem Typus (iv) angehören kann. Damit gilt: Soll das Syntagma unserem Phrasenstrukturmodell entsprechen, darf es keinerlei NP (und zwar keinerlei NP^{P} wie NP^{V}) enthalten, die Partikel und Verb trennt. Dem entspricht selbstverständlich ein Minimaleintrag wie . . .

(17) *jo-po-ro-te-ke *190* 100 *155^{VAS} + *NI* 15

Die Stellung des Verbums wie der PrepPart sind hierin vorgegeben und gemäß Phrasenstrukturmodell generiert.

Anders verhält es sich bei umfassenderen Einträgen. Betrachten wir (3) aus unserer Belegsammlung:

(3) *ko-ka-ro a-pe-do-ke e-ra*$_3$*-wo to-so e-u-me-de-i*

[33] S. zu diesem Phänomen Hale (1987: 157 ff.) sowie Garrett (1990: 33–4).

Wie gezeigt nimmt das Subjekt *ko-ka-ro* hier die Position SPEC, TOP ein, die AdvPart ist nach links in die Position SPEC, CP bewegt. Gehen wir von der in §3 skizzierten Phrasenstruktur aus, so wäre nur folgende markierte Wortfolge berechtigt:

(3*) *ko-ka-ro a-po e-ra₃-wo to-so e-u-me-de-i* (*e-*)*do-ke*

Bei /*apo-didōmi*/ handelt es sich um ein Verb des Typus (iv), die AdvPart ist also selbständig. Die in (3*) beschriebene Wortfolge entspräche somit dem markierten Wortstellungsmuster B.2 (gemäß §4 oben), wobei vor der AdvPart in SPEC, CP das Subjekt zusätzlich die Position SPEC, TopP besetzt.

Damit ist klar, dass das Mykenische in Syntagmen wie (3) (aber auch (4), (12), (13), eventuell (18)) geneuert hat, indem neben der Partikel auch das Verb nach links bewegt wird. Um die in §2 gestellte Frage nach der Innovationskraft des Mykenischen endgültig zu beantworten, muss die Exklusivität dieser Neuerung hinterfragt werden. Konkret gesagt: Bietet Homer keinerlei Belege für die zusätzliche Linksbewegung des Verbs (bei Verben der Typen (ii), (iii) und (iv)), wird die in §2 präsentierte These bestätigt, wonach die epische Sprache einen älteren Sprachzustand als das Mykenische bezeugt.

Ein Blick in das homerische Corpus zeigt jedoch, dass zwischen mykenischer und homerischer Praxis kein Unterschied besteht. Für die zusätzliche Linksbewegung des Verbs finden sich bei Homer ausreichend Belege. Vgl. etwa:

Il. 4. 63	(. . .) ἐπὶ δ᾽ ἕψονται θεοὶ ἄλλοι
Il. 14. 276	(. . .) ἀνὰ δ᾽ ἥρπασε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη
Il. 6. 416	(. . .)κατὰ δ᾽ ἔκτανεν ᾽Ηετίωνα
Il. 2. 154	(. . .) ὑπὸ δ᾽ ᾕρεον ἕρματα νηῶν
Od. 10. 207	ἐκ δ᾽ ἔθορε κλῆρος μεγαλήτορος Εὐρυλόχοιο

Damit ist klar, dass die zusätzliche Linksbewegung des Verbs keine Innovation darstellt, die das Mykenische der Sprache des Epos voraus hat. Homerische Beispiele wie die oben angeführten beleuchten den Hintergrund dieser Transformation. Betrachten wir die Phrasenstruktur des Syntagmas *Il.* 6. 416 (. . .) κατὰ δ᾽ ἔκτανεν ᾽Ηετίωνα (Fig. 11.2). Wie das Schema zeigt, wird die AdvPart κατά gemäß Wortstellungsmuster B.2 in die Position SPEC, CP bewegt. Es folgt das Enklitikon δέ, das sich jeweils an die erste Konstituente fügt. Damit bleibt für das Verb nur die Position unter C° frei.

Welches ist die Motivation, die hinter der zusätzlichen Linksbewegung des Verbs steht? Es fällt auf, dass die mykenischen sowie die oben ange-

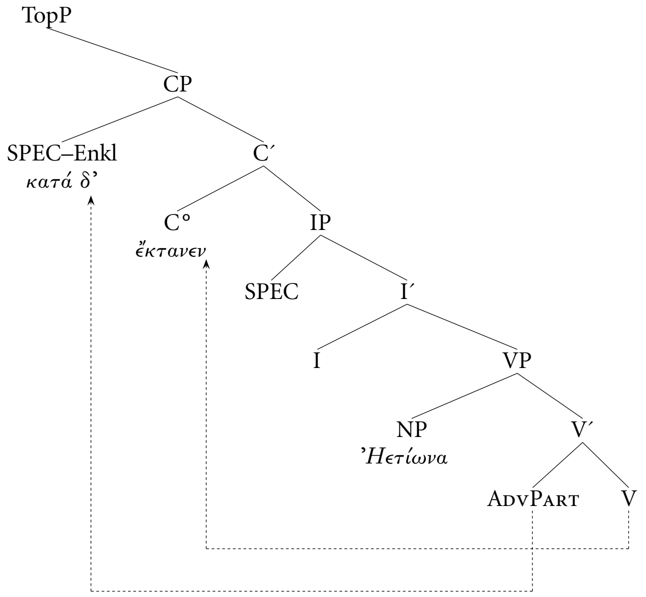

Fig. 11.2. Phrasenstrukturmodell von *Il.* 6. 416

führten homerischen Belege dieser Transformation Phrasal verbs des Typus (iv) betreffen. Die Partikel (genauer: die AdvPart) in SPEC, CP (gemäß Muster B.2 # [AdvPart (E)] . . . (NP^V) [V]) wirkt bei Phrasal verbs nicht anaphorisch (s. §4, B: Anm. a), sondern ist Bestandteil der VP. Damit kann sie auf sich alleine gestellt die satzverbindende Funktion der CP nicht sicherstellen. Um der CP die zugedachte Funktion zu ermöglichen, wird das Verb (das Spezifikatum) näher an die Partikel (den Spezifikator) in die Position C° gerückt. Es nimmt dort—wie auch ohne Partikel üblich—die anaphorische Funktion wahr und signalisiert eine moderate Fortführung der Handlung.[34] Da es sich bei den mykenischen Tafeln oftmals um fortlaufende Listen handelt, ist diese stilistische Option durchaus legitim.

Die Linksbewegung des Verbs ist also die indirekte Folge seiner zunehmenden lexikalischen Modifikation durch die Partikel. Wird die Partikel in die CP bewegt, muss das Verb zwangsläufig folgen. Die Entwicklung endet in der vollständigen Univerbierung von Partikel und Verb. Vgl:

[34] S. §4, A: Anm. b oben und vgl. Krisch (2001: 169): 'In *den* Fällen, wo ein obligatorisches Objekt bei Homer hinter dem Verbum steht und wo vor dem Verbum die TOPIC-Position(en) gefüllt ist/sind, handelt es sich nicht um "amplified sentences", sondern um die Stellung des Verbums in der Position C. . . . Die Funktion ist . . . "Fortführung der Handlung".'—Diese Bewegung von Partikel plus Verb in Positionen innerhalb der CP findet seine Parallele im Germanischen (s. Kiparsky 1994).

jünger *Il.* 2. 86 (. . .) ἐπεσσεύοντο δὲ λαοί versus älter *Il.* 2. 808 (. . .) ἐπὶ τεύχεα δ᾽ ἐσσεύοντο mit Tmesisstellung gemäß Typus (iv)

Die Position des Enklitikons δέ zeigt, dass ἐπι-σσεύω in *Il.* 2. 86 eine Konstituente bildet.[35] Es liegt nunmehr ein univerbiertes Kompositum des Typus (v) vor.

7 Die Tmesis: kein chronologisches Paradox

Unsere Beurteilung des homerischen wie mykenischen Befunds in §§4 bis 6 ergibt ein klares Bild, das sich in drei Aussagen zusammenfassen lässt:

- Das Mykenische zeigt bezüglich der Kombination von Präverb und Verb keinen weiter entwickelten Zustand als das Epos. In diesem Sinne besteht kein chronologisches Paradox; entgegen G. Horrocks (s. §2) belegt das Epos keinen archaischeren Sprachzustand als die mykenischen Tafeln.
- Vielmehr beruhen gewisse Gebrauchsweisen der Tmesis bei Homer auf dichterischer Neuerung: konkret die Wortstellungsmuster E.1 und E.2. Damit bestätigt sich der von A. Morpurgo Davies geäußerte Verdacht, nicht alle Gebrauchsweisen der Tmesis bei Homer seien ursprünglich (s. §2).
- Die zwischen den mykenischen Tafeln und Homer ersichtlichen Differenzen in der Handhabung der Tmesis sind also stilistisch begründet, womit sich der von A. Morpurgo Davies und vor allem von D. Haug geäußerte Verdacht bestätigt (s. §2). Haugs Argumentation lässt sich allerdings in wesentlichen Punkten ergänzen beziehungsweise revidieren: Erstens wird das Wortstellungsmuster mit Partikel am Satzanfang im Mykenischen nicht gemieden, sondern liegt indirekt dort vor, wo Partikel und Verb auf eine satzeinleitende Konjunktion folgen. Entgegen Haug stehen Partikel und Verb hierbei nicht in Topikposition, sondern innerhalb der CP. Zweitens fehlen die Wortstellungsmuster E.1 sowie E.2 mit Partikel vor verbalem Objekt und Verb im Mykenischen entgegen Haug nicht aus stilistischen Gründen. Sie stellen vielmehr eine Neuerung der Ependichter dar.

Die zuletzt angesprochene stilistische Dimension lässt sich im Lichte unserer Ergebnisse noch vertiefen: Wie in §2 gezeigt, bringt G. Horrocks die Archaizität der Tmesis bei Homer mit der epischen Versifikationstechnik in Zusammenhang. Dabei stützt sich Horrocks auf das Konzept der

35 Umgekehrt wird auch die Kombination von PrepPart und beigeordneter NP^{P} bei Homer gelegentlich bereits als eine Konstituente behandelt. Vgl. *Il.* 2. 808 (. . .) ἐπὶ τεύχεα δ᾽ ἐσσεύοντο (statt—metrisch natürlich nicht praktikablem—*ἐπὶ δὲ τεύχεα ἐσσεύοντο).

'Flexible formula', das in der Formel eine vorformulierte Wortgruppe erkennt. In solchen vorgefertigten Syntagmen hätten sich Züge archaischer Syntax—wie etwa der Tmesis—bis ins erste Jahrtausend halten können. Das Konzept der 'Flexible formula' hat heute jedoch ausgedient. Nach dem jüngsten Versifikationsmodell von E. Visser besteht eine homerische Formel nicht aus einer erstarrten Wortverbindung oder Phrase, sondern wird vom vortragenden Sänger ständig neu aus Bestandteilen des epischen Wortschatzes generiert.[36] Eine homerische 'Formel' ist somit keine feststehende Wortverbindung[37]—und daher entfällt auch das Vehikel, das ein archaisches, allenfalls vormykenisches Merkmal wie die Tmesis über Jahrhunderte konserviert und transportiert hätte. Das generative Versifikationsmodell setzt andere Ansprüche an eine epische Sprache. Da der mündlich produzierende Sänger keine vorgefertigten Syntagmen zu Verfügung hat, muss er sich einer flexiblen, einfach zu handhabenden Sprache bedienen. Die Tmesis garantiert die geforderte Flexibilität—und zwar so effizient, dass die homerische Sprache ihre Einsatzmöglichkeiten sogar über das herkömmliche Maß erweitert (s. Wortstellungsmuster E.1 und E.2 in §4). Im Gegensatz dazu stellt der auf den Linear B-Tafeln überlieferte mykenische Dialekt eine Fachsprache dar, die technische oder administrative Sachbestände darstellen muss. Diese Charakteristik mag erklären, weshalb wir auf mykenischen Texten generell einen höheren Anteil an Phrasal verbs des Typus (iv) sowie Komposita des Typus (v) zu erwarten haben. Bei beiden Verbtypen dient die ADVPART dazu, die Bedeutung des Grundverbs für die Bedürfnisse einer Fachsprache zu modifizieren. Gleichzeitig verstärkt sich die Bindung zwischen ADVPART und Grundverb, was spätestens bei Verben des Typus (v) zur Univerbierung führt. Zusammenfassend können wir also feststellen, dass das mykenische Lexikon komplexer als das homerische gestaltet ist und daher stärker auf das Wortbildungsmittel der Univerbierung abstellt.

Anerkennen wir, dass die mykenischen Tafeln sowie Homer bezüglich der Tmesis in erster Linie aus stilistischen Gründen ein unterschiedliches Bild zeigen, so hat dies für die Frage der Univerbierung griechischer Verbalkomposita chronologische Konsequenzen. Wir müssen annehmen, dass die Tmesisstellung in mündlichen Kontexten—wie in den home-

[36] S. die Übersicht bei Visser (1988) sowie Latacz (1992).

[37] In den Worten von Latacz (1992: 823): 'Wenn es zutrifft, daß die epische Improvisationstechnik ursprünglich darin besteht, Hexameter in einem Setz- und Füllverfahren aus *Einzelwörtern* zu generieren, dann kann die Formel nicht Elementarbaustein des Verfahrens sein, sondern nur Produkt.' Vgl. für eine ähnliche Äußerung Visser (1988: 34): 'Homer did not use given word-blocks, his basis rather was the semantically functional single-word, which cannot be replaced by any other.'

rischen Epen—bis in die erste Hälfte des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends lebendig geblieben ist. Für diese Annahme spricht zweierlei:

- Erstens: Die attische Komödie belegt Relikte von Tmesis in umgangssprachlichem Kontext (vgl. Ar. *Nub.* 792 *ἀπό γὰρ ὀλοῦμαι*).[38] Weitere Belege stammen aus der ionischen Prosa (vgl. Hdt. 2. 39 *φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὦν ἔδοντο*). Die Tmesis überlebt in gewissen Kontexten (als 'frozen syntax')[39] also auch außerhalb des Epos.
- Dass die Partikel bis in klassische Zeit als selbständig empfunden wird, bestätigt sich ferner anhand der folgenden syntaktischen Erscheinung: Wird ein Verbalkompositum auf engem Raum wiederholt, so erscheint an dessen Stelle das Simplex. Auf dieses spezielle Phänomen einer 'Conjunction reduction'[40] machen in jüngerer Zeit C. Watkins sowie R. Renehan aufmerksam.[41] Vgl. so etwa:

  Il. 2. 117–18 *ὃς δὴ πολλάων πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα* | *ἠδ' ἔτι καὶ λύσει*,[42]

  wobei *λύσει* im Sinne von *κατα-λύσει* mit 'Conjunction reduction' (in diesem Fall mit Tilgung von *κατά*) unter Einfluss des erstgenannten *κατ-έλυσε* steht.

  Belege hierfür liefern vor allem die attische Prosa und Bühnendichtung, sporadisch aber auch Literatur und Dialektinschriften anderer Regionen.

Die nachhomerischen Belege der Tmesis wie die Conjunction reduction im Falle der Präverbien lassen kaum Zweifel daran, dass die Tmesisstellung der Partikel auch im nachmykenischen Griechisch möglich bleibt. Die Univerbierung von Partikel und Verb erfolgt demnach maßgeblich im ersten Jahrtausend. Die Reste umgangssprachlicher Tmesis lassen vermuten, dass der Prozess der Univerbierung komplexer als vermutet voranschreitet. Die

[38] Wackernagel (1924: 173) kommentiert die Fälle von Tmesis im Attischen wie folgt: 'so ist das offenkundig aus der damaligen Alltagsrede geschöpft'.

[39] Eine Untersuchung, bei welcher Art von Präverbien die Tmesis als 'frozen syntax'—eventuell auch umgangssprachlich—möglich bleibt, steht aus. Es mag sein, dass sich die Wortfolge Part + E (Conj) + V vorzugsweise bei Verben des Typus (iv) hält, deren AdvPart gemäß §6 indirekt die zusätzliche Linksbewegung des Verbs auslöst. Vgl. für diese Vermutung Rosén (1962: 167) zur herodoteischen Tmesis: 'Das mutierende Präverb kann vom Simplexstamm nur durch eine der Partikeln *μέν*, *δέ*, *τε*, *δή*, *ὦν* ... getrennt sein' (wobei die 'mutierende Partikel' bei Rosén unserer AdvPart entspricht).

[40] S. Kiparsky (1968: 34 mit Anm. 4 sowie 46). Unter 'Conjunction reduction' verstehen wir den Ersatz einer Sequenz *markiertes Glied + markiertes Glied* (in unserem Fall: Part + V ... Part + V) durch *markiertes Glied + unmarkiertes Glied* (in unserem Fall: Part + V ... V) bei identischer Markierung (in unserem Fall: identischer Part).

[41] S. Watkins (1967) sowie Renehan (1976: 11 ff.).

[42] Beispiel aus Turcan (1982: 278).

differenzierte Betrachtungsweise, zu der Anna Morpurgo Davies bei der Beurteilung der Tmesis angeregt hat, erweist sich somit als gerechtfertigt.

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12

Ἑλλήσποντος

†Henry Hoenigswald

Anna Morpurgo Davies is famous for her treatment of Ancient Greek proper names as well as for having raised anew the old question of the status of the unit, also in Greek, which we call the 'word'. There are two issues here, related but distinct. First: did the grammarians, scholiasts, philosophers, and ordinary people have a word for the 'word', and if they did, how did they fit it into their discourse? And second: does a proper description of the Greek language depend on recognizing an entity which corresponds to our 'word'—that is: did the 'word' exist? While no discussion of this latter point can afford to sidestep the evidence of metre and metres, there is no pretence here that the required comprehensive, critical undertaking is what the present note is about.

Still, it so happens that a seemingly remote observation having to do with a proper name and its Homeric prosody throws some faint light on all this. The proper name in question, for once not personal but geographic, is that of the Hellespont. It appears ten times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*, four of these times as a cadence at the end of the line. Nothing could, at first blush, be more transparent: the word is a phrasal *Ἕλλης πόντος*, grown together into a pseudo-compound under one retracted accent—something that could have occurred at any period in the history of Ancient Greek. When Ernst Risch remarks (1981: 82) that 'we write' it as one word, he can only mean that grammarians and scholiasts give us no specific guidance concerning the particular onomastic item in question. Karl Meister found that in Homer a spondaic word-end before the fifth diaeresis is rare almost to the point of nullity.[1] Some of the apparent violations in the vulgate disappear as we routinely replace contracted vowels or diphthongs with their open antecedents, thus converting a spondaic (*Πατρόκλεις ἱππεῦ* ||) back into a dactylic (*Πατρόκλεες ἱππεῦ* ||) biceps. This also accounts for *ἦν ἄλσος* || *Od.* 17. 208, with *ἦν* concealing *ἔεν* 'was'

[1] Meister (1921: 7–8). Hoenigswald (1994: 140) was written in ignorance of the near absence of any violations of Meister's rule.

(the vowel quality of the contraction is analogically distorted);[2] it is not clear why Meister ignores this passage in his original statement. The short list of examples that remain is thus even shorter than Meister thought: in the *Iliad* we are left with no violations at all, while the *Odyssey* contributes one irreducible instance, 12. 64 *λὶς πέτρη* || 'smooth rock' (after || *πέτρη γὰρ λίς ἐστι* fifteen lines later), and one other, slightly more tractable, 4. 604 *κρῖ λευκόν* || 'white (sacrificial) barley'. If we join Meister in his tentative reading *κρίλευκον* || we have a choice, due to the homonymy of the nominative/accusative singular of athematic neuters with their stems: here, as well as in the verse-interior passages, in all of which *κρῖ* (*κρί-*) is also followed by *λευκόν* (*-λευκον*), either *κρίλευκον* is a plain juxtapositive or else it is a true compound of the *ἀκρόπολις* type, with components, as sometimes happens, ordered in reverse. This, incidentally, makes *κρίλευκον* comparable to *οὐλοχύται*[3] (accent after LSJ) 'sprinkled (sacrificial) barley' (note the close, even downright identical, meaning), a somewhat untypical compound of the *ἀκρόπολις* class—untypical, in that the attributive component once again follows its host instead of preceding it. Words that are not compounds or juxtapositions do, of course, occur at line-end without known restriction (e.g. *θωρηχθέντων* ||).

How do *Ἕλλης πόντος*, *Ἑλλήσποντος* fit into this picture? With its internal inflectional ending and the genitival rather than adjectival syntax that underlies, the expression was never a true compound like *ἀκρόπολις*; not a *Zusammensetzung* but a *Zusammenrückung* or juxtaposition like, say, the geographical name *Κυνοσούρα* (or even *Κυνόσουρα* with short *α*), literally 'dog's tail', though with accent likewise retracted, from *κυνὸς οὐρά* (Schwyzer 1939: 476).

On the whole, juxtapositions of genitival attributes plus host forming pseudo-compounds with word-internal declensional endings (*Ἑλλήσποντος*) are pulled together more readily and earlier than adjectival ones (*Νέη Πόλις*) (Risch 1981: 83).

The positioning of *Ἑλλήσποντος* in the cadence confirms that we are not dealing with a two-word phrase since phrases of that prosodic build are excluded by Meister's Bridge—that is, by a rule which, as we have seen, is just about absolute in the two epics and part and parcel of the oldest hexameter. *Ἑλλήσποντος* || was admissible only when it had become one 'word'—earlier than *Νεήπολις* but later than the heyday of Meister's Bridge.

[2] Schwyzer (1939: 677); Meister (1921: 107–10).

[3] Schwyzer (1939: 439). *κρῖ* (if taken as a neuter noun—as is customary) and *λίς* could owe their exceptional status to their monosyllabism. There are too many possible variables in the picture for the minuscule size of Meister's corpus.

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13

Aspect and Verbs of Movement in the History of Greek: Why Pericles Could 'Walk into Town' but Karamanlis Could Not

Geoffrey Horrocks

1 Introduction

The phrase in (1) means 'having wandered (in)to many cities', with a clear 'goal' reading for the prepositional phrase (PP):

(1) *εἰς πολλὰς πόλεις πλανηθέντες* (Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes* 97)

But the Modern Greek sentence in (2), even though *σε* + accusative may in principle have both locative and allative readings:

(2) *πλανήθηκαν σε πολλές πόλεις*
wandered-aor.-3pl. in many(acc.) cities(acc.)

can only mean 'they wandered (round) in many cities' and not 'they wandered (in)to many cities'.

This is not, of course, some 'odd' change that has affected only *πλανῶμαι*: while ancient Greeks could 'sail to Athens', 'swim to the shore', or 'run into the house', cf. (3):

(3) *ἐς Ἱμέραν πρῶτον πλεύσαντες* (Thuc. 7. 1)

their modern counterparts can only 'sail for Athens/towards Athens/as far as Athens', 'swim at/by the shore', 'run (around) in the house', etc. The characterization of an intended goal (*για* = 'for'), the direction of a movement (*πρός* = 'towards'), or a distance traversed (*μέχρι* = 'as far as') presents no more problems than the expression of a simple location (*σε* = 'at/on/in'), but the notion of a 'completed path', involving transition to a goal, is no longer expressible with most verbs denoting a manner of movement. Thus (4), for example, where *στο* = *σε* + *το*, can only mean 'had a swim on the island' (e.g. in a pool), or 'had a swim (close) by the island':

(4)	*κολύμβησε*	*στο*	*νησί*
	swam-aor.-3sg.	on/by-the	island

Expression of the notion 'swam to the island' thus requires the use of a periphrasis of the type 'arrived at/came to the island (by) swimming'.

That said, there are also certain verbs denoting a manner of movement which seemingly do permit goal readings for a co-occurring PP. Thus the examples in (5) can be understood allatively:

(5)	*a*	*ο*	*Γιάννης*	*πήδηξε*	*στο*	*πάτωμα*
		the	John	jumped-aor.-3sg.	onto-the	floor
	b	*η*	*μπάλα*	*πέταξε*	*στον*	*κήπο*
		the	ball	flew-aor.-3sg.	into-the	garden

The purpose of this article is to examine the reasons for the change in Greek and to explain why, that change notwithstanding, some verbs denoting manner of movement apparently retain the possibility of triggering apparent goal readings for a PP.[1]

The facts outlined here are familiar for Modern Greek, and indeed many other languages,[2] though their implications for Ancient Greek have not previously been explored. The explanation presented in §5 is also novel, and is based on joint work with Melita Stavrou, whose key contribution to the development of the relevant ideas is here gratefully acknowledged. Where other scholars have 'explained' the facts in terms of arbitrary differences in lexicalization patterns (viz. the (im)possibility of combining 'goal-directed motion' with 'manner') or through the equally unpredictable presence/absence of a putative 'telicity' morpheme in the relevant structures, the account here is based on the presence/absence of obligatory morphologically encoded aspect-marking on verb forms.

[1] The Romance languages show a similar set of restrictions, as the following Italian examples show:

> la barca galleggiò sotto il ponte ('the boat floated under the bridge', locative reading only)
>
> Gianni ha camminato nel bosco ('John walked in the woods', locative reading only)

Some verbs, however, also permit allative readings:

> La palla rotolò sotto il tavolo ('the ball rolled under the table', ambiguous between locative and allative readings)

The explanation offered for the Greek developments can be generalized, *mutatis mutandis*, to account for these facts.

[2] See e.g. the discussions and attempted explanations in Talmy (1985); Jackendoff (1990); Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1996); Mateu and Rigau (1999); Folli and Ramchand (2001), among many others.

2 Some Basic Considerations

Most verbs denoting a manner of movement can be understood as denoting an activity/movement that takes place 'at a location' (*float*, *dance*, *swim*, *turn*, etc.). In English and Ancient Greek, but not Modern Greek, these may also be understood as denoting goal-directed movement when the accompanying PP is clearly marked as allative (e.g. by the use of εἰς, *to/onto/into*, etc.).

Within the class of movement verbs, however, there are examples for which the idea of movement along a linear path to a goal is equally 'natural' (e.g. *roll*, *jump*, *fly*, *slide*, etc.). In English such verbs permit, as an alternative to the use of *to/onto/into*, the use of a 'locative' preposition in an allative sense:

(6) *a*	The ball rolled <u>in</u> the river	vs.	*b*	The leaf floated <u>in</u> the river
	John jumped <u>on</u> his horse			Lina danced <u>on</u> the table
	The stone flew <u>in</u> the air			John swam <u>in</u> the lake

Since this is a domain in which there is already a plethora of terminology (boundedness, delimitedness, telicity, etc.), much of it used inconsistently,[3] it seemed advisable, to avoid potential confusion, to introduce terms that are not already 'loaded'. Suppose that there is a contrast in all languages between verbs of movement that are basically *non-terminative* (in the sense that they primarily denote a non-directed movement/activity that takes place 'at a location', cf. *John ran/swam* (*yesterday*)) and those that are potentially more *terminative* (in the sense that they denote activities naturally thought of as involving movement along a linear path 'to a goal'—the latter being an obligatory complement).[4] While the non-terminative subclass may, in English, also be given a terminative reading if the syntactic context (i.e. the presence of a goal-marking PP) or the pragmatics of the situation permits it, the terminative type may continue to receive a terminative reading even if the 'local' complement is not overtly allative, as the examples in (6*a*) show. Languages may disagree about which subclass a given verb denoting a particular type of movement belongs to (see §§4 and 5).[5]

In Modern Greek verbs of the terminative subclass may take a PP headed

[3] See e.g. Talmy (1985); Brinton (1988); Tenny (1987; 1992; 1994); Verkuyl (1989); Snyder (1995); Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1996); Krifka (1998); Rothstein (2000; 2001); Strigin and Demjjanow (2001).

[4] This, for example, is essentially the basis for the formal lexical distinction between so-called 'determinate' (i.e. terminative) and 'non-determinate' (i.e. non-terminative) verbs of movement in Russian.

[5] Thus 'run', for example, appears to belong to the first subclass in Modern Greek but to the second in Italian:

by σε with the whole receiving a goal-type reading, as in (5). Arguably, however, the preposition here remains a locative one, much as in the English examples in (6), with the PP as a whole denoting not so much the goal 'to' which the movement takes place as the point 'at' which it terminates (= 'come to be at *x* by jumping, rolling, . . .', where the PP marks a result location, as in *arrived at the station*; cf. Folli and Ramchand 2001). In other words, verbs whose meanings incorporate terminativeness, or at least imply a high level of potential terminativeness, do not take an allative PP complement in Modern Greek; a 'result location' rather than a 'simple location' reading of the locative PP complements is a function of the lexical meanings of the verbs themselves.

With this background, the fundamental question to be addressed reduces to why Ancient Greek (and English) but not Modern Greek allows the contextual 'conversion' of basically non-terminative movement verbs into secondary terminative ones, leaving examples like (4) with locative readings only in the modern language.

3 A Simple Analysis

Examples such as the following provide the basis for an apparently simple explanation:

(7) *a* ἐς Ἱμέραν πρῶτον πλεύσαντες (Thuc. 7. 1)
b παρ-έπλευσαν ἐς Λοκρούς (Thuc. 7. 1)
c ἐσ-πλεύσομαι ἐς αὐτόν (viz. 'the gulf') (Thuc. 2. 89)

Ancient Greek had the resources to distinguish formally between locative and goal PPs, the heads of the former taking the dative (or genitive), e.g. ἐν + dative = 'at/in', those of the latter the accusative, e.g. ἐς/εἰς + accusative = 'to/into', as in (7). In Modern Greek, by contrast, where the dative case has disappeared along with the locative preposition ἐν,[6] and all monolectic 'local' prepositions including σε (< εἰς) now take the accusative, there can no longer be straightforward goal meanings—local prepositions are now either locative in force (e.g. σε = 'at/on/in', but including here both simple-location and result-location with inherently goal-directed movements, see

ο	Γιάννης	έτρεξε	στο	σπίτι	(locative only)
the	John	ran	in-the	house	

Gianni è corso in casa (potentially allative)

[6] At least in the dominant Attic dialect—some other dialects use(d) ἐν with both dative (= locative) and accusative (= goal), but that does not affect the basic point being made here.

§2), or they denote the direction or the intended goal of a movement (e.g. *προς* = 'towards', *για* = 'for'). Given the absence of a formal locative/goal contrast none *per se* denotes, or indeed can denote, a true goal (i.e. the point 'to' which a movement takes place as opposed to the point 'at' which it ends): the choice is between between simple-location and result-location readings depending on the lexical semantics of co-occurring verbs.

We might then say that the presence of an overtly goal-marking preposition in Ancient Greek, as in (7*a*), forces a secondary terminative reading of the otherwise basically non-terminative verb in question, while the accidental historical loss of the means of expressing the locative/allative contrast in Modern Greek means that any 'equivalent' examples will have only locative readings. Note further that Ancient Greek allows the compounding of verbs of movement with 'directional particles', formally identical to prepositions and denoting paths (to goals), as in (7*b*) ('sail along/beside (viz. 'the coast')—to Locri') and (7*c*) ('sail in—to (the gulf')). These therefore have the effect of converting verbs denoting basically non-terminative movements into verbs overtly denoting directed movements along a path towards, or actually to, a goal. Such compound verbs of movement naturally co-occur with goal-marking prepositions, just like morphologically simple verbs of movement with 'naturally' terminative semantics. Modern Greek, by contrast, having lost most of the prepositions/particles involved in this process, has also lost the option of converting basically non-terminative verbs of movement into terminative ones by compounding. Modern Greek thus lacks both the lexical means (compounding with a directional particle) and the syntactic means (use of an overtly goal-marking prepositional phrase) to effect the necessary conversion, leaving basically non-terminative verbs with only non-terminative readings, and any associated prepositional phrases with only locative readings.[7]

4 Some Complications

But things are rarely so simple—and this is no exception. In Ancient Greek, with verbs denoting a movement for which an end-point is naturally entailed, a locative PP is regularly (e.g. *πίπτω*), or optionally (e.g. *πηδῶ*), used to express a result location:[8]

[7] Note that prepositions such as *μέχρι* in Greek or *fino a* in Italian, while certainly co-occurring with basically non-terminative verbs (e.g. *κολύμβησε μέχρι το νησί* = 'swam as far as the island'/*ha camminato fino a casa* = 'walked as far as the house'), in fact denote the extent of the distance traversed rather than the goal of the movement.

[8] Thus even in these cases a goal-marking preposition with the accusative is usually pos-

(8) *a* . . . ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ <u>ἐν</u> κονίῃσι πεσών . . . (Hom. *Il.* 11. 425)

b . . . τίς ὁ πηδήσας
. . . δαίμων . . .
<u>πρὸς</u> σῇ δυσδαίμονι μοίρᾳ; (Soph. *OT* 1300–2)
(Contrast (9*b*), where a goal rather than a result location is expressed with this verb.)

Most other verbs of movement, however, including even those with high terminative potential, as in the examples in (9), still usually require the use of a goal-marking preposition (or equivalent) + accusative if the whole expression is intended to mark a transition from one place 'to' another, even if a simple-location reading of a locative prepositional phrase is impossible, or even just hard to access, as in (9*b*, *c*, *d*),[9] and there is little risk of misunderstanding if a result-location reading is intended:

(9) *a* . . . πέδον<u>δε</u> κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής (Hom. *Od.* 11. 598)

b . . . <u>εἰς</u> δὲ ναυτικὰ σκάφη
πηδῶντος ἄρδην Ἕκτορος (Soph. *Ajax* 1278–9)
(Though contrast (8*b*), where a result location is also expressed with this verb.)

c ἀλλ᾽ <u>ἐφ᾽</u> ἕτερον ἂν πέτοιτο (Ar. *Eccl.* 899)

d ὅταν <u>εἰς</u> τὸ ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνα τῆς γῆς ὁρμήσῃ . . . (Plato, *Phaedo* 112 B)

Thus the option of using a locative expression with a resultative meaning is available only with the relatively few verbs of movement whose meaning inherently entails, or strongly implies, a directional movement with a natural terminus—and even then the overtly allative alternative is still often preferred. (This same subclass of verbs, broadly speaking, continues to allow result-location readings of PPs headed by σε in Modern Greek.) Otherwise, if a 'simple' locational reading of a locative expression is readily available, as in (10):

(10) . . . ὄστεα . . .
. . . εἰν ἁλὶ κῦμα κυλίνδει (Hom. *Od.* 1. 161–2)

sible as an alternative. Contrast (8*b*) with (9*b*), and cf. the dual use of ἐν and εἰς etc. after verbs such as τίθημι.

[9] In (9*a*), by contrast, a locative prepositional phrase would perhaps most naturally be understood as marking the place where things 'rolled around', given that in the following (admittedly transitive) example:

. . . ὄστεα . . .
. . . ἢ εἰν ἁλὶ κῦμα κυλίνδει (Hom. *Od.* 1. 162–3)

'the sea' is clearly the place where the waves may be 'rolling' Odysseus' bones rather than the place into which it is rolling them.

or as generally with basically non-terminative verbs, a directional reading necessarily requires the use of an overtly allative expression in Ancient Greek, as in the examples already given in (7). (Allative readings in such cases are simply unavailable in Modern Greek, as we have seen.)

This situation contrasts with English, where many more verbs may be assigned directional readings in the presence of 'locative' PPs given a pragmatically supportive context (e.g. *John ran/walked/marched/strolled . . . in the room*, vs. . . . *in the park*). The clear implication is that what has so far been described as a terminative/non-terminative 'contrast' might better be thought of as involving a continuous scale along which verbs of activity/movement are ranked—with verbs like *swim*, *run*, and *dance* at the lower end (i.e. typically denoting activities involving a form of bodily movement that does not entail a transition) and verbs like *fall*, *fly*, and *jump* at the higher end (i.e. typically denoting a manner of movement directed along a path to a goal). What mainly distinguishes languages is the ease, or difficulty, with which verbs of low(er) terminative potential can be given a higher (i.e. directional) reading given appropriate contextual 'cues'.

In this connection it is significant that, though Ancient Greek can boost low levels of terminativeness (given the existence of overtly goal-marking PPs), it still has to try harder than English in order to achieve that result. In other words, unless a verb is already at the top of the terminativeness scale, Ancient Greek *must* use an overtly allative expression for this purpose, while English, by relying on the still inherent, if comparatively limited, potential for terminativeness, can achieve the same results with many more verbs using only locative expressions. English is forced to employ overtly allative prepositional phrases only at the lower end of the scale (contrast *swam in the sea* with *swam into the sea* (e.g. from a river mouth)) and/or when the pragmatic context strongly discourages the desired reading (contrast *walked in the room* with *walked in the park*). The question now is why Modern Greek cuts off the option of interpreting a locative PP as a result location at more or less the same (very high) point on the scale at which Ancient Greek requires overtly allative PPs to be used, and why the inherent, albeit limited, terminative potential of middle-ranking activity/movement verbs is of itself not enough to make available a resultative reading of a locative PP in a pragmatically favourable context.

5 Aspect and Interpretation

As we shall see, the answer to these questions lies in the fact that Greek (Ancient and Modern) has an obligatory aspectual contrast (perfective/

aorist vs. imperfective, ignoring here and henceforth the perfect) marked morphologically on its verb forms, while English does not: thus *John walked* tells the reader nothing about whether it is intended to describe a single complete event, an activity that continued for a time but without completion, or simply a habit of John's. By contrast, virtually all forms of a Greek verb are precisely marked for such 'values'.

Consider first the effects of obligatory aspectual marking on verbs of activity/movement. It is important here to recognize that grammatical aspect interacts with lexical *Aktionsart* (i.e. whether a verb is thought of as basically an activity verb or as a verb of goal-directed spatial transition). Beginning with verbs that are low on the terminativeness scale, and so typically denote simple activities, the perfective/imperfective contrast works as in (11):[10]

(11) Aspectual readings for verbs denoting *simple activities*:

(i) PERFECTIVE. The activity is viewed as a single complete whole, with a beginning and an end, but without reference to its internal 'contour': since it involves a type of activity/movement that could in principle be continued indefinitely and uniformly, the external bound imposed by perfective aspect is an arbitrary one, and the meaning is analogous to 'had a swim', 'went for a walk', etc. (each such complete activity being of determinate but unspecified duration). Perfective aspect is compatible with modification by a durative adverbial (*for two hours*), but not a time-within-which adverbial (*in two hours*), since the activity simply ends, rather than having a natural culmination.

(ii) IMPERFECTIVE. The activity is typically viewed as internally continuous/progressive or as habitual/repetitive, but invariably as lacking determinate external bounds (beginnings or ends), whether we are dealing with a single instance, a series of instances taken together, or something viewed abstractly in isolation from specific times/places: aspectually, the meaning is similar to 'was having a swim'/'was taking a walk', 'used to have a swim'/'used to take a walk', or is analogous to that of the gerund in 'swimming/walking is good for you', etc.

Compare now the aspectual contrast for verbs that are high on the terminativeness scale and strongly imply that the activity is goal directed. Here the activity is understood as proceeding incrementally towards its goal and has a natural culmination (i.e. the point at which the goal is attained):

[10] Cf. Comrie (1976) for a classic account of aspectual oppositions, Panitsa (2001) for a fuller account of aspect in Modern Greek.

(12) Aspectual readings for verbs denoting *spatial transition to a goal*:

(i) PERFECTIVE. The directed movement is understood as having proceeded all the way to its goal, the bound imposed by perfective aspect coinciding with the moment of arrival: while the notion of proceeding to a natural culmination is lexical (i.e. a property of the verb whatever its aspect), the idea that this entails a single complete whole (i.e. in this case a complete 'journey') is a function of the choice of perfective aspect. The meaning is analogous to 'fell/rolled onto the floor', etc., such accomplishments (in Vendler's (1957) classic terms) naturally taking time-within-which adverbials (*in a matter of seconds*) and rejecting durative ones (*for two seconds*)—unless these are taken to describe the period for which the object remains in its result location.

(ii) IMPERFECTIVE. (*a*) The goal-directed movement is understood as proceeding incrementally towards its goal, but without the goal being attained: the idea of incrementally approaching a culmination is still a lexical matter, and it is the notion that the goal remains prospective that is conveyed by the choice of imperfective aspect. The meaning is analagous to 'was falling/rolling onto the floor', etc.

(*b*) The goal-directed movement is understood as recurring on an indefinite number of occasions (habitual/repetitive), without any bound on these, even though each individual instance is understood as constituting a complete journey. Cf. 'used to fall/roll onto the floor'.

Thus the grammatical aspectual meanings remain fixed (i.e. perfective = activity conceived as a single complete whole, without internal contour, but with external bounds; imperfective = activity without external bounds, often conceived in terms of an internal contour of continuousness/progressiveness or as habitual/repetitive). But these values interact with lexical *Aktionsart*, i.e. here, simple activity vs. goal-directed movement, to give rather different *overall* aspectual meanings.

With this background we are now in a position to understand why English readily allows terminative readings (given a suitable context) for verbs which are naturally rather low on the terminativeness scale, while Greek (Ancient or Modern) does not. Beginning with Ancient Greek, unless the movement described is of itself very strongly directional/terminative (as with 'fall', 'jump', and perhaps 'fly', etc.), a relatively low 'natural' potential for terminativeness combined with the effects of the aspectual system means that a simple activity reading is enforced unless an overtly allative PP overrides this interpretation in favour of a directional meaning.

To see why this is so, let us first take a verb such as *νέω*, which is regularly used absolutely, as in (13):

(13) *καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν . . . τοὺς πλείστους οὔτε ἐπισταμένους νεῖν* (Thuc. 7. 30. 2)

It may also be used with a locative PP in a simple-locative sense, as (albeit jokingly) in (14):

(14) . . . *ἔνεον ἐν ταῖς ἐμβάσιν* (Ar. *Eq.* 321)

But if a directional meaning is intended, this verb requires the use of an unambiguously directional (path-goal) prefix and/or an allative PP, as in (15):

(15) *ἐσένεον δὲ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα κολυμβηταὶ ὕφυδροι* (lit. 'swam-(in)to [viz. the island] via the harbour') (Thuc. 4. 26. 8)

It is clear, then, that this verb is 'basically' low on the terminativeness scale and naturally carries a simple-activity rather than a directional meaning. Note now that, logically, one has first to assign a verb to a particular *Aktionsart* in order to be able to understand the impact of the choice of grammatical aspect in any given case, as the outline of aspectual interpretation in (11) and (12) shows. Since the 'basic' *Aktionsart* of verbs of this class is that of 'simple activity', the default meaning of a past perfective form of *νέω* is 'had a swim', and that of a past imperfective form is 'was having a swim'/'used to have a swim'. The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to all verbs of movement that do not preferentially receive a directional reading independently of context.

In other words, an overall aspectual value (involving a predetermined simple-activity *Aktionsart* + the impact of grammatical aspect) is lexically and morphologically 'built-into' all verb forms, and that is the only accessible reading in the absence of anything to force a 'directional' reading. Thus a simple-activity meaning for these verbs follows directly from the fact that (*a*) an aspectual choice must be made, and (*b*) the assignment of a meaning to aspectually marked forms requires an *Aktionsart* to have been already assigned—this can, of course, only be the unmarked *Aktionsart* characteristic of such verbs in isolation from specific contextual effects, viz. that of 'simple activity'. Only when the verb is lexically converted (using a directional prefix) and/or when the syntactic context (an overtly allative PP) forces a re-evaluation of that basic reading, as in (1), (7), (9), and (15), can a 'transitional' reading be obtained. When these options for forcing directional/transitional readings disappear from the language, we are left in Modern Greek only with simple-location readings, or, in the case of inherently transitional verbs, result-location readings, as already discussed.

In English by contrast, where monolectic verb forms are not marked grammatically for aspect, no prior view has to be taken about their 'basic' *Aktionsart* either—thus even activities that are, in languages like Greek, naturally viewed as quite low on the terminativeness scale still retain a high potential for interpretation as goal-directed movements in English. In other words, in the absence of a predetermined 'natural' aspectual value based on the combination of a 'basic' *Aktionsart* with a choice of grammatical aspect, their status as activity verbs or as verbs of spatial transition is not determinable in isolation, and their 'full' interpretation depends on syntactic context and/or the pragmatics of the situation. Thus in (16):

(16) *a* John walked in the room
b John walked in the park

a directional reading of the first, as opposed to the second, is pragmatically supported and the terminative potential of the verb is triggered, because there is nothing inherent in the verb form to block this. Since the relevant verb forms in isolation are of non-determined *Aktionsart* and also aspectually neutral, they may receive whatever type of reading the context demands.

Summarizing, while a verb form like *walked* remains open to a range of interpretations until one is selected by the syntactic or pragmatic context, aspectually specified forms like *ἐβάδισε/ἐβάδιζε* can, in isolation, only mean 'went for a walk'/'was having a walk' (or 'used to have a walk'). Neither of these 'unmarked' aspectual readings is compatible with a result-location interpretation of a co-occurring locative PP in the manner of (16*a*), so co-occurring locatives are understood as denoting simple locations. Only overtly allative contextual elements can override this basic reading.

6 Conclusion

The fundamental difference between Greek and English with regard to the interpretation of verbs of movement specifically as verbs of spatial transition is in fact a consequence of the presence of obligatory, morphologically encoded, aspect marking in the verb forms of the former and the absence of such marking in the latter. Though Ancient Greek had the resources to 'force' such interpretations in specific contexts, Modern Greek has lost those resources and now can express only simple locations and result locations (the latter exclusively with verbs denoting inherently goal-orientated movement).

This explanation generalizes to the different treatment of resultant

states,[11] and accounts for why *John beat the metal flat* is a possible English sentence, while its translation equivalent, **ο Γιάννης χτύπησε το μέταλλο ίσιο*, is impossible in (Modern, and presumably also Ancient) Greek. Adjectives are naturally stative, and so cannot in Greek force a directional/transitional reading for what is basically a simple-activity verb (cf. *beat the metal for ten minutes/* in ten minutes*) and whose aspectually marked forms are assigned their default readings accordingly (viz. 'gave *x* a beating'/'was giving *x* a beating', etc., neither compatible with a 'result' interpretation of *flat*).[12] In English, however, if the pragmatics encourage such a reading, there is again nothing inherent in the verb form itself to block the necessary conversion from non-terminative to terminative semantics.[13]

More generally, the prediction of this analysis is that languages with obligatory, morphologically encoded, aspect marking on their verb forms, even if this is only partial, as in Romance (i.e. involving only forms referring to past time), do not permit what are basically activity verbs to be interpreted contextually as directional/transitional verbs involving a destination or change of state unless they also have the means to mark co-occurring prepositional phrases and/or adjectives overtly as 'allative', thus overriding the natural lexico-aspectual readings of the relevant verb forms and forcing the directional/transitional alternative.

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[11] Tortora (1998) suggests the two phenomena should be linked.

[12] Giannakidou and Merchant (1999) offer a different, though only partial, account in terms of arbitrary differences in causativization patterns in the two languages. Specifically, since Greek has many more deadjectival causatives than English, and since only one 'result' can be expressed at a time, expressions meaning things like 'cleaned the sink shiny' are generally excluded. But while the uniqueness principle for results is clearly correct, this does not explain why resultative adjectives are also impossible in Greek with non-causative verbs.

[13] Note that the Greek situation obtains also, at least in principle, in Italian:

*Gianni ha martellato il metallo piatto

though in this language it seems to be possible to mark an adjective as 'eventive/resultative' rather than 'stative', in which case the conversion of an activity into an accomplishment may be permissible:

Gianni ha martellato il metallo piatto piatto.

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14

The ‘Swimming Duck’ in Greek and Hittite

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There has been considerable squabbling in the secondary literature over the Greek word for ‘duck’. At first glance, Att. νῆττα/Ion. νῆσσα looks as though it might be related to Lat. *anas*, gen. *anatis* and the names for this animal in so many other Indo-European languages, in which case it, too, would go back, somehow, to PIE **h*$_2$*énh*$_2$*-t-*, **h*$_2$*n̥h*$_2$*-t-´* (*vel sim.*).[1] Connecting the Greek word to *anas* and superficially similar forms throughout the family (e.g. Skt. *ātí-* and Mod. Germ. *Ente*) is, however, not at all simple, in the first place because both **#h*$_2$*en-* and (by the ‘Lex Rix’) **#h*$_2$*n̥-* should have yielded *ἀν-, with an initial alpha. In an article published in 1991, Helmut Rix reconsiders the whole question and comes to the interesting and attractive conclusion that νῆττα has been influenced by the verb meaning ‘swim’, νήχω, νήχομαι (← PIE **(s)neh*$_2$- ‘bathe, swim’[2]). The purpose of the present paper is to suggest some modifications to Rix’s scenario and to show that

This paper, a version of which was presented at the 206th Meeting of the American Oriental Society in Philadelphia in March 1996, expands on and revises a passing suggestion in Katz (2001: 210, with n. 16). It is a pleasure to dedicate a small and ‘anatine’ Graeco-Hittite etymology to Anna Morpurgo Davies, whose contributions to Greek and Anatolian linguistics have been astounding. For helpful comments I am grateful to Gillian R. Hart, P. Oktor Skjærvø, Brent Vine, Calvert Watkins, Michael Weiss, and especially H. Craig Melchert; I hereby acknowledge with thanks support from the National Science Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Institute for Advanced Study.

[1] For the repertoire of descendant forms in Indic, Iranian, Italic, Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic, as well as supposedly in Greek, see e.g. Rix (1991) and J. A. C. Greppin in Mallory and Adams (1997: 171), the latter of whom reconstructs a second word for this bird in Proto-Indo-European and beyond, **pad-* (‘“duck, teal ?”’), and notes that the ‘species indicated by PIE “duck” . . . is not certain although the mallard is by far the best attested species’. Buck (1949: 178) lists many of the major Indo-European words for ‘duck’, some of which are obviously unrelated to **h*$_2$*énh*$_2$*-t-* and to each other (e.g. *lacha* in Irish, *hwyad* in Welsh (whose etymology has proved especially controversial: see Lockwood 1981: 181–3, Lindeman 1983, Hamp 1989: 196–7, and now also Hamp 1998–2000), *kaczka* in Polish, and, of course, *duck* itself).

[2] For the evidence for this root and its *s*-mobile (discussed at the end of this paper), see now Th. Zehnder in Rix (2001: 572–3). See also García Ramón (2000*b*: 122–3 and *passim*).

the Hittite word for 'duck', *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)-*$^{(\text{MUŠEN})}$, which no one has tried to connect to **h$_2$énh$_2$-t-*, in fact goes back to much the same sort of pre-form as the Greek.

The Proto-Indo-European word for 'duck' contains a root **h$_2$enh$_2$-* not found outside this feminine noun,[3] whose basic form Rix reconstructs as nom. **h$_2$é/ónh$_2$-t-s*, gen. **h$_2$n̥h$_2$-t-és*.[4] In Rix's opinion, this same amphikinetic paradigm underlies *νῆττα* as well, according to the following series of developments, which are complicated enough to make the chart worth reproducing verbatim from the end of his paper (Rix 1991: 198):

	Nominativ	Genetiv
I.	*h$_2$ónh$_2$-t-s oder *h$_2$énh$_2$-t-s	*h$_2$n̥h$_2$-t-és
II.	*h$_2$ń̥h$_2$-t-s	*h$_2$n̥h$_2$-t-ós
III.	*s$_{ə́}$nh$_{2ə}$t-s	*sn$_ə$h$_2$t-ós
IV.	(*sánat-s→) *snā́t-s	*snāt-ós
V.	*snā́t-i̯a	*snāt-i̯ā́-s
VI.	*snā́k$^{\hat{h}}$-i̯a > *nā́tt^{s}a	*snāk$^{\hat{h}}$-i̯ā́-s > *nā́tt^{s}ās
VII.	νᾶσσα/νῆσσα/νῆττα	νᾱ́σσᾱς/νήσσης/νήττης.

The crucial step is the third: it is not possible to arrive at a Greek form with an initial nu from **h$_2$(e)nh$_2$-*, at least not without considerable difficulty,[5] but since ducks are conventionally associated with swimming[6] and since the inherited root that means 'bathe, swim' begins **(s)n-* (which, with or without the sibilant, would reduce in Greek to #*ν*-), we have to

[3] I do not understand the attempt of Hamp (1989: 197; see also Hamp 1998–2000) to reconcile **h$_2$enh$_2$-* with the well-known root **h$_2$enh$_1$-* 'breathe' (cf. e.g. Gk. *ἄνεμος* 'wind' and Lat. *animus* 'soul').

[4] I have nothing to add to Rix's cautious and ultimately indecisive discussion (Rix 1991: 190–1, with special reference to M. Mayrhofer) of the relative antiquity of the *t*-stem (as above) and its clear by-form in *-ti-* (as e.g. in Skt. *ātí-*). Hamp (1990: 16–17) argues that 'for Indo-European we can justify only a Wurzelnomen **anət*' (17).

[5] There is a large literature on the Lex Rix (see in the first place Rix 1970)—mostly pro, occasionally contra. Suffice it to say that I am wholly unconvinced by the objections of Fredrik Otto Lindeman to the law in general and by his own analysis of *νῆττα* as the regular outcome of **h$_2$n̥h$_2$-t-íh$_2$* (e.g. Lindeman 1990: 19 and *passim* (response by Rix 1991: 192–4), 1994: 43–4 and *passim*, and 1997: 53–7). Meißner (1998) has ingenious but in my view often improbable alternative explanations for some major examples of the Lex Rix, whose validity seems to him *sub iudice*; he writes of the 'extremely problematic' Greek word for 'duck' that it 'can easily be subject to onomatopoeic changes which significantly reduce its value as evidence' for the law (39–40).

[6] Rix (1991: 190 n. 18) points to two pieces of Classical evidence for the folk-etymological connection between these water birds and their habitual aquatic activity: Athen. 9, 395 E *τῆς δὲ νήττης καὶ . . ., ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ νήχεσθαι . . . εἴρηται* and Varro, *LL* 5. 78 'dicta . . . anas a nando'. See also Isid. *Etym.* 12. 7. 51–2 'Ans [*sic*] ab assiduitate natandi aptum nomen accepit. . . . Anseri nomen ans dedit per derivationem, uel a similitudine, uel quod et ipsa natandi frequentiam habeat' (see Maltby 1991: 33 and 38).

do—thus Rix—with a 'volksetymologisch motivierte Dissimilation' (Rix 1991: 198) of *h_2 . . . h_2 to *s . . . h_2.[7] The outcome of this alteration, **snāt-*, is then recharacterized with the feminine suffix *-*i̯a* (< PIE *-*ih*$_2$)—hardly a surprise given that **h*$_2$(*e*)*nh*$_2$-*t*- is grammatically feminine and, I would add, that many cultures view ducks as in the first place female[8]—and the resulting **snāt-i̯a-* is supposedly further changed to **snāk*^{h}-*i̯a*- under the influence of the verb νήχω, which has in the meantime acquired a velar. Finally, the pre-form **snā́k*^{h}-*i̯a* would indeed yield νῆττα in Attic and νῆσσα in Ionic.[9]

There are a lot of steps here, including one (the replacement of **snāt*- by **snāk*^{h}-) that may be unnecessary (see below), but the idea that the word for 'swim' is involved is insightful and intuitively correct.[10] Still, although Rix is right to object to Martin Peters's attempt to explain the lack of an initial vowel in νῆττα as a 'nicht ad hoc' loss of the first laryngeal (so that PIE **HR̥H*$_i$*C*- develops into Gk. *RĒ*$_i$*C*-), it is hard to agree with Rix that the fact that **h*$_2$ and **s* are both spirants makes his own suggested dissimilation especially likely.[11] I propose instead that speakers of pre-Greek

[7] Compare Rix (1991: 194: a 'Dissimilation, für die man zudem ein semantisches Motiv anführen kann'); and (1991: 195: 'Ebensogut wie von einer semantisch motivierten Dissimilation könnte man so auch von einer phonetisch gestützten Volksetymologie reden').

[8] Perhaps no other bird except the goose is quite so prototypically female. In English, for example, female members of the family Anatidae are called *duck* and *goose*, but these are also the generic terms (rather than their mates, the marked *drake* and *gander*); cf. e.g. *cat* (vs. *tom-cat*), *cow* (vs. *bull*), and *sheep* (vs. *ram*) as opposed to *bitch* (vs. *dog*), *vixen* (vs. *fox*), and *she-wolf* (vs. *wolf*). It is worth noting that not only are all reflexes of PIE **h*$_2$(*e*)*nh*$_2$-*t*- feminine (this is not surprising, for the word is a *t*-stem), but so, too, are almost all other basic words for 'duck' in Indo-European, regardless of source (e.g. OE *duce* (vs. (ME) *drāke*), Ir. *lacha* (vs. *bardal*), W. *hwyad* (vs. *ceiliog hwyad*), and Mod. Gk. πάπια (vs. αρσενική πάπια)); the obvious exceptions are Fr. *canard* (vs. *cane*) and Sp. *pato* (more usual than *pata*).

[9] On the pseudo-Boeotian accusative plural form νᾶσσᾱς in Ar. *Ach.* 875, see Rix (1991: 186 n. 1), Colvin (1999: 167 and 179), and Katz (2000).

[10] Rix (1991: 197) writes that 'Die Umbildung war individuell, aber sie ist semantisch so gut motiviert, wie es nur wünschbar ist', adding in a footnote that Pierre Chantraine in his etymological dictionary s.v. νῆσσα (see now Chantraine 1999: 752–3) denies that there could be a connection between this noun and the verb 'swim' ('ni démontrable ni probable' (753)). The same idea is to be found in a passing remark of C. J. Ruijgh ap. Schrijver (1991: 95: 'νᾶσσα might alternatively reflect *νᾱχ-γα, of νᾱ́χω'); compare also Beekes (1987: 5 n. 5: νῆττα 'cannot continue **h*$_2$*nh*$_2$*t*-. The word must have had **neh*$_2$- (and it was not cognate with the other "duck"-words)'; otherwise Beekes (1985: 63–4)). Meier-Brügger (1993) follows up on Rix's article and affirms his belief in the old etymology (due in the first place to G. Curtius) of Gk. νῆσος 'island' as 'schwimmend(e Erde)' (though if I am reading his one-page note rightly, he moves from reconstructions in the first paragraph with *-*k*^{h}*i̯*- to the implication in the second paragraph that we have to do instead with *-*ti̯*-; on these two clusters, see n. 13); see also now Leušina (1999: 83 and *passim*).

[11] See Peters (1980: 26 n. 18) and Rix (1991: 194). Note also the idea of Griepentrog (1995: 299 n. 22): perhaps 'uridg. **anH*$_2$*t*- mit grundsprachlichem *a*'.

replaced the inherited word for 'duck', *$*h_2énh_2$-t-*, with a phonologically similar and structurally identical form *(s)$néh_2$-t-* 'swimmer' (compare the comment of Ruijgh in n. 10) and that this, once recharacterized as feminine, *(s)nā́t-i̯a* (as though from an anachronistic PIE *(s)neh_2-t-$íh_2$*), developed directly into νῆττα. There are numerous parallels for renaming something in the natural world with reference to a salient trait, some of which, as in the kind of transferred epithet that I suggest, involve the maintenance of the original name's morphology.[12] Note that it may even be the case that *(s)nā́t-i̯a* is the immediate precursor of νῆττα, despite Rix's belief that the *-t-* is first replaced by the velar in (the pre-form of) νήχω: certainly the reconstruction *(s)nā́k^h-i̯a* cannot be summarily excluded, for no one disputes that intervocalic *-k$^{(h)}$i̯-* yields -ττ- in Attic and -σσ- in Ionic; but certainly, too, the precise conditions under which PIE *-ti̯-* yields -ττ-/-σσ- (as e.g. in κρείττων/κρέσσων 'better, stronger') rather than only -σ(σ)- (as e.g. in τόσ(σ)ος 'so much') remain controversial, and I find rather more intriguing than Rix does Peters's idea that names of female creatures that contain the suffix *-i̯a* show the former ('nicht-lautgesetzlich') treatment.[13] For my purposes, though, it matters little whether the word for 'duck' goes back to *(s)nā́t-i̯a* or a remade *(s)nā́k^h-i̯a* (or, for that matter, to *(s)nā́k^{h}t-i̯a* (cf. ἄνασσα 'queen', which probably comes from *u̯anaKt-i̯a*)); anyone who does not accept the former can simply say that the noun 'duck (← swimmer)' gains the same velar extension as the verb 'swim', νήχω.[14]

[12] For the retention of a similar inflectional category in a roughly comparable sort of transference, see Watkins (1978: 10–11) on Gk. ἄλφι, ἀλφιτ- 'barley (← the white stuff)', which owes its stem *-it-* to a Proto-Indo-European word for some kind of grain, *sép-it* (> Hitt. *šeppit*, gen. *šeppittaš*).

[13] The most important discussion of *-k$^{(h)}$i̯-* vs. *-t$^{(h)}$i̯-* in Greek remains Peters (1980: 140–3 and 287–91); handy overviews may be found in e.g. Lejeune (1972: 103–11), Rix (1992: 90–3), and Sihler (1995: 189–94), and see also the further literature cited in Meier-Brügger (1992: ii. 113–14). For the justification for *-ti̯-* (specifically *-t-i̯-*, with a morpheme boundary) in the word for 'duck', see Peters (1980: 141–3), though even he admits (see 142 n. 96) that the force of the best parallel for νῆττα/νῆσσα, namely μέλιττα/μέλισσα 'bee' (< *mélit-i̯a*; the preference of some scholars—e.g. Sihler 1995: 193, with n. 1—for a more complicated pre-form involving the root 'lick' strikes me as unnecessary), is vitiated somewhat by the existence in synchronic Greek of a clear stem μελιτ- 'honey'; Rix (1991: 196–7) provides a clear and careful account of the issues, giving Peters a great deal of credit before coming down in favour of his own solution for the word for 'duck' that involves the sequence *-k^{h}i̯-*.

[14] On the 'sens déterminé' of the archaic presential formant -χ(ω) in this and some other Greek verbs, see most notably Chantraine (1932: 77–85) (81–4 specifically on 'l'opposition délicate' (82) in Homer between νέω '"nager" sans qu'un but soit envisagé' (81) and νήχω 'nager vers un but' (82)); see also Chantraine (1958: 330–2) and García Ramón (2000*b*: 123). As for the form of the verb νέ(Ϝ)ω, it is generally believed that it owes its -ε- to influence from the semantically very similar verb πλέ(Ϝ)ω (García Ramón 2000*b*: 122–3 n. 12 notes

One may well ask why it is worth spilling ink over what would appear to be little more than a minor adjustment of Rix's scenario, one that amounts largely to the positing of an old noun **(s)néh₂-t-*. The answer is that a very similar pre-form provides, in my view, the etymology of the word for 'duck' in another archaic Indo-European language, and one to which Greek has obvious geographic and cultural proximity. Hittite is the language, *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*-(MUŠEN) the word—but neither Rix nor anyone else has ever suggested a connection with Gk. *νῆττα*.

Hittite texts present us with a few dozen names for birds, and yet it is striking how little of the ornithological terminology of ancient Anatolia appears to have cognates elsewhere in the Indo-European world: Hitt. *ḫāraš*, gen. *ḫāranaš* 'eagle' (< **h₃er-on-*) is unique, or virtually so, in having a clear pedigree.[15] Now, the word *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- does not on its surface much resemble *νῆττα* or **(s)néh₂-t-* (or, for that matter, *anas* or **h₂énh₂-t-*), and so I can hardly claim transparency for the derivation I am about to put forth. Nevertheless, as we shall see, a Graeco-Anatolian isogloss for the 'swimming duck' has its attractions.

Let us begin with the meaning of *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*-, which not everyone has agreed does designate a duck. In his *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Johann Tischler reports that various researchers have imagined it to be a stork, a seagull, and even a kind of fish; he himself remains neutral, defining it simply as 'ein Vogel', while noting that the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* considers it an 'Entenart'.[16] And indeed, the editors of this dictionary, Hans G. Güterbock and Harry A. Hoffner, assemble the textual evidence and make an excellent case that this creature does really belong to the family Anatidae:

the existence of an unpublished 1984 Madrid master's thesis by G. Merinero Cortés entitled 'Los grupos léxicos de **snā* y **plew-*: contribución al estudio del vocabulario indoeuropeo').

[15] Zinko (1987) provides a handy account of Hittite bird names. On eagles in Hittite and other Anatolian languages, see now Katz (2001). As for other birds, Fortson (1996) (and briefly already ap. Watkins 1995: 286 n. 16) proposes that the hapax *ḫuwalaš* (*KUB* 43. 60 Ro. i. 14) is cognate with *owl* (rejected as 'gratuitous' by Puhvel 2001: 141), and Greppin (1975) makes the somewhat less straightforward suggestion that the hapax *tarlān*MUŠEN (*KUB* 8. 62 Ro. i. 6) means 'stork' (like Arm. *taṙeɫn* (see Greppin 1978: 17 and 21–2), which he sees as an Anatolian borrowing), in which case (though he does not actually say so) it could perhaps have the same basic root as Eng. *stork* (compare Zinko 1987: 10–11, who mentions the quasi-equation but prefers a different interpretation of *tarlā*-). Finally, it is widely believed that Hitt. *ḫanzana*- means 'black' and is cognate with such Indo-European words for 'blackbird' as Mod. Germ. *Amsel* (see e.g. Oettinger 1980: 45, with reference to B. Čop in n. 5, and most recently Ofitsch 1999; Puhvel 2001: 137 maintains his long-standing opposition to this idea).

[16] See Tischler (1990: 12–13), but compare also Tischler (1982: 44: 'ein Vogel, Art Ente') and now (2001: 90: 'ein Vogel; "Ente"?, "Storch"?, "Möwe"?').

Certain factors aid in determining the identity of this bird: (1) it was a sea or seashore bird; (2) there was a period of time each year (winter?) when it was absent from Ḫatti and the look-alike (?) MUŠEN *ḪURRI* (shelduck, scientific name: *Tadorna tadorna*) was present; (3) the males had a head color (represented by gold overlay on models) different from the females, while the body coloration of both could be represented by silver overlay. . . . The *laḫ(ḫ)anzana-*, like the MUŠEN *ḪURRI*, was a member of the duck family.[17]

We shall see that the translation of *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)-* simply as ‘duck’—an animal for which there does not otherwise seem to be any proper Hittite word[18]—is as linguistically felicitous as it is philologically appropriate.

There are already a number of derivations of our word in the scholarly literature, all from the past two decades. In 1986, Norbert Oettinger, stating that the bird in question is a gull, proposed a pre-form *leh$_2$-on-, invoking as a comparison the etymologically obscure Greek word *λάρος* ‘sea-mew’ (supposedly from ‘*lə$_2$-ro-’).[19] Although from a phonological point of view a nominative *leh$_2$-on-s would indeed yield something written *laḫ(ḫ)anz(a)* (with a purely graphic final vowel; but see below on the various endings of the word), Oettinger’s idea is unlikely to be correct: for one thing, as others

[17] Thus Güterbock and Hoffner (1980: 7), who give a full accounting of the passages in which the word is attested on pp. 6–7 (and see now also Puhvel 2001: 8–9 and Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel´tsev 2002: 530–4, 828–9, and *passim*, as well as Aykut 1992: 94–5). Their first point is implied by an eschatological text, *KUB* 43. 60 (Ro. i. 12–13 ‘If it is from the sea, let the *laḫanza* bring it . . .’), edited by Watkins (1995: 284–90) (see also Fortson 1996: 71–2 and Katz 2001); the second and third are clear from the royal funerary ritual of the *šalliš waštaiš*, recently re-edited by Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel´tsev (2002), in which ducks—both live ones (when available; if not, then shelducks) and decoys made out of metal-plated wood, wool, and dough—play a conspicuous role in the ceremonies on the 13th day (and also, it now seems, on the second: see van den Hout 1995: 205 and 211 and Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel´tsev 2002: 121–2). Aside from *KUB* 43. 60, whose subject is the mortal soul, the lone attestation of the word outside the funeral rites is in *KBo.* 1. 34 Ro. 8, a fragmentary vocabulary list: the apparent association of ducks with death may well not be coincidental (compare Watkins 1995: 288 and see also Katz 2001: 210 n. 16). As for the relationship between *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)-* and MUŠEN *ḪURRI*, which is indeed usually said to mean ‘shelduck’ (for the wider Near Eastern background, see notably Landsberger 1966: 262–8 and Salonen 1973: 143–6 and 298; specifically for Hittite, see e.g. Beckman 1983: 90–1, 101 (‘probably the *Tadorna casarca*, a member of the duck family known in English as the “sheldrake”’), and 314), Taracha (2000: 147) notes that one can ‘jedoch entgegen CHD . . . wohl nicht schließen, daß *laḫ(ḫ)anza(na)-* . . . dem *ḪURRI*-Vogel äußerlich ähnlich ist’.

[18] Many scholars translate MUŠEN.GAL (lit. ‘big bird’) as ‘duck’: see e.g. Hoffner (1967: 23 and 36) and Beckman (1983: 90–1 and 314); Tischler (2001: 246) gives it as ‘“Gans”?, “Ente”?’.

[19] See Oettinger (1986: 29 n. 42). Taracha (2000: 146–7) accepts Oettinger’s suggestion on the not especially well-supported assumption that *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)-* has the same referent as the bird described in *KUB* 58. 104 Ro. ii 24´, which he imagines as some sort of ‘Seeschwalbe’ (see 147, with n. 71): 1 *ḫapaš* MUŠEN KÙ.BABBAR ‘1 silberner “Vogel des Flusses”’ in his transcription and translation (80–1).

have noticed, a better Hittite comparandum for *λάρος* than *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- may be *lari(ya)*- 'gull (?)', a word attested in *KBo.* 10. 24. iii. 11′ as the nominative plural *lariēš* (the duplicate *KBo.* 30. 5 Vo. iii. 1′ has *la-a-r[i*, with *plene*-writing of the first syllable) and specified on the next line as *arunaš* 'of the sea'.[20] The following year, in 1987, Christian Zinko, too, plumped for a reconstruction **leh₂-on-*, thinking of *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- as some sort of bog-bird and, unlike Oettinger, actually assigning a meaning to the root **leh₂(u̯)*-, namely 'pour' (cf. Hitt. *lăḫ(ḫ)u(wai)*- < PIE **léh₂-u-*).[21] Most recently, Jaan Puhvel has suggested, with just a touch of diffidence, that our word may mean 'loon' and be cognate with the name of this bird in Old Norse, *lómr* (Eng. *loon* (dialectal still *loom*) is a Scandinavian borrowing): he reconstructs *lómr* as '**laA₁mos*' (i.e. **la*$^{?!}$*h₂mos*) and *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- as '**laA₁m̥-s*'; as for the root, it is in his view perhaps that of Skt. √*rā-* 'bark' and Lat. *lātrāre* 'id.', that is to say, another root of the form conventionally written **leh₂-*.[22] Against this derivation it may be pointed out that Puhvel does not even try to justify the very peculiar-looking (extended) root '**lah₂(-)m-*' and, furthermore, that there is no clear basis for his assumption that PIE **-m̥s#* yields Hitt. *-anz(a)* rather than, say, *-uš*;[23] in addition, Puhvel invokes as a morpho-phonological parallel for the inflectional type the word *šumanza(n)*-, but as noted below, Melchert has now shown that the extraordinarily heavy weight that this one form has borne in explanations of the various nouns in *-anza(n)*- is wholly unwarranted.

One other etymology of *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- has made it into print in the past decade, that of H. Craig Melchert in a 1994 paper on reflexes of the

[20] See Neumann (1986: 380) and Watkins (1995: 141 n. 16), the latter of whom suggests that *lari(ya)*- refers to the 'abundant blackheaded gull, *Larus ridibundus*, whose present winter range covers almost all of central Anatolia as well as its littoral'. I note that even closer to *lari(ya)*- is the Greek *i*-stem *λάρις**, a variant of *λάρος* employed in the 3rd cent. BC by the epigrammatist Leonidas of Tarentum: *AP* 7. 652. 5 and 654 (5–6 *ἁλιζώοις λαρίδεσσι* | *κέκλαυμαι* is reminiscent of *lariēš* | *arunaš túḫḫandat*). It is often said that Arm. *lor* 'quail' (in the first place an *i*-stem) is somehow the same word as *λάρος* (both borrowed from a non-Indo-European source?): for assessments of the chances (not great) that this is so, see e.g. Solta (1960: 421–2) and Greppin (1978: 81–2).

[21] For the root, see now M. Kümmel in Rix (2001: 401), who registers it as ? 2.**leh₂-*, with a question mark. Zinko (1987: 9–10) points to Oettinger's own analysis of Lat. *lāma* 'marsh, bog' (see Oettinger 1979: 424, with reference to R. Schmitt-Brandt), as well as to words in Baltic and Slavic, in arguing that the 'Benennung erfolgte nach dem Lebensraum des Vogels, dem Wasser (Sumpf, Tümpel), vielleicht auch nach seinem Nest bzw. Brutstätte (Höhle, Grube)' (10); Tischler (1990: 13) registers his tentative approval.

[22] See Puhvel (2001: 8–9, as well as 12, where the root—listed as 1.**leh₂-* by M. Kümmel in Rix 2001: 400–1—is labelled 'onomatopoeic') and also (2002: 282–3). I note that while it is likely that ON *lómr* goes back to **leh₂-* 'bark', this etymology is not in fact assured (see de Vries 1961: 365–6).

[23] On the development of **-m̥s#*, see notably Melchert (1994*a*: 182), with references.

feminine gender in Anatolian. Concentrating on the phenomenon known as '*i*-Motion', Melchert argues that this develops out of the Proto-Indo-European feminine suffix *-*ih*$_2$- and tries to explain in some detail its inflectional patterns throughout Anatolian.[24] What is interesting for our purposes is his observation that the lack of clear examples of a feminine counterpart to participial *-*e/ont*- in Hittite (unlike in Luwian, Lycian, and Lydian) 'could be due to phonological loss'—specifically, masculine *-*e/ont-s* and feminine *-*n̥t-ih*$_2$ might well have fallen together as -*anz*(*a*)—and the suggestion that there may in fact be a few relics of *-*n̥t-ih*$_2$-, first among them the word in which we are interested, which he defines as 'a migratory bird, probably a duck' and derives from **leh*$_2$-*n̥t-ih*$_2$- 'the traveling one'.[25]

In the earliest versions of the present paper and in Katz (2001: 210 n. 16), where I first put forth my own etymology of *laḫ*(*ḫ*)*anza*(*n*)-, I followed Melchert's suggestion closely, agreeing with the morphology (a feminine participle) but proposing a root other than (yet another) **leh*$_2$-. However, in his 2003 paper, which he kindly made available to and discussed with me prior to publication, Melchert reconsiders the whole question of the origin of the small and chaotically inflected set of nouns in -*anza*(*n*)-. By far the most discussed of the seven known words in this class is *šumanza*(*n*)-, allegedly 'cord, binding' and cognate with Gk. *ὑμήν* 'membrane'—but Melchert shows that the previously established alternative meaning '(bul)rush' is valid for all occurrences of *šumanza*(*n*)- (as first suggested to him by Harry Hoffner) and that the Hittite has nothing to do with *ὑμήν*. Among the 'serious consequences' of this is, in Melchert's words, that 'there is no basis for taking animate *n*-stems with secondary nom. sg. in *-*Vn*+*s* as a source of the -*anzan*-type nor for any of the complex scenarios by which these stems allegedly were altered to the attested inflection'.[26] Now, the assumption that *šumanza*(*n*)- goes back to something like **suh*$_1$-*mḗn*+*s* has played a large role in the etymologies of *laḫ*(*ḫ*)*anza*(*n*)- hitherto proposed (including Puhvel's (see above) and Melchert's own (see n. 25)), which either do not engage with the question of why there are *n*-stem

[24] See Melchert (1994*b*), whose observations follow the lead of Oettinger (1987).

[25] See Melchert (1994*b*: 233: 'perhaps nom. sg. *-*́n̥tih*$_2$ > *-*́antī* > *-*anti* > -*anz*(*a*)', with n. 4: 'I suggest that [*laḫ*(*ḫ*)*anza*(*n*)-] may be a transferred epithet *"the traveling one", specifically a *feminine* participle (virtual) **leh*$_2$*n̥tih*$_2$- (this would not exclude the comparison with Grk. *λάρος* 'gull' made by Oettinger . . .). The original nom. sg. **leh*$_2$*n̥tih*$_2$, acc. sg. *leh*$_2$*n̥tīm* (Stang's Law), weak **leh*$_2$*n̥t*- . . . would have led to a very irregular paradigm *laḫḫanz*(*a*), **laḫḫanzin*, **laḫḫant*-. I would assume that this was reshaped after the type of *šumanz*(*a*), *šumanzan*- "cord".'

[26] Thus Melchert (2003: 131). The account of -*anza*(*n*)- that everyone had used as a helpful foil is Oettinger (1980) (55 on *laḫ*(*ḫ*)*anza*(*n*)-).

forms in the paradigm or somehow regard the inflection of *šumanza(n)*- as secondarily responsible for them. As Melchert demonstrates, however, once one examines *šumanza(n)*- and the rest of the forms in -*anza(n)*- with unprejudiced eyes, it becomes nearly certain that the original nominative singular is [-antsa], not [-ants] (as otherwise almost universally believed), and that it is to this asigmatic (!) base that a suffix *-(*H*)*on*- is added.

What this all means is that any account of *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- must take seriously the origin of the *n*-stem inflection. Melchert's and my first attempts to see an old feminine participle in this word fail in the morphological details because it is difficult to imagine *any* reasonably archaic suffix(es) that would have been a natural addition to a participle in *-*n̥t-ih*$_2$-, much less have yielded Hittite forms in [-a(n)]. Instead, I now tentatively accept Melchert's current account of the 'most likely derivation' of the words in -*anza(n)*-: an 'original pattern of verbal adjective (**lahhant*- "traveling, migrating") → action noun (**lahhant-i*- "traveling, migration") → new thematic adjective (**lahhanty-o*- "traveling, migrating") → "individualizing" noun (**lahhantyo-on*- *"the migrating one" > "shelduck")'.[27]

The question that remains is, 'What is this verbal adjective "**lahhant*-" (*vel sim.*) that Melchert, in both his original paper and (2003), translates as "traveling"?' Is there really a root **leh*$_2$- 'travel'? Certainly there is no other evidence for such a primary verb, which means, incidentally, that a participial form of a verb known anyway only from Anatolian would be doubly isolated. Instead, Melchert has in mind a comparandum in Hittite itself, a noun, whose semantics, however, has heavy martial overtones that would not seem to be especially compatible with the behaviour of ducks, migrating birds though they may be: *lăḫḫa*-, generally said to mean in the first place 'military campaign'.[28] The other Hittite words based on this—the denominative verb *laḫ(ḫ)iyai*-, for example—likewise seem to have to

[27] Thus Melchert (2003: 136), who on pp. 136–7, with n. 11, also provides two alternative series of derivations, including one with the 'Hoffmann-suffix', which 'would allow direct derivation of the possessive adjective from the action noun: **lahhant*- "traveling, migrating" → **lahhant-i*- "traveling, migration" → **lahhanti-h*$_3$*on*- "traveling, migrating" (then secondarily substantivized perhaps via a transferred epithet)' (137). I note that since MUŠEN *ḪURRI* appears to mean 'shelduck' (see above, with n. 17), Melchert's translation 'shelduck' for *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- is over-specific and incorrect.

[28] Definitions include the following: '*1.* military c[a]mpaign, *2.* journey, trip, voyage' (Güterbock and Hoffner 1980: 4; full textual discussion on pp. 4–6), 'Feldzug; Reise' (Tischler 1990: 8), and 'war(path), field-expedition, (military) campaign' (Puhvel 2001: 1; full textual discussion on pp. 1–6). Puhvel (2001: 5) tries to explain the nuances as follows: '*lahh(a)*- occupies a semantic interspace between KARAŠ "army" and KASKAL "road, trek" and means "military on the move", hence "warpath, warfare", especially far-flung expeditionary campaigning rather than generalized hostilities.'

do principally with war,[29] and all putative relatives elsewhere in Anatolian, too, have more to do with power than with simple travel.[30] In sum, one does not need to state the case as forcefully as Puhvel now does to see that the idea of the *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- as a 'travelling duck' is at least not obvious.[31]

In theory, it would be possible to imagine that *lăḫḫa*- gained its typical martial sense rather late and that the meaning '(any old) trip', though synchronically marginal, is actually archaic. In order to evaluate this, we would need to find a cognate outside Anatolian and examine its meaning. As it happens, despite numerous attempts to etymologize the word, no consensus has been reached. Nevertheless, most scholars fall into one of two camps: those who are not convinced by any of the extra-Anatolian congeners that have been proposed and those who think that there is one in Greek, namely *λᾱ(ϝ)ός*. Now, if there are no cognate forms, then there is, of course, no reason to doubt the usual view of the semantics of *lăḫḫa*-; but, in fact, the very same thing holds if *λᾱός* is related, for on most accounts, the basic meaning of the Greek word wholly supports the idea that *lăḫḫa*- is at heart a military term.[32]

[29] Güterbock and Hoffner (1980: 7) gloss the verb as 'to attack, make war on, operate against' when it is transitive and 'to travel, go on an expedition, wander, roam, march, operate, go to war' when it is intransitive (full textual discussion on pp. 7–9); compare Tischler (1990: 11: 'ins Feld ziehen, marschieren; reisen') and Puhvel (2001: 2: 'go to war, wage war, (go on) campaign; make war on, attack, take on, confront; brave (natural obstacles, notably mountains)'). Note especially *lăḫḫuš laḫḫišk*-, a *figura etymologica* meaning 'conduct campaigns'. The other relevant Hittite words are *laḫḫiyatar* (Güterbock and Hoffner 1980: 10: 'military expedition, campaign, military obligation'), ⁽ᴸᵁ́⁾*laḫḫiyala*- (Puhvel 2001: 5 translates this as 'warlord', but Güterbock and Hoffner 1980: 9–10 argue for the largely non-military 'traveler (?)'; see the clear discussion of postulated *'Kriegsheld, Feldherr' vs. attested 'Reisender' in Tischler 1990: 8–9, with particular reference to G. Neumann), and *laḫḫema*- (Puhvel 2001: 5, following R. H. Beal, has 'military field action, raid, maneuver', but Güterbock and Hoffner 1980: 10 suggest 'errand (?)'). It is unclear whether such reduplicated forms as *laḫlaḫḫiya*- 'be agitated' and *laḫlaḫ(ḫ)ima*- 'agitation' belong in this group as well: Oettinger (2001: 461) thinks they do, Puhvel (2001: 12) thinks they do not, and Tischler (1990: 13–14) is basically neutral (but slightly negative).

[30] For a full account of forms and bibliography, see Tischler (1990: 8–9).

[31] See such statements in Puhvel (2001: 1–6) as 'The *CHD*, glossing *lahh(a)*- by "journey, trip, voyage" and *lahhiyai*- by "travel", ignored the always inherent or implicit military sense' (2).

[32] The connection between *lăḫḫa*- and *λᾱός* goes back to Sturtevant (1931: 120) and has received substantial support over the decades, notably from Heubeck (1969: 543–4, with n. 30). For a bibliographical overview of the many ideas that have been put forward, see Tischler (1990: 9–11), who himself believes that *lăḫḫa*- is '[e]tymologisch nicht befriedigend gedeutet' and states that the Graeco-Hittite comparison is 'sowohl semantisch als auch morphologisch unbefriedigend[]' (9). Puhvel (2001: 5–6) gives consideration to two of the etymologies of *lăḫḫa*-: the link with *λᾱός* (which 'continues to claim primacy' (5)) and the implausible idea of Roberto Gusmani (see most notably Gusmani 1968: 14–17), for which Puhvel himself then proposes a variation, that the dative-locative singular *lăḫḫi* is effectively

The literature on the two basic words for 'people' in Greek, *λᾱ(ϝ)ός* (Att. *λεώς*) and *δῆμος*, is unusually large because it is by no means just linguists, curious about their derivations and semantic relationship, who are interested in them: Hellenists of all sorts work to understand Greek societal structures, and the status of *ra-wo-* (only in compounds, notably *ra-wa-ke-ta* (~*λᾱγέτᾱς* 'hero (*vel sim.*)')) and *da-mo-* in the Mycenaean age (especially at Pylos) and of *λᾱός*, *λᾱοί* and *δῆμος* in Homer is no small issue.[33] One common view holds that originally, the *da-mo-/δῆμος* was the normal populace ('Volk'), while the *ra-wo-/λᾱός* was the troops ('Kriegsvolk'). The starkest and most cited exposition of this opinion is that of Alfred Heubeck, who writes, 'Wir vermuten also . . ., dass es im Bereich des mykenischen Wanaks von Pylos zwei Bevölkerungsklassen gegeben hat: 1. den *lāwos*, dem alle militärischen Aufgaben obliegen und der die höchsten Beamten des Staates stellt . . ., und 2. den *dāmos*, der mit Ackerbau und Viehzucht, aber auch mit dem Handwerk und dem (niedrigen?) Kultdienst befasst ist.'[34] To be sure, the idea that the word *ra-wo-/λᾱός* denotes a warrior class in our earliest documents has come under attack, notably by James T. Hooker for Pylos and Michel Casevitz for Homer,[35] and it is certain that Heubeck has somewhat overstated the case. Nevertheless, it is also certain that *da-mo/δῆμος* has no special military connotation whereas Homeric *λᾱός* (though perhaps not *ra-wo-*) often does. In view of this, I, for one, find the connection between *λᾱός* and *lăḫḫa-* semantically very satisfactory.

From a morphological point of view, the equation is admittedly not exact: *lăḫḫa-* would seem to reflect **lóh₂-o-*, whereas *λᾱ(ϝ)ός* must go back

the same as the isolated Homeric form *δαΐ* 'in battle' (note that J. Schindler ap. Oettinger 1979: 447 connects *δαΐ* to the Hittite verb *zăḫ(ḫ)-* 'strike, fight'; see also e.g. Melchert 1994*a*: 96). The latest word on *λᾱός* is Bietenhard (2002), who argues unconvincingly that it is a Semitic borrowing.

[33] Morpurgo Davies (1979) provides an elegant account of the titles borne by members of Mycenaean society and 'used to indicate different human groups' (87; see 93, 96–8, and 107 on *ra-wa-ke-ta*). For attestations and full surveys of the secondary literature, see Aura Jorro (1985–93: i. 152–5) (on *da-mo* and derivatives) and (1985–93: ii. 228–34) (on *ra-wa-ke-ta* and (at least potentially) related forms; a notable bibliographical omission is Trümpy 1986: 26–9 and 159–62, on the correspondence between *ra-wa-ke-ta* and alphabetic *λᾱγέτᾱς*), as well as Schmidt (1982) (on *δῆμος*) and (1991) (on *λᾱός*).

[34] See Heubeck (1969) (quotation on p. 539). Among the dozens of other important contributions, I single out Benveniste (1969: ii. 89–95); Milani (1991) provides a recent overview. I have been unable to obtain a copy of A. Dihle's 1946 Göttingen dissertation, '*Λαός*, *ἔθνος*, *δῆμος*: Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Volksbegriffs im frühgriechischen Denken'.

[35] See Hooker (1987: 261–4) (a no-nonsense account of *ra-wa-ke-ta* and the force that Dumézilian trifunctionality has exerted on scholars' understanding of its sense) and Casevitz (1992) ('la fonction guerrière n'est au vrai qu'un des aspects partiels de *λαός*' (198, with reference to an earlier paper)).

to **leh$_2$u̯ó-*. Provided that the two words are indeed related, as I am inclined to believe, we probably have to do with an extended root **leh$_2$-(u̯-)*,[36] whose meaning would seem to be something like 'plunder'[37]—if, as Heubeck has argued, λᾱός is etymologically linked to the Greek word for 'booty', Att. λεία/Ion. ληΐη (and its cretic-avoiding (?) epic by-form ληΐς, gen. ληΐδος).[38] The noun λᾱός is, then, the substantivization of an adjective **leh$_2$-u̯-ó-* 'having plunder', while λεία (< PGk. **lāu̯íi̯a* < PIE **leh$_2$-u̯-íi̯o-*) is either a genitival derivative of the word for 'troops' ('that of the troops') or, perhaps, a gerundive ('that which is to be plundered'). Note, too, that the denominative verb ληΐζομαι* 'seize as booty' has a cognate in Anatolian if indeed CLuv. (⸗)*lawarr*(*iya*)- 'strip, despoil' comes from a virtual pre-form **leh$_2$-u̯ōr-i̯é/ó-* rather than being connected to Hitt. *duwarni/a-* 'break'.[39]

Let us return now to *laḫ*(*ḫ*)*anza*(*n*)-. We have seen that Melchert's derivation of this word from, in Proto-Indo-European terms, something like **léh$_2$-ont-* with the meaning 'travelling (as an army?)' is morphologically very attractive but semantically less so. Is it possible to do better? I suggest that it is, specifically by starting out with a participle **(s)néh$_2$-ont-* 'swimming'. This is semantically thoroughly unproblematic, of course, and has in

[36] Alternatively, we might posit an underlying *u*-stem, **leh$_2$-u-*. Because all the Greek and Anatolian forms discussed in this paragraph except *lăḫḫa-* presuppose a **-u̯-*, it does not seem likely that λᾱός contains the (unanalysable?) Proto-Indo-European suffix **-u̯ó-* (on which see most recently García Ramón 2000*a*).

[37] García Ramón (2000*a*: 66 n. 9) suggests instead that the root is actually the one (mentioned above) that means 'pour': 'vorstellbar, wenn man bereit ist, anzunehmen, daß das Heer sich über das Schlachtfeld ergießt, d.h. "sich ausbreitet" (vgl. hom. [προ]χέοντο oft in der Ilias, z.B. Β 465 ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο Σκαμάνδριον)'.

[38] For the basic idea, see Heubeck (1969: 542). Heubeck prefers to connect λεία to λᾱός rather than to (ἀπο-)λαύω 'have the benefit of' (on which see most recently Blanc 2000), as has been more widely supposed; however, Michael Weiss, to whom I owe special thanks for his advice on the material in this paragraph, suggests that all three words belong together (compare already Prellwitz 1892: 175). The troublesome forms λάων and λάε in Hom. *Od.* 19. 229–30 should probably be left aside since the sense 'seize as prey' (Aristarchus glosses λάων as ἀπολαυστικῶς ἔχων, ἐσθίων (Hesych. λ 472)) may not be right—Leumann (1950: 233–6) and Nussbaum (1987: 230–2) argue for 'scream', Prier (1980) and J. Russo in Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck (1992: 89) for 'gaze'—and a derivation from **l*(*e*)*h$_2$-*(*u̯-*) would in my view be anything but straightforward even if it were.

[39] For the traditional connection of (⸗)*lawarr*(*iya*)- with *duwarni/a-*, see in the first place Carruba (1966: 17–18), as well as e.g. Oettinger (1979: 151) and Melchert (1994*a*: 238, 270, and 274). I first learnt the idea about ληΐζομαι from Michael Weiss in 1995; he has some doubts, however, that it is really right, noting that the consistent *-rr-* in Luwian (?—but see Starke 1982: 362 on (*ar-ḫa*) *la-wa-*⟨*ri-*⟩*it-ta* in *KBo*. 18. 147 Vo. 5′, as well as Tischler 1990: 47–8) is hard to explain. García Ramón (2000*a*: 66–7 n. 9) discusses the semantic nexus λᾱός ~ *lăḫḫa-* ~ (⸗)*lawarr*(*iya*)- as well, citing a personal communication from Melchert (who in turn tells me that he owes to Weiss and Ed Brown his understanding that the definition of (⸗)*lawarr*(*iya*)- is 'strip, despoil' rather than 'break' or 'destroy', as it is often glossed, e.g. in Melchert 1993*a*: 126 and 1994*a*: 238 and *passim*).

addition the not insignificant advantage of establishing a root-connection with Gk. *νῆττα* and thereby offering a single explanation for a pair of problematic words for one and the same creature in two neighbouring languages. The problem with my solution is obvious: why should **(s)neh₂-* yield a Hittite form with an initial *l-*?

As is well known, there are two generally accepted examples of Hittite words that begin with an *l-* even though they continue PIE **#(C)n-* (where *C* = a consonant regularly lost in this context in Anatolian).[40] The first is *lăman*, *lamn-* 'name', which acts in the wider linguistic literature as a *Paradebeispiel* of regressive dissimilation.[41] If someone knows just one word of Hittite, it is likely to be *lăman*, which in spite of its *l-* is obviously related to the words for 'name' in every other branch of Indo-European: Lat. *nōmen*, Toch. A *ñom*, B *ñem*, etc. The details of the Proto-Indo-European paradigm are much disputed, but it is probably proterokinetic, with the alternating stems **$h_1$néh$_3$-mn̥-* and **h_1n̥h$_3$-mén-*.[42] Since there is simply no trace of initial **h_1-* in Anatolian, we are in effect dealing with the dissimilation of an initial **n-* before another nasal (or two).[43] The second example is Hitt. *lammar*, *lamn-*, a noun that indicates a small unit of time (standard translations include 'moment, instant' and 'hour') and can also be used adverbially to mean 'instantly, immediately': this word is usually taken to reflect an *r/n*-stem **nóm-r̥*, **ném-n-* to the root **nem-* 'allot'[44] and compared with Lat. *numerus* 'number' and the Old Latin adverb *numerō* 'immediately'.[45] Notice that the dissimilation is datable to pre-Hittite times, quite possibly to Common Anatolian: the Hieroglyphic Luwian cognate of Hitt. *lammar* (dat.-loc. *lamnĭ̄*) is attested in the dative-locative as *la-mi-ní-*´ (KARAHÖYÜK 2) 'at the moment'.[46] It is possible that Oettinger is right to see yet another example of the same phonetic process in the background

[40] Rosenkranz (1988) offers an idiosyncratic and wholly unbelievable alternative account of the forms in question.

[41] See e.g. Anttila (1989: 74).

[42] See e.g. Melchert (1994*a*: 67 and 82–3, with literature); see also the discussion and many references in Tischler (1990: 27–9).

[43] I cannot accept the 'conjecture (and no more)' of Hamp (1988) that PIE **#h_1n-* regularly yields Hitt. *#l-*; thus also Melchert (1994*a*: 169: 'not credible').

[44] The root **nem-* may perhaps survive in Hittite as a verb *lam-*, sometimes spotted in *KUB* 41. 23 and said to mean something like 'become mixed': see Oettinger (1979: 525–6), as well as e.g. Tischler (1990: 26) and Puhvel (2001: 50–1).

[45] See in the first place Duchesne-Guillemin (1946: 85) and Neumann (1955: 171); see also Tischler (1990: 30) and Puhvel (2001: 58).

[46] See Nowicki (1981: 253–4). Melchert (1994*a*: 82) writes, 'Given [this] example, I see no reason to take HLuv. *la-m(a)-ni-ya-* "call upon" as a borrowing from Hittite *lam(ma)niye-* "name, call".' Notice that the words for 'name, designation' in Luwian (HLuw. *á-ta$_{4/5}$-ma-$^{(n)}$za*), Lycian (*adãman-*), and Lydian (*ẽtamv*) all begin with a vowel, reflecting the old weak stem, just like OIr. *ainm*: a generalized **h_1n̥h$_3$-mn̥(-)* gives in the first instance

of the much-discussed prohibitive negative particle *lē*, but the details are uncertain.[47]

Can we specify the conditions of this phonological change more precisely? Melchert, observing the parallelism between the words for 'name' and 'moment', suggests that the dissmilation takes place in Common Anatolian 'in the presence of two following nasals'.[48] But even if this (or the further specification of the two nasals as **m* followed by **n*) did accurately describe the situation, it is unclear to me how it could be defended: if the change is sporadic (as distant dis- and assimilations very frequently are), then the most that one could say is that the more nasals there are in a given string, the more likely it is that one of them will be changed (the 'tongue-twister principle'); and if the change should in fact turn out to be (quasi-)regular, then it is surely an unreasonable rule that generates $l \ldots N_i N_j$ from $^*n \ldots N_i N_j$ while blocking this same dissimilation in $^*n \ldots N$. Solely on theoretical grounds, then, the usual description of the phenomenon as CAnat./Hitt. (*)#*l* . . . *N* < PIE *#(*C*)*n* . . . *N* is perfectly satisfactory,[49] and note that Melchert elsewhere refers to it simply as dissimilation before a 'proximate nasal'.[50]

Given that there is thus a non-*ad hoc* way to derive an initial *l*- in Hittite from PIE **n*, I propose that the pre-form **lahhant*- that seems (with Melchert) to underlie the Hittite word for 'duck' goes back not to a semantically problematic (if phonologically uncontroversial) construct **léh*$_2$*-ont-*

**ánman*, later **ádman*, and finally *ádaman* with anaptyxis (see Melchert 1994*a*: 83) and so evidently does not meet the conditions of the dissimilation.

47 There are two schools of thought on *lē* (for a summary, see Tischler 1990: 50–2): some see it as going back to an imperative **léh*$_1$ 'let (off), leave!' (the essence of this idea is to be found already in Pedersen 1938: 163), while more think it reflects a negative of the form **nḗ* (cf. e.g. Lat. *nē*), the old prohibitive negative **mḗ* (cf. e.g. Gk. μή), or some sort of cross between the two. Morpurgo Davies (1975: 157 n. 4), in her classic article on negation in Anatolian, very tentatively favours **nḗ* as the source, and Oettinger (1994: 310) now ingeniously suggests that the dissimilation arises from **nḗ* 'in den häufigen Verbindungen *lē-man* (modal/irreal) und *lē-mu* "mich nicht, mir nicht"' (see also 310 n. 10 and 330).

48 Thus Melchert (1994*a*: 82).

49 To be sure, some scholars (e.g. Duchesne-Guillemin 1946: 85, Oettinger 1994: 310–11, and Kimball 1999: 336–7) restrict the dissimilation to specifically **n* . . . *m*. But if the change is indeed (quasi-)regular, then it is hard to believe that a language would have dissimilation of **n* . . . *m* but not of **n* . . . *n*. In any case, it will become clear that my etymology of *laḫ*(*ḫ*)*anza*(*n*)- presupposes the more general rule.

50 Thus Melchert (1994*a*: 169). I note in passing that there is a great deal of evidence in Anatolian for sporadic phenomena that involve nasals and liquids, which are, after all, the sounds cross-linguistically most frequently involved in non-adjacent assimilation and dissimilation (the classic account of the latter remains Grammont 1895): for examples and discussion, see e.g. Kronasser (1966: 58–61), Melchert (1994*a*: 169, 171, and 317), Oettinger (1994: 310–13 and *passim*), and Kimball (1999: 336–7).

'travelling', but rather to the semantically straightforward **(s)néh$_2$-ont-* 'swimming'. The question that remains concerns the status of the initial **s-* in the root that I write as **(s)neh$_2$-*, though scholars have traditionally not put the sibilant into parentheses. Why is our word not, say, **slaḫ(ḫ)anza(n)-*? There are at least two possible answers to this question. The first is that the root does indeed have an *s*-mobile and that Anatolian (which does not to my knowledge provide evidence for any verb that means 'swim') inherits the *s*-less variant. Until recently, this might not have been thought an especially satisfying solution, for it seemed that in every language in which the root is attested, the sibilant either appears (cf. Skt. √*snā-* and YAv. *snā-* 'bathe, wash', OIr. *snaïd* 'swims', and perhaps Umbr. **snata** 'wet (?)') or would in any case have been lost by regular phonological change (cf. Gk. *νήχω* 'swim', Lat. *nāre* 'id.', and MW *nawf* 'swim(ming)', as well as Arm. *nay* 'wet', if the last really does belong). However, it is now generally agreed that Toch. B *nāsk-* 'bathe' goes back to **n̥h$_2$-sk̂é/ó-*, and since Tocharian retains the inherited sequence **#sn-*, we thus have proof that the root is indeed **(s)neh$_2$-*, with optional **s-*.[51] The problem is that Puhvel and Sara E. Kimball have argued persuasively that the Hittite verb *sanḫ-* 'flush, rinse' goes back to a generalized zero-grade **sn̥h$_2$-*,[52] so for *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)-* to reflect an *s*-less pre-form it is necessary to accept a very early split in Anatolian between **sn(e)h$_2$-* (as in *sanḫ-*) and **(s̸)neh$_2$-* (surviving only as 'duck')—which, given the semantic distance between ducks and flushing, is of course possible. It is, however, the other scenario that I am weakly inclined to favour: Anatolian does inherit the full form **sneh$_2$-* from Proto-Indo-European, but the sibilant in the consonant cluster **#sn-* is then lost by regular phonological change before Hittite and perhaps even by Common Anatolian times, a supposition for which there are no counter-examples. Melchert observes as 'noteworthy' that Hittite has an 'apparently systematic lack of /sn-/',[53] and I know of no evidence for an initial sequence *sn-* in any other Anatolian language either.[54]

In conclusion, I suggest that Hitt. *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)-* does indeed mean 'duck' and develops more or less directly, along the lines now proposed by

[51] See e.g. Van Windekens (1976: 312, with reference to work going back to 1937–8!), Schrijver (1991: 169), Adams (1999: 334), García Ramón (2000*b*: 122–4), and Th. Zehnder in Rix (2001: 572); compare also Hackstein (1995: 173).

[52] See Puhvel (1979: 299–300) and Kimball (1992 [1994]: 90–1 and *passim*), as well as Kimball (1999: 243–4).

[53] See Melchert (1994*a*: 111).

[54] Note, though, that no Proto-Indo-European root in **sn-* or **(s)n-*, with the exception of the one for 'bathe, swim', seems to make an appearance in Anatolian. Whatever the etymology of the obscure Lycian word *s̃ñta* 'ten (??)' may be (see Eichner 1992: 89–91 and Melchert 1993*b*: 64, both with references), it surely does not go back to PIE **sn-*.

Melchert, from a fossilized participial form **(s)néh₂-ont-* 'swimming'. This idea builds on and reinforces the essentials of Rix's derivation of the name of the same bird in Greece, *νῆττα*. Despite appearances, the etymology does not have grave morpho-phonological difficulties and captures one of the creature's most salient properties: it swims.[55]

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[55] Kassian, Korolëv, and Sidel′tsev (2002: 531 and 533), who are inclined to accept Melchert's analysis of the Hittite word as 'migratory (bird)', write that my etymology (as sketched in Katz 2001: 210, with n. 16) is 'not very plausible . . . for the following reasons: 1) why should just this kind of ducks [*sic*] be called according to their manner of swimming while the most distinctive feature of *lahhanzan*-ducks is the fact that they migrate (what [*sic*] serves as an argument in favour of the derivation from **lahhai-* "to travel, etc."). 2) the correspondence IE **n-* — Hitt. *l-* is abnormal. Of course, we have Hitt. *laman* vs. IE **nōmn̥*, **n̥men-* and Hitt. *lammar* vs. Lat. *numerus*, but we explain it with the dissimilation *n—m* > *l—m* (cf. AHP [=Melchert 1994*a*]: 82, 171); for *lah(h)ant-* this explanation is not possible' (533, footnote omitted). Their first objection cannot be taken seriously: people do in fact think of ducks as swimmers, and anyway, there is no need for the etymology to be based on the implication that the *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- is migratory. The second point is a bit trickier (though I note that the reference to Melchert is misleading since he does not restrict the dissimilation to **n . . . m* rather than **n . . . N*): I grant that *lā̆man* and *lammar* both show dissimilation before an [m] at the onset of the next syllable whereas my etymology of *laḫ(ḫ)anza(n)*- requires dissimilation before an [n] in the next syllable's coda, but see my comments above, with n. 49.

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15

Names in *-e* and *-e-u* in Mycenaean Greek

John Killen

It is clear that Mycenaean Greek, like its later Classical counterpart, contains a large number of compound personal names in *-ēs*: *a-pi-me-de*, /*Amphimēdēs*/, *e-u-me-ne*, /*E*(*h*)*umenēs*/, etc. Many more of the *-ēs* names in Mycenaean, however, are more or less certainly of non-Greek origin: names in *-e* derived from the pre-Hellenic language(s) of Crete and the Greek mainland which have been assimilated into Greek declensional patterns by being treated as *s*-stems. The clearest examples include names like the theonyms *a-re* and *pa-de* and the personal names *i-ka-se*, *qo-ja-te*, *si-nu-ke*, *su-ke-re*, *su-se*, and *wa-je*, none of whose forms can readily be explained in terms of Greek. As has often been observed, more of these—and other—non-Greek names are attested at Knossos than at the principal mainland sites at which we have tablets: Pylos, Mycenae, and Thebes.[1] Of the names just mentioned, only *a-re* is attested on mainland records, by way of such derivatives as the names *a-re-i-jo* and *a-re-i-ze-we-i*.

It is also sometimes suggested—though this is less generally agreed—that Mycenaean has examples of a further type of *-ēs* name familiar in Classical Greek: shortened (hypocoristic) names formed from one of the two elements of a compound name in *-ēs*. Examples of the type in Classical Greek include Κράτης, derived from Τιμοκράτης *vel sim.*, Φέρης, derived from Φερέλαος *vel sim.*, and Μένης, derived from Εὐμένης *vel sim.* or Μενεκράτης *vel sim.*;[2] and among those who have argued for the existence of similar names in Mycenaean are O. Landau (1958: 167 n. 1) and G. Neumann (1983: 332–3). For instance, both Landau and Neumann suggest that the name

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[1] See e.g. Landau (1958: 268); Heubeck (1961: 31); Ilievski (1978: 12).

[2] On the inflexion of such names in later Greek, including the increasing popularity in the 5th cent. at latest of the type Κράτης, Κράτητος in place of the expected Κράτης, Κράτεος (Attic -ους), see Risch (1987: 284). See also Ruijgh (1996: 214).

te-pe (PY Jn 725. 2) is *Τέρπης* (a name for which there is some limited evidence in later Greek),[3] and a derivative of this type; while Neumann (1983: 332–3) suggests that a further example may be *wa-de*(*-o*) (PY Sa 766), which he interprets as /*Wādēs*/ and suggests is derived from the second element of a name like *Ληώδης* in Homer, which von Kamptz has explained as an original *ΛαϝοϜάδης*, lit. 'he who pleases the people', and *Δημάδης* in later Greek. (The possibility that *wa-de* is /*Wādēs*/ had earlier been noted by M. Lejeune (1958: 116) and J. Chadwick (1973: 589).)

In 1987, however, in his paper in *Tractata Mycenaea*, E. Risch published a more radical suggestion: that while shortened names in *-ēs* of the type just mentioned do exist in Mycenaean, these are very rare (Risch 1987: 283–4), and that a much more widespread phenomenon in the dialect is names in *-ēs* which have been shortened from compound names which do not themselves show this ending (286–9). For instance, with the personal name *mo-re* (KN Dv 1214) he compares the longer personal name *mo-ro-qo-ro* (PY Ea 439+); and with the personal name *te-pe* (PY Jn 725. 2) he compares the personal name *Τέρπανδρος*, attested in the seventh century BC, the muse's name *Τερψιχόρη* (Hes. *Th.* 78), and the epithet *τερψίμβροτος* in Homer. (As we saw, Landau and Neumann had previously suggested that *te-pe* was *Τέρπης*, but had taken it as a derivative of a name like *'Επιτέρπης*.) Moreover, in support of this explanation of *mo-re*, *te-pe*, etc., he points to the existence alongside many of these forms of short names in *-e-u*, Greek *-εύς*, which it is possible to argue contain the same (Greek) roots, and are derived from the same or similar longer (compound) names. (As he points out, many of the *-εύς* names in Classical Greek are clearly hypocoristics.) Thus with *mo-re* and *mo-ro-qo-ro* he compares the name *mo-re-u* (PY Jn 389. 6; 431. 13; 750. 10); and with *te-pe* and *Τέρπανδρος* he compares the name *te-pe-u* (PY An 340. 9). Nor, Risch suggests, is the *-ēs* : *-eus* phenomenon confined to *s*-stems which have been shortened from longer terms and to *-εύς* names which are hypocoristics. Another possible pairing he points to is the man's name *ka-ke* (KN As (2) 1516. 10) and the man's name *ka-ke-u* (PY Jn 750. 8), where the *-εύς* name has evidently been derived from a trade name (/*khalkeus*/ 'smith') and is not a hypocoristic, and where the *-ēs* name, if it is a variant of /*Khalkeus*/, will be a short (uncompounded) name, rather than one shortened from a longer term.[4] Risch also suggests that there may be further pairs of the same type in the material.

In Table 15.1 I set out the principal evidence which Risch adduces in support of his contention. This is based mainly on Risch's own table (1987:

[3] Landau (1958: 167 n. 1); Neumann (1983: 332 n. 11).

[4] On the distinction between these two types of 'short' name, see Heubeck (1983: 178–9).

298); but I have added two items which Risch mentions in the body of his paper but not in his table, and excluded a few others which he has included in the table for a different purpose.

TABLE 15.1. *Risch's Evidence*

	Compound names etc.	Names in *-e-u*	Names in *-e*
1.	*mo-ro-qo-ro*	*mo-re-u*	*mo-re*
2.	*Τέρπανδρος* *Τερψιχόρη*	*te-pe-u*	*te-pe*
3.	*pe-ri-to-wo* *Πειρίθοος*	*pe-ri-te-u*	*pe-ri-te* (dat.)
4.	(*ku-na-ke-ta*)	*ku-ne-u*	*ku-ne*
5.	*qo-wa-ke-se-u* *ta-ti-qo-we-u*	*βοεύς*	*qo-we*
6.	*a-re-ka-sa-da-ra*	*a-re-ke-se-u*	
7.		*a-we-ke-se-u*	]*we-ke-se* (?)
8.	/$*^{h}$*eksi-*/		*e-ke-se*
9.			*i-ke-se*
10.	*pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri*		*pu*$_{(2)}$*-ke*
11.	*a-e-ri-qo-ta*		*a-e-ri-qe* (?)
12.		*ka-ke-u*	*ka-ke*
13.		*pu-te-u*	*pu-te*
14.		(*pe-re-ke-u*)	*pe-re-ke* (?)
15.		]*sa-me-u*[	*sa-me*[ ]*ṣạ-me*
*16.		*o-ke-te-u*	]*o-ke-te*
*17.		*a*$_3$*-ke-u*	*a*$_3$*-ke*[

Round brackets indicate that the term quoted is not attested as a personal name, but as an occupational term.

* indicates evidence regarded by Risch as more doubtful. A question mark after a form indicates doubt about whether the form exists, or is a personal name rather than a verb.

How convincing is Risch's case? Do we have evidence in Mycenaean for names in *-ēs* which have been shortened from longer names, etc. which do not themselves end in *-ēs*, and is there a regular pattern in the dialect

whereby short or shortened names in *-ēs* form pairs with short or shortened names in *-eus*?

As Risch himself notes, we are faced at the outset with a major difficulty in seeking to answer this question: the opaqueness of the Linear B writing system, which means that the same graph can often reflect two or more different underlying phonetic realities. This difficulty is particularly acute when one is dealing with personal names, since there is no clue in the context as to what the graph indicates, and when the names have few syllables, as they frequently do here. (It is only with longer names, like *a_3-ku-pi-ti-jo*, doubtless /*Aiguptios*/, lit. '(the) Egyptian', that the risks of misinterpretation are seriously reduced.) For example, as Risch himself points out (1987: 287), the name *ka-ke* at Knossos, which as we have seen he suggests is /*Khalkēs*/ and forms a pair with the name *ka-ke-u*, evidently (Greek) /*Khalkeus*/, lit. '(the) smith', might in fact not be /*Khalkēs*/ at all, but a non-Greek /*Gagēs*/, /*Kargēs*/, *vel sim.* None the less, he suggests that his list of possible examples of the *-ēs* vs. *-eus* phenomenon is sufficiently impressive to make his case a convincing one. Is, however, his claim justified?

I begin by examining each of the items of evidence adduced by Risch. The number before each lemma refers to the number of the item in the table above.

4 (*ku-na-ke-ta*) : *ku-ne-u* : *ku-ne*
5 *qo-wa-ke-se-u*, *ta-ti-qo-we-u* : *βοεύς* : *qo-we*

In his study, Risch accepts Chadwick's interpretations of *ku-ne* and *qo-we* on MY Fu 711 as personal names in *-ēs*.[5] It is now virtually certain, however, that these interpretations should be rejected: that L. R. Palmer was correct in taking both terms as datives of terms for animals: *ku-ne* as /*kunei*/ 'to the dog' and *qo-we* as /*g^wowei*/ 'to the ox' (Palmer 1983: 283–7). The recently published Fq tablets from Thebes contain a number of references to issues of barley (as offerings?) to sacred (?) animals; and *ku-ne*, there clearly /*kunei*/, occurs on Fq 229. 9 and perhaps Fq 292. 4. In addition, the genitive singular or plural *ku-no* is attested on Fq 205. 3, 236. 5 (as well as on TH Gp 150. 2 and perhaps on Gf 163. 1); and the dative plural *ku-si*, /*kunsi*/, is found on Fq 130. 4. There is little doubt that *ku-ne* on Fu 711 is this same term (and hence that the parallel *qo-we* is the dative of /*g^wōus*/), given the other points of contact between this record and the Fq tablets. With *ka-ra-u-ja*, Gr. *γραίᾳ* 'to the old woman' (a reference to Demeter??, Palmer

[5] Chadwick (1973: 557, 578); cf. Chadwick (1985: 198–9).

1983: 287), on MY Fu 711. 8, compare the reference to *ka-ra-wi-ja*, doubtless a variant spelling of the same term, on TH Fq 169. 4 and perhaps also on Fq 207. 1, 228. 2; and note that the commodities issued on Fu 711 include barley (HORD) and flour (FAR), which are the two commodities listed on the Fq tablets.

It is clear, then, that we have no evidence in Mycenaean for an alternation *Κυνεύς*/*Κύνης*, nor, almost certainly, for a short name /*G*ʷ*ōwēs*/ derived from *qo-wa-ke-se-u vel sim.* It is still possible that *ku-ne-u* is /*Kuneus*/, and that it is a hypocoristic (as J. L. Perpillou has cautiously suggested, 1973: 213). But we cannot exclude the possibility that even this is not the case: that its first element derives from a non-Greek source, and has nothing to do with *κύων*. Risch (1987: 289) notes the existence of a name *ku-ni-ta* at Knossos (B 798. 9), which he compares with *ku-ne-u* and *ku-ne*; but another term probably beginning with *ku* and certainly ending in *-ni-ta*,]*ku-ru-ni-ta* (KN X 1525. 1; probably complete at left), has a distinctly non-Greek appearance. (Compare the similarly non-Greek-looking *ku-ru-no*, probably read on KN As (1) 608. 1 and certainly attested in the genitive on PY Ea 801.)

6 *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* : *a-re-ke-se-u* **7** *a-we-ke-se-u* :]*we-ke-se* (?)
8 /ʰ*eksi-*/ : *e-ke-se* **9** *i-ke-se*

Risch begins by accepting Heubeck's (1957: 274) view that *a-re-ke-se-u* (KN Da 1156), doubtless /*Alexeus*/, is a hypocoristic derived from **Ἀλεξάνωρ*, *Ἀλέξανδρος*: a name represented in Mycenaean by the feminine *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra*, /*Alexandrā*/, on MY V 659. 2.[6] He then suggests that various terms in *-se* on the tablets are—or may be—names of the same short type which show *-sēs* rather than *-seus* as their endings. These are]*we-ke-se* (KN Xe 5540. B), with which he compares the *-seus* name *a-we-ke-se-u* (PY Cn 285. 5, .6+), evidently /*Awekseus*/ (cf. Gr. *ἀέξω*); *e-ke-se* (KN B (5) 799. 7), with which he compares names like *e-ke-da-mo* (PY Cn 285. 11, KN Uf 1522. 5), /*Ekhedāmos*/; and *i-ke-se* (KN Xd 143), with which he compares the name *i-ke-ta* (KN B (5) 799. 8), evidently /*Hiketās*/.

There must, I would suggest, be considerable doubt as to whether any of these forms lends support to Risch's case. Given its context,]*we-ke-se* on Xe 5540. B is as likely to be a verb /*wekse*/ '(he) brought' (cf. Cypr., Pamph.

6 If the sign following *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra-* here is *ka* rather than *qe* it will doubtless be an error for the latter.

Ϝέχω, Lat. *veho*),[7] as a personal name;[8] and there must be serious question as to whether either *e-ke-se* or *i-ke-se* is a name of Greek origin. There are several names in *-se* on the tablets besides these: *i-ka-se* (KN Sc 258. b), immediately reminiscent of *i-ke-se*; *ta-ra-pe-se* (PY Vn 865. 4); *su-se* (KN Da 5192),]*se* (KN B(5) 806. 4), and perhaps]*jạ-ṣẹ* (KN Dv 8716). All but one are at Knossos, where, as we have seen, non-Greek names are particularly frequent (*e-ke-se* and *i-ke-se* are also Knossian); and none of the more complete forms is readily explicable as Greek. Note, too, besides *i-ke-se* the name *i-ke-se-ra* on KN Dk(1) 1077, Dv 1496, whose morphology—as Risch himself admits (1987: 288)—is again difficult to explain in terms of Greek.

*15]*sa-me-u*[: *sa-me*[,]*ṣạ-me*

Though it is still not certain that]*sa-me-u*[on KN L(3) 455. 2 is complete, two of the Thebes Wu sealings, published in 1990 and therefore not known to Risch when he was writing his article, show the dative *sa-me-we* following the preposition *pa-ro* (see Wu 59, 60), thus confirming the existence of a nominative *sa-me-u*. It is also possible, though unfortunately not finally certain, that there was a name *sa-me* at Knossos. We have no idea whether *sa-me*[on X 38 is complete or not; but there is a reasonable chance that]*ṣạ-me* on B (5) 805. 1 is (*a*) correctly read (for the form of the suggested *sa*, compare that of *sa* on B (5) 799 *v*. 1) and (*b*) complete. (The preceding term *pa-wi-no*[is almost certainly the same name as recurs on B (5) 799. 4; and the space between *no*[and]*sa* is consistent with the hypothesis that a VIR ideogram—and nothing else—separated the two words.) But even if *sa-me* did stand here, it would still not be certain that it forms a pair, of the type that Risch is positing, with *sa-me-u*. J. L. Melena has suggested (Piteros, Olivier, and Melena 1990: 155) that *sa-me-u* is /*Sameus*/ and in origin an ethnic derived from the place name /*Samā*/, *Σάμη* (contrast *Σαμαῖος*, the derivative of this in later Greek); and this is certainly not inconceivable. Though ethnics in *-eus* are very rare in Mycenaean, they do exist;[9] and the personal name *o-ko-me-ne-u* is attractively—though inevitably not certainly—explained as /*Orkhomeneus*/, viz. in origin an ethnic derived from the place name Orchomenus.[10] Clearly, if *sa-me-u* were /*Sameus*/ and in origin an ethnic, *sa-me* could be an *-ēs* form of the same name. But we cannot exclude another possibility: that *sa-me* is an entirely non-Greek

7 Godart, Killen, and Olivier (1970: 161–2) (Killen); Chadwick (1973: 591).

8 Risch notes this (1987: 288), and puts a question mark after]*we-ke-se* in his table.

9 On *ra-je-u* < *ra-ja*, see Killen (1987: 328–31).

10 See e.g. Chadwick (1973: 564).

name (adapted as usual to the Greek *-ēs* declensional pattern), whether containing the same (non-Greek) root as *Σάμη* or not. Just as many of the terms beginning with *σα-* in Classical Greek are clearly of non-Greek origin, so almost all the terms in *sa-* on the tablets appear to derive from non-Greek sources. (The only probable exception is *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* at Knossos, where the initial *sa-pa-* appears—exceptionally—to represent *spha-*.) Moreover, names in *-me* with a non-Greek appearance include *pi-ja-se-me* (KN As (2) 1516. 19), whose initial *pi-ja-*, shared with *pi-ja-ma-so* (PY Fn 324. 11) and *pi-ja-mu-nu* (KN Ap 5748. 2), is often compared with Anatolian *pi-ja-* 'give' (and especially Luwian *pi-ja-ma-* 'gave') in names such as *Pijamaradu*;[11] probably *ze-me*(*-qe*[) (KN L 588. 1); and possibly *ke-ma-qe-me* (KN Uf (2) 839. a) and *si-ra-pe-te-ṃẹ* (KN V (6) 832. 2) (to which I would myself add as further possibilities *di-du-me* (KN L 588. 3) and *ra-te-me* (KN V (4) 653. 4): see the Appendix below).

*16 *o-ke-te-u* :]*o-ke-te*

Though Greek interpretations of *o-ke-te-u* (PY Jn 693. 6) have been suggested, none is generally accepted. Palmer (1963: 51) proposes /*Okteus*/, i.e. a 'numerical' proper name derived from *ὀκτώ* 'eight'; Ventris and Chadwick (1956: 422), and Chadwick (1973: 564), tentatively suggest /*Okheteus*/ (cf. *ὀχετός* 'channel'), though this would involve abandoning the (plausible) explanation of *ὀχετός* as containing the root **wegh-* 'I transport';[12] while Georgiev suggests /*Onkhēsteus*/, comparing the place name *'Ογχηστός*.[13] Even if the name is Greek, however, it is far from certain that]*o-ke-te* (KN Xd 116. a) is its equivalent with an *-ēs* ending. First, though the term is probably complete at the left (we dot the square bracket in *KT*[5]), it is not certainly a personal name. And second, even if it is a personal name, there are grounds for suspecting that it is of non-Greek origin. Names in *-te* which are difficult to explain in terms of Greek include *ku-pe-re-te* (KN B (5) 799 *v*. 1), *po-ki-te* (KN B (5) 806. 3), *qo-ja-te* (KN Od 667 *lat. inf.*; Od (1) 681. b), and perhaps *ki-te* (KN L 588. 3); and it is noticeable that another is *o-ko-te* (KN Vc (1) 126; Vd 7545; Xd 7558), which is so reminiscent of *o-ke-te* that Risch himself (1987: 286 n. 21) wonders whether it might not be a variant spelling of it.

11 See e.g. Risch (1987: 289–90).

12 Chantraine (1968–80: 844) notes that some usages of *ὀχέω* might suggest that besides the *ὀχέω* derived from **wegh-* there was also an *ὀχέω* derived from **segh-* 'hold', 'contain'. As he also notes, however, these could be due to popular etymology.

13 See Landau (1958: 89).

14 (*pe-re-ke-u*) : *pe-re-ke* (?) ***17** *a₃-ke-u* : *a₃-ke*[

Neither of these 'pairs' can safely be adduced in support of Risch's case. As Risch himself notes (1987: 287), *pe-re-ke* (KN L 520. 1) is not certainly a personal name (for arguments in favour of taking it as /*plekei*/ '(it) weaves', as L. R. Palmer has suggested (1963: 297), see Killen 1996–7: 125–6); and not only is it not now generally believed that *a₃-ke-u* (PY Ta 641. 1) is a personal name,[14] the fragment containing *a₃-ke*[(1443) has been joined to KN Dv 1139, making it clear that the term is not complete, but is part of the name *a₃-ke-ta*.

3 *pe-ri-to-wo* : *pe-ri-te-u* : *pe-ri-te*

pe-ri-to-wo (KN Vc (1) 195; V (3) 655. 2; X 9198) is very likely /*Perithowos*/;[15] and *pe-ri-te-u* (KN B (5) 5025. 1, C 954. 2, PY An 654. 1) could be a hypocoristic /*Peritheus*/ derived from it (though another suggestion is that it is /*Perintheus*/, in origin an ethnic derived from the place name *Πέρινθος*,[16] and a third that it is /*Peristheus*/, a hypocoristic derived from *Περισθένης*).[17] There is a problem, however, for Risch's hypothesis as regards *pe-ri-te* (PY Vn 130. 2). Like all previous commentators, Risch takes this as dative; but he suggests that it is the dative in *-e* of a nominative in *-e*, thus leaving open the possibility that the name is /*Perithēs*/, corresponding to /*Peritheus*/ (Risch 1987: 287, 292). There are, however, severe difficulties for the view that besides the regular *-e*(*h*)*os*, *-e*(*h*)*i* declension of terms in *-ēs* in Mycenaean (*pe-ri-me-de-o*, *e-u-me-de-i*, *pa-de-i*, etc.) there is also evidence for datives in *-e*.[18] Among the forms that are regularly quoted in support of this contention are *pu-ke* on MY Ge 604. 5 and the theonyms *pa-de* and *a-re* at Knossos.[19] As I have argued, however, first in Killen (1992: 357 n. 16), and again in a paper delivered in 2000 (Killen forthcoming), all three of these terms are probably better explained as nominatives. (As I note in Killen forthcoming, for instance, support for the conclusion that *pa-de* and *a-re* are nominatives of rubric on the Fp tablets is provided by the parallel **56-ti* on Fp (1) 15. 2, which we now know is very unlikely to be dative, and must therefore probably be a nominative of rubric (as *e-ri-nu* in parallel to *pa-de* on Fp (1) 1 almost certainly is: Killen 1992: 356).) It follows, therefore, that if *pe-ri-te* is dative, it is almost certainly dative of a consonant-stem

[14] See e.g. Chadwick (1973: 536). For a different view, however, see Ruijgh (1967: 194).
[15] See e.g. Chadwick (1973: 571).
[16] See e.g. Ventris and Chadwick (1956: 191, 423).
[17] See e.g. Ruijgh (1967: 257 n. 116).
[18] For this suggestion, see e.g. Ruijgh (1967: 88).
[19] *pa-de* Fp (1) 1. 4, 48. 2; Fs 8. B; *Ga* (3) 456. 1; *a-re* Fp (1) 14. 2; Mc 4462. B.

name. (Ilievski 1959: 110 n. 19 suggests /*Peirins*/, comparing the term for 'chariot-basket' in Homer.)

It should, however, be added that it is perhaps not entirely inconceivable that *pe-ri-te* is nominative, and not dative. In the parallel entries on Vn 130. 3–13, the preposition *pa-ro* is followed by a personal name in the dative. In the entry in line 2, however, the first in the series, *pe-ri-te* precedes *pa-ro*, which is written above and to the right of it. Is it possible, the question comes to mind, that the scribe here began with the intention of writing the names of the suppliers (?) of the vessels (?) that are dealt with on the tablet in the nominative, and did so in this first instance; then decided to alter the pattern of entry on the tablet from nominative of rubric to prepositional phrase; added the *pa-ro* after *pe-ri-te*; but failed to make the necessary change in its case form? Such a scenario does not seem inconceivable; on the other hand, there can clearly be no certainty that this is what did happen, and we cannot therefore regard *pe-ri-te* as an *-ēs* equivalent of *pe-ri-te-u* with any real confidence. And even if it is this, the possibility would still be open that it is not /*Perithēs*/ from /*Perithowos*/ but /*Peristhēs*/ from /*Peristhenēs*/,[20] i.e. a name comparable to the *-ēs* shortened names of Classical Greek.

1 *mo-ro-qo-ro* : *mo-re-u* : *mo-re*

The personal name *mo-ro-qo-ro* (PY Ea 439, 800) is attractively, though inevitably not certainly, interpreted as /*Molog^{w}ros*/;[21] the descriptive term *μολοβρός* 'glutton', which may in origin be a compound meaning 'animal which eats plant-shoots' (Chantraine 1968–80 s.v.), occurs in the *Odyssey* (17. 219+), and the name *Μόλοβρος* is found in Thucydides (4. 8. 9). *mo-re-u* (PY Jn 389. 6; Jn 431. 13; Jn 750. 10) might then be a hypocoristic derived from this, or from another compound in *mo-r-*. (Risch also mentions the title *mo-ro-qa*, perhaps /*mo*(*i*)*ro-qq^{u}ās*/ 'share-holder', in this connection.) On the other hand, Chadwick (1973: 562), Perpillou (1973: 216), and others have suggested that the term might be /*Mōleus*/, from the Homeric word *μῶλος* 'struggle, toil of war'. (As Perpillou notes, this term is preserved in Classical anthroponymy in the name *Εὐμωλίων* (Bechtel 1917: 325).)

But what of *mo-re* (KN Dv 1214)? Once again, there must at least be some doubt as to whether this is a term of Greek origin. Non-Greek-looking names in *-re* are relatively common on the tablets, particularly at Knossos, among them the theonym *a-re* and the personal names *su-ke-re* (KN As 40. 6; As (2) 1516. 20), *da-nwa-re* (KN Db 1302; Sc 5058), *i-za-re* (KN B (5)

20 Cf. Ruijgh (1967: 257 n. 116).

21 See e.g. Chadwick (1973: 562).

805. 3), and *wa-*86-re* (KN Dc 1117); and while disyllabic names of this type are certainly rare, *a-re* is clearly one, and *ke-re* (As (2) 1516. 17; B (5) 805. 4) may be another. (Though *ke-re* could be /*Krēs*/, lit. '(the) Cretan', it might alternatively have links with *su-ke-re*.) Again, while the syllable *mo* is not as common as others in names of non-Greek appearance (it may be significant that this is one of the Linear B signs which do not seem to occur in Linear A), it does appear in a number: *de-ni-mo* (KN Dc 1303), *u-ra-mo-no* (KN As (2) 1516. 6; Da 1315), *ku-mo-no-so* (KN Da 1313; cf. *ku-mo-no* KN Dk (1) 945, though this might be Greek /*Gumnos*/), *mo-ni-ko* (KN Da 1288; V (2) 337 *v*. 1), *ka-mo-ni-jo* (KN Da 1293), *mo-da* (PY Jn 601. 5), *mo-i-da* (MY Au 102. 8, 657. 3). It is true that we have no certain example of an ending C*o-re* in an apparently non-Greek name, if we exclude, as we should,]*pạ-mo-re*[on KN X 8832 (the reading here, though reasonably secure, cannot be relied on; the word is not certainly complete; and the status of the term remains uncertain). It is possible, however, that *me-to-re* (KN Da 5295; Og (2) ⟨4467⟩. 2; PY Na 924; TH Fq 132. 5+) provides a counter-example. Though Risch (1987: 297) suggests that this might be /*Metōrēs*/ 'living between the mountains', other commentators prefer to leave it uninterpreted, and a non-Greek origin clearly cannot be excluded.

It does not seem impossible, therefore, that *mo-re* is another Knossian non-Greek name, and that even if *mo-re-u* contains a Greek root, it has no connection with it.

2 *Τέρπανδρος*, *Τερψιχόρη* : *te-pe-u* : *te-pe*

As we have seen, it has for long been suggested that *te-pe* is a hypocoristic *Τέρπης*, and it is certainly in favour of a Greek interpretation of the word that we have no evidence for non-Greek names in *-pe*. Even if it is *Τέρπης*, however, the question will still remain whether Landau and Neumann are right in taking it as based on an *-ēs* compound name, like *'Επιτέρπης*, or Risch right in taking it as based on *Τέρπανδρος vel sim.* But what of *te-pe-u*? This could certainly be /*Terpeus*/ and be derived from *Τέρπανδρος vel sim.*; among those who have envisaged this possibility before Risch is Chadwick (1973: 585: '*te-pe-u* . . MN: *Terpeus*? [Formed on *Τέρπανδρος*?]'). Equally, however, there can be no certainty that both terms contain the same root. For instance, it is not perhaps wholly inconceivable that *te-pe-u* is in origin the masculine equivalent of the feminine trade name *te-pe-ja* 'maker of *te-pa* cloth' (KN Le 641. 4; PY Ad 921; TH Of 35. 1). Though *te-pa* cloth was normally woven by women, and there is scant evidence for men weavers of any kind on the records, it is not impossible that there were some male

weavers of this fabric, just as there is now evidence (at Thebes) for male **o-nu-ke-we* 'makers or users of *o-nu-ke* decoration', as well as the female *o-nu-ke-ja* who are recorded among the textile workers at Pylos.[22]

10 *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri* : *pu*$_{(2)}$*-ke*

Though Risch does not mention it, there must be a reasonably good chance, given the length of the term, that Čop (1958: 254 n. 25) and Lejeune (1972: 152 n. 63) are correct in interpreting *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri* (PY Ta 711. 1; also attested in the dative *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri-ne* on the recently published TH Gp 119. 1 and via the derived *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* on Th Of 27. 3) as /*Phugeg*^{w}*rīs*/, a name meaning 'he who avoids the burden'.[23] Though compounds involving *φυγ-* as their first member in Classical Greek always show *φυγο-* (Chantraine 1968–80 s.v. *φεύγω*), **φυγε-* must have been the original form,[24] and is therefore entirely conceivable for Mycenaean; *βρῖ*, *βρῖθος* could well be derived from a root with an initial labiovelar (**g*^{w}*rī-*) (Chantraine 1968–80 s.v. *βριαρός*); and names with the sense Čop and Lejeune have suggested for *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri* are certainly attested in later Greek. (Lejeune 1972: 152 n. 63 mentions *Φυγοστρατίδης* etc. as well as more complimentary equivalents in *Μεν-*: *Μέναιχμος*, *Μενεκράτης*, etc.)

But what of Risch's suggestion that *pu*$_2$*-ke* (also spelt *pu-ke*) is a shortened name derived from *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri*, i.e. if *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri* is /*Phugeg*^{w}*rīs*/, a hypocoristic /*Phugēs*/? It is clearly an attraction of Risch's proposal that *pu*$_2$*-ke* and *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri* are the only names attested on the tablets which begin with *pu*$_2$*-ke*(-); and it is difficult to argue that *pu*$_2$*-ke* is a non-Greek name which if *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri* is /*Phugeg*^{w}*rīs*/ has nothing to do with it.[25] Though names in *-ke* are anyway very rare, the only certain examples being the woman's name *si-nu-ke* at Knossos (Ap 639. 11) and the men's names *ka-ke* and]*-we-ke* at the same site (As (2) 1516. 10; B (5) 799. 5), and while *si-nu-ke* at least seems certain to be of non-Greek provenance, none of these names is from the mainland. That *pu*$_2$*-ke* is a short form of *pu*$_2$*-ke-qi-ri* clearly cannot be excluded as a possibility; at the same time, however, the possibility must also remain open that *pu*$_2$*-ke* is indeed /*Phugēs*/, but

[22] For the dative singular *o-nu-ke-wi* at Thebes, see Oh 206. 2; for *o-nu-ke-ja* at Pylos, see Ab 194, Ad 675.

[23] Professor Ruijgh suggests another possibility to me: 'he who escapes heavy violence'. (He notes that the zero-grade stem **g*^{w}*rih*$_2$- of *βριαρός* might be an amalgam of **g*^{w}*r̥h*$_2$- 'heavy' and **g*^{w}*ih*$_2$- 'violence' (cf. *βαρύς*, *βία*).)

[24] As both Professor Ruijgh and Dr Meißner point out to me, the *o* of *φυγοπτόλεμος* etc. is likely to derive analogically from the contrasting *φιλοπτόλεμος* etc.

[25] Note Heubeck's comment (1961: 45 n. 69): 'Griech. ist viell. auch *pu*$_2$*-ke* . . .'.

is derived, like the Classical hypocoristics in *-ēs*, from a compound name which is itself in *-ēs*. Though we have no evidence in Classical Greek for a name **Φύγης* derived from an *-ης* compound name, we do, as we have seen, have *Μένης*, which it is possible in some cases at least has been shortened from a name in *Μενε-*;[26] and there is clearly no reason in principle why a name of this type might not have existed.

11 *a-e-ri-qo-ta* : *a-e-ri-qe* (?)

Though the interpretation of *a-e-ri-qo-ta* remains controversial,[27] it is clearly a compound name of Greek origin; and it is difficult to dissociate the three initial syllables of the term from *a-e-ri*(*-qe*) on PY Jn 832. 1. If, therefore, the *-qe* here were part of the name, it would undoubtedly be attractive to take this as a hypocoristic in *-ēs* derived from *a-e-ri-qo-ta*, just as the certainly complete *a-e-ri-qo* on PY An 192. 2, Jn 431. 13 is attractively interpreted as a hypocoristic in *-ōn* or *-os* derived from the same name.[28] Unfortunately, however, it is very uncertain that *-qe*, which is written above the level of the rest of the term, is part of the name and not the copulative *-qe*, /*-k^{w}e*/ 'and'. Indeed, given the context, the latter can even be argued to be the likelier of the two possible explanations of the sign:[29] in which case *a-e-ri* is perhaps to be explained as a hypocoristic /*A*(*h*)*eris*/, again derived from *a-e-ri-qo-ta*.[30]

12 *ka-ke-u* : *ka-ke*

As we have noted earlier, *ka-ke-u*, the name of a smith on PY Jn 750. 8, is doubtless /*Khalkeus*/. This is certainly the meaning of *ka-ke-u* when it occurs as a trade name on the Jn tablets and elsewhere at Pylos; and 'noms parlants' of workers are not unknown on the tablets: cf. *po-me*, almost certainly /*Poimēn*/, the name of a shepherd or sheep-owner at Knossos (Dd 1376). But what of *ka-ke*, attested as a name on KN As (2) 1516. 10?

Though we clearly cannot exclude the possibility that this is an *-ēs* alternative form of /*Khalkeus*/, it would equally be unwise to dismiss the possibility that it is a non-Greek name which has nothing to do with *ka-ke-u*. As we have seen under **10** above, while names in *-ke* are exceptionally rare

[26] See p. 217 above.

[27] For the suggestion that the first element is *A*(*h*)*eri-*, dative of an otherwise unattested *e*-grade variant of *ἄορ* 'sword', and not, as generally (and I believe more plausibly) supposed, *Ā*(*h*)*eri-* (cf. Hom. *ἦρι* 'at dawn'), see Hajnal (1992). On the second element, see e.g. Leukart (1994: 48–66).

[28] See e.g. Ruijgh (1967: 296 n. 27).

[29] See e.g. Duhoux (1976: 107).

[30] See e.g. Ruijgh (1967: 296 n. 27).

on the tablets, and while one of them, *pu₂-ke/pu-ke* at Mycenae, stands a reasonable chance of being Greek, the woman's name *si-nu-ke* at Knossos is evidently of non-Greek origin, and the same might be true of]*-we-ke* at the same site. It would certainly not come as a surprise if *ka-ke* were non-Greek, given its context. Of the thirty-one names which are recorded on KN As(2) 1516 as those of the members of the establishment of the *lāwāgetās* at Knossos, of which *ka-ke* is one, twenty-eight are included by Chadwick (1973) in the Glossary. Of these, only two (*a-ko-ra-jo* and *ka-ri-se-u*) are regarded by Chadwick as certainly Greek; four (*po-to*, *pi-ri-no*, *i-te-u*, and *pu-wo*) are given as possibly Greek; and the remainder (twenty-two names), including *ka-ke* and *pu-te* (see below), are left uninterpreted, and in most cases at least are plainly of non-Greek origin.

13 *pu-te-u* : *pu-te*

Two alternative explanations have been offered in the past for *pu-te-u* (PY Jn 431. 12): that it is either /*Pūtheus*/ or /*Phuteus*/.[31] If either explanation is correct, the term could clearly be a hypocoristic: as Perpillou has noted (1973: 173), a hypocoristic **Πυθεύς* (from a name like *Πυθαγόρας*) is attested by way of the name *Πυθείδης* in the fifth century BC; while /*Phuteus*/ (mentioned as a name in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and by Stephanus of Byzantium: Perpillou 1973: 215) could be a hypocoristic of a name in *-phutos* (cf. *Πρόσφυτος*, Bechtel 1917: 460). Note, too, the names *pu-ti-ja* and *pu₂-ti-ja* at Pylos: unless the *pu-* stands for *phu-*, the first might be /*Pūthiās*/, another hypocoristic derived from *Πυθαγόρας vel sim.*, and the second /*Phutiās*/, another hypocoristic from a name in *-phutos* (Ruijgh 1967: 159).

But what of *pu-te*, attested, like *ka-ke*, on KN As (2) 1516? There must be real uncertainty as to whether this forms a pair with *pu-te-u* of the type which Risch is positing. As is often pointed out, it might not even end in *-ēs*; since the occupational term *pu-te* /*pu₂-te*, /*phutēr*/ 'planter (of orchards)' is attested on the tablets, including at Knossos, it might be a name /*Phutēr*/ derived from this.[32] Risch notes, rightly, that names derived from agent nouns in *-tēr* are otherwise difficult to point to in Mycenaean;[33] and names derived from trade names in *-eus*, fem. *-eia*, are certainly more common. (See *ka-ke-u*, /*Khalkeus*/; *ke-ra-me-ja*, /*Kerameia*/ (cf. *ke-ra-me-u*, /*kerameus*/ 'potter'); *po-ni-ke-ja*, very likely /*Phoinikeia*/

[31] See e.g. Chadwick (1973: 575).

[32] See e.g. Landau (1958: 113).

[33] Though, as Dr Meißner points out to me, in later Greek, when *-tēr* has by and large been replaced by *-tēs*, names like *Ναύτης* are not uncommon.

and derived from the feminine of */*phoinikeus*/ 'worker in purple'.) Given, however, that names derived from occupational terms, of various types, are relatively frequent on the tablets, it would clearly be unwise to exclude the possibility that *pu-te* is one of them. Another possibility is that it is a hypocoristic *Πυθήν*, a name attested in the fifth century BC (Thuc. 6. 104. 1) (Heubeck 1961: 46). Alternatively, it might be a name with a non-Greek root. As we have already noted under **16,** apparently non-Greek names in *-te* on the tablets include *ku-pe-re-te*, *po-ki-te*, *qo-ja-te*, *o-ko-te*, and perhaps *ki-te*; and many of the names with initial *pu-* on the tablets also appear to have non-Greek origins, including *pu-da-so*[(KN), *pu-ma-ra-ko* (PY), *pu-na-to* (KN), *pu-nu-so* (KN), *pu-ri* (KN), *pu-wa-ne* (PY), *pu-za-ko* (PY), and *pu-zo* (KN).

What conclusions should we draw in the light of this information? Despite the difficulties in handling this material, for the reasons we mentioned at the outset, the following observations do seem warranted.

1. Some of the items of evidence adduced by Risch in support of his contention have certainly to be disregarded in the light of new evidence. See the discussion under **4, 5** of *ku-ne* and *qo-we* and under ***17** of a_3*-ke*[. Doubts must also exist about the status as names of *pe-re-ke* (see **14**) and]*we-ke-se* (see **7**).

2. It is striking how many of the names in *-ēs* which appear in Risch's table occur at Knossos, and there alone. Given that names at Knossos are known to include a large number which are of non-Greek provenance,[34] the possibility inevitably suggests itself that some at least of these names have a similar origin: that they are not short or shortened names with Greek roots, as Risch's hypothesis requires.[35] These suspicions are increased when it can be shown that a number of these terms have elements in their forms which

[34] See the references in n. 1 above.

[35] Compare Heubeck (1961: 46): 'Die meisten der auf *-e* endigenden PN der Lineartafeln stammen aus Knossos und machen wiederum einen ungriech. Eindruck.' (The list that follows this comment includes, besides names like *ke-re* and *pu-te*, which Heubeck thinks are probably Greek, the following of the names discussed or mentioned in this paper, none of which he suggests has a Greek origin (bold indicates names mentioned in Risch's table): ***e-ke-se***, *i-ka-se*, *i-za-re*, ***ka-ke***, *ku-pe-re-te*, *me-to-re*, ***mo-re***, *pi-ja-se-me*, *po-ki-te*, *qo-ja-te*, ***ra-te-me***, *si-nu-ke*, *su-ke-re*, *te-ra-pe-te*, *wa-je*, *wa-*86-re*, *ze-me*(*-qe*).) Risch himself notes the frequency with which the *-e* members of his supposed 'pairs' occur at Knossos, with the *-e-u* members at Pylos (1987: 293), but naturally does not conclude from this that the *-e* names are non-Greek (though he asks the reader to compare Ilievski 1978: 21, which refers to Landau's observation—see n. 1 above—that a greater percentage of non-Greek names occurs at Knossos than on the mainland). For a similar observation about Mycenaean personal names in *-i*, viz. that a significantly higher proportion occurs at Knossos than on

they share with names which are certainly or probably from non-Greek sources. Names which appear from parallels to have a strong chance of being non-Greek are *e-ke-se* (see **8**), *i-ke-se* (see **9**), and]*o-ke-te* (see ***16**); and at least a degree of suspicion must also fall on]*ṣạ-me* (see **15**), *ka-ke* (see **12**), *pu-te* (see **13**), which might alternatively not be a name in *-ēs* at all, but one in *-tēr*, and *mo-re* (see **1**). Note that this list includes all the terms in the table which on Risch's hypothesis have to be explained as short rather than shortened names, viz.]*o-ke-te*,]*ṣạ-me*, *ka-ke*, and *pu-te*. If these were all Greek terms in *-ēs*, the appearance of names of this type only at Knossos would be somewhat surprising, and must again raise doubts in the mind as to whether Risch is correct in interpreting them as Greek.

3. In contrast, the two strongest contenders for identification as shortened (Greek) names in *-ēs* come from the mainland: **2** *te-pe* and **10** *pu₂-ke/pu-ke*. In both cases, however, we cannot exclude the possibility that they are derived from compound names which are themselves in *-ēs*, rather than from names of other types (*Τέρπανδρος*, */Phugegʷrīs/*), as Risch suggests.

4. Finally, as regards the names in *-e-u* in Table 15.1, some could certainly be hypocoristics. Although, as Perpillou has noted (1973: 212–13), the opaqueness of the Linear B writing system makes identifications of individual examples of these very uncertain, short names in *-εύς* are common in later Greek, and it would not be surprising if they were also present in Mycenaean.[36] As regards Risch's 'pairs', however, not only must there be doubt as to whether any of the items on the *-e* side of the equation are in fact shortened or short names in *-ēs* of the type he is positing (rather than non-Greek names, or Greek names in *-ēs* which have been shortened from compounds in *-ēs*), it is also open to question whether some at least of their supposed *-e-u* partners in fact contain the same roots: whether *mo-re-u*, for example, contains the same root as *mo-re*. Apart from the opaqueness of the writing system, the existence of large numbers of terms in *-e-u* in Mycenaean makes such accidental homography a substantial risk.

It is also just possible that a further phenomenon lies behind some of these 'pairs'. Quite commonly on the tablets we find what appears to be the same non-Greek personal name in two or more different forms: which in some cases at least appears to reflect a desire to give a non-Greek name a more Greek-looking appearance.[37] Among such doublets are *du-ni* (KN)

the mainland, and that this skew is again to be explained as due to the non-Greek origin of many of the Knossos names, see Morpurgo Davies (1999: 400–1).

[36] See Perpillou (1973: 213–14) for discussion of possible examples.

[37] Killen (1992: 358–9); Morpurgo Davies (1999: 400–1). (Note that one of the possible

vs. *du-ni-jo* (KN, PY), *du-ri* (KN) vs. *du-re-u* (PY), and *tu-ti* (KN) vs. *tu-ti-je-u*/*tu-si-je-u* (PY); and while we have no certain example of a 'pair' of this kind involving an *-e* name on the one hand and an *-e-u* name on the other, there are a few possible examples of this, including *ke-re* (KN) vs. *ke-re-u* (KN, PY), if *ke-re* is non-Greek and not e.g. /*Krēs*/ (see under **1** above), and *pa-de* (KN) vs. *pa-de-u* (PY),[38] if the latter is not 'priest of *Pa-de*'[39] or a man's name.[40] (One also recalls Ἀρεύς as the form of the god's name Ἄρης in Lesbian and Boeotian.) It is just possible, therefore, that some of the 'pairs' in Risch's list have a similar explanation: that *o-ke-te-u* (PY) is not Greek /*Okteus*/, /*Okheteus*/, *vel sim.* but a *-eus* form of a non-Greek name]*o-ke-te* (KN); that *mo-re-u* (PY) is not Greek /*Mōleus*/ *vel sim.* but a *-eus* form of a non-Greek name *mo-re* (KN); etc. (As in Homer, many of the *-eus* names in Mycenaean do not have a Greek etymology.)

In sum, then, while it is clearly impossible to rule out the possibility that Mycenanean contains short and shortened Greek names in *-ēs* which have a different origin from those in Classical Greek, there must equally be considerable doubt as to whether Risch's hypothesis is correct.

APPENDIX

Besides his pairs of names ending in *-e* and *-e-u*, Risch suggests that we have examples of pairs involving (Greek) names in *-e* and *-o*. He mentions in this connection *di-du-me* KN L 588. 3 (though he admits that the term occurs in an unclear context) vs. *di-du-mo* MY Oe 129. a (dat.) (cf. *di-du-mo*[KN X 5751), lit. 'Twin', and *ko-we* KN Ws 8498. γ, which he suggests may be a name /*Korwēs*/, contrasting with the appellative *ko-wo*, /*korwos*/ 'son'. He then draws attention to three further names in *-e*: (i) *pa-re* KN *Dl* (*1*) 8177, Sc 247, 249?, with which he compares *pa-ra-to* KN Db 1373 and *pa-ra-ti-jo* KN C(2) 914. A; (ii) *ko-sa-ma-ne*

'pairs' I mention in Killen 1992, *ma-di* : *ma-di-jọ*[, should probably be excluded from the list. As we now know, thanks to the evidence of datives like *ma-di-je* on the recently published tablets from Thebes, the inflexion of many (and possibly all) *i*-stem terms in Mycenaean mirrors that of the *u*-stems, which makes it likely that *ma-di-jo* (if it is the correct reading) is not an alternative, Graecized form of the nominative *ma-di*, but the genitive of the name. On the other hand, it is now more likely that *qe-ri* : *qe-ri-jo is* such a 'pair'. I noted that *qe-ri* might be /*K*^{w}*ēris*/, Gr. *Thēris*, and *qe-ri-jo* /*K*^{w}*ēriōn*/, Gr. *Thēriōn*, but ought to have added that the appearance of the genitive *qe-ri-jo-jo* (which is clearly the genitive of a name in *-os*, not *-ōn*) on the Thebes sealing Wu 58, first published in 1990, must inevitably raise doubts about the second interpretation.)

[38] For the suggestion that this is a theonym, and should be compared with the Knossian god's name *pa-de*, see e.g. Palmer (1963: 259).

[39] See e.g. Ruijgh (1967: 88 n. 73) (who also, however, notes that it could be a theonym).

[40] See e.g. Lejeune (1958: 339).

PY An 615. 16 (not, he notes, certainly a personal name), with which he compares *ko-sa-ma-to* KN Ga (1) 685, PY Ep 212. 8+; and (iii) *ra-te-me* KN V (4) 653. 4, which he tentatively suggests may be a name beginning with /*Lathe-*/, for which first element he compares *λαθάνεμος* (Simon. 508. 4 Page) and *λαθικηδής* (Hom. *Il.* 22. 83).

There must, however, be serious question as to whether any of these terms, all but one of which are at Knossos, do have Greek roots. Taking the last three names first, though *pa-re* might be Greek /*Phalēs*/ *vel sim.*,[41] it might equally be a non-Greek name in *-re* (see under **1** above); neither *ko-sa-ma-ne* (which stands a very good chance of being a man's name)[42] or *ko-sa-ma-to* is readily explicable in terms of Greek, and names in *-ne* on the records include the apparently non-Greek *wo-si-jo-ne* (KN), *pa-ra-ne* (KN), *wi-ra-ne* (KN), and *pu-wa-ne* (PY); and *ra-te-me* could equally be non-Greek: on non-Greek names ending in *-me*, see under **15** above. Nor can there be any confidence that *ko-we* and *di-du-me* are Greek. *ko-we* (on a sealing) remains entirely obscure; and while *di-du-me* might well be a personal name (the first in a sequence of three quoted in asyndeton), and while it is immediately attractive to compare it with Greek *δίδυμος*, used as a name at Mycenae and perhaps elsewhere at Knossos, the resemblance might only be fortuitous. On non-Greek names in *-me*, see under **15**; and for names with apparently non-Greek roots which show the initial sequence *di-d-* see *di-de-ro* KN Dv 1504 (with which is regularly compared *di-de-ru*, probably attested in Linear A), *di-de*[KN B(5) 799. 4 (which might again be *di-de-ro*), and possibly *di-da-ma-o* PY Xa 184.

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[41] See e.g. Chadwick (1973: 568): '*Phalēs*?'

[42] It is followed immediately by VIR 1, and the terms in parallel position on An 615. 13 and .15 are]*ṛẹ-u-ko* (cf. the MN *re-u-ko* on MY Oi 705. 2) and *wa-ra-ki-no* (cf. the MN *wa-ra-ko-no* on PY Jn 845. 12).

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16

Sella, subsellium, meretrix: sonantes-voyelles et 'effet Saussure' en grec ancien

Charles de Lamberterie

En 1967, Anna Morpurgo Davies a présenté au premier Congrès international de mycénologie, qui se tenait à Rome, une communication sur le traitement de **r̥* et **l̥* en mycénien et en arcado-chypriote (Morpurgo Davies 1968). Avec l'esprit d'acribie que nous lui connaissons, combiné à un refus salutaire de répéter les idées reçues, notre collègue et amie conteste l'enseignement traditionnel ('standard view') selon lequel **r̥* est représenté par *ορ/ρο* en arcado-chypriote; elle considère, pour sa part, que la vibrante-voyelle aboutit normalement dans ces dialectes à *αρ/ρα*. Pour le mycénien, en revanche, elle se rallie à la doctrine dominante selon laquelle **r̥* est représenté par *or/ro*, mais en retenant certains exemples qui plaident pour un traitement *ar/ra*. L'idée-maîtresse de cette étude est qu'on ne peut se satisfaire d'un double traitement, et qu'il faut essayer de trouver un principe de répartition entre les deux réalisations de la vibrante-voyelle. Au terme d'un examen critique de l'ensemble du dossier, A. Morpurgo Davies propose la règle suivante: 'In Mycenaean and Arcado-Cyprian **r̥* tends to evolve in *or/ro* after *u̯* and in *ar/ra* elsewhere' (Morpurgo Davies 1968: 811).

Force est de reconnaître que les conclusions de cette étude n'ont pas recueilli une approbation unanime. Le témoignage du chypriote pourrait aller dans le sens de la règle proposée, bien que les données soient loin d'être claires.[1] En revanche, les dialectologues ont généralement refusé de suivre A. Morpurgo Davies dans sa contestation du traitement **r̥* > *ορ/ρο* en arcadien, et notamment dans son rejet de l'exemple classique qu'est l'ordinal arc. *τέτορτος* = att. *τέταρτος* < gr. com. **κʷέτρ̥τος*, rejet fondé sur l'existence

[1] Voir Egetmeyer (à paraître: 80–2), avec la conclusion suivante: 'La répartition de *ar/ra* et *or/ro* est loin d'être claire, bien que la majorité des bons exemples présente */a/*. La voyelle labiale dans *ka-te-wo-ro-ko-ne* /*katéworgon*/ pourrait être due à l'influence du /*w*/ précédent, malgré le contre-exemple *wa-ri-mi-yo-ne* /*Warmíyōn*/ dont l'interprétation est incertaine' (82).

à Tégée de l'anthroponyme *Τέταρτος* qui représenterait le traitement authentique de *r̥ dans le dialecte.[2] La critique à laquelle A. Morpurgo Davies soumet (à la suite d'O. Szemerényi) l'interprétation admise de l'équation myc. *to-pe-za* /*τόρπεζα*/ = *τράπεζα* comme reflet d'un étymon *k^w*tr̥-ped-ya* comportant au premier membre une forme du numéral 'quatre', a rencontré elle aussi de sérieuses réticences (Morpurgo Davies 1968: 803–4).[3] Dans une ample étude parue peu après les Actes du congrès de Rome, Françoise Bader a proposé des vues tout aussi radicales que celles d'A. Morpurgo Davies dans le sens exactement opposé, à savoir que pour les quatre sonantes-voyelles *r̥, *l̥, *n̥ et *m̥ 'le traitement vélaire pouvait coexister avec le traitement *-a-* dans n'importe quel dialecte du grec alphabétique comme en linéaire B' (Bader 1969: 51); tout en avouant que 'la distribution des formes, en l'état actuel de nos connaissances, défie l'analyse structurale, et ne peut être décrite qu'empiriquement' (57), F. Bader soutient qu'il faut néanmoins reconnaître cette dualité de traitement.

Où en est-on de ce débat plus de trente ans après, et quel est le point de vue le plus plausible? Je me garderai bien, pour ma part, de prôner quelque 'juste milieu' entre un excès de rigueur et un excès de laxisme, et cela pour deux raisons: d'abord parce que ce serait quelque peu caricaturer les travaux que je viens de citer que de leur coller les étiquettes de rigorisme et de laxisme, et ensuite parce que le 'juste milieu', dans les débats scientifiques comme en d'autres domaines, n'est bien souvent que l'alibi d'un conservatisme paresseux. Il est vain de prétendre adopter le point de vue de Sirius, l'essentiel est de faire avancer les questions. Mais pour cela il faut renoncer d'abord à l'espoir de trouver une solution-miracle qui puisse tout expliquer. On comprend, dès lors, que dans une étude postérieure consacrée au mycénien, A. Morpurgo Davies ait porté un diagnostic lucide mais quelque peu désabusé:

> There is no agreement about the development of vocalic liquids and nasals in Mycenaean. Unless we adopt the more drastic view that the liquids at least are still preserved as vocalic r̥ and l̥ indicated by various graphic devices, we must

[2] Morpurgo Davies (1968: 795–6), avec la conclusion suivante: 'the final assessment of the origin of *τέτορτος* remains somewhat uncertain'. Défense bien argumentée de la thèse classique chez Dubois (1986), tome i, §16 et n. 203 (avec bibl.).

[3] Dans la discussion qui a suivi cette communication, H. Mühlestein a défendu avec de bons arguments l'interprétation traditionnelle de myc. *to-* /*τορ-*/ = *τρα-* < *k^w*tr̥-*, en faisant valoir notamment qu'elle était appuyée par *to-mi-ka* /*τόρμισκα*/ 'au fil quadruple' (813). Cette analyse est généralement acceptée aujourd'hui: voir en ce sens *DELG* s.u. *μίτος* et *τράπεζα*, et *DMic* s.u. *to-mi-ka* et *to-pe-za*, avec histoire de la question. L'argument cher à O. Szemerényi ('testis unus, testis nullus'), déjà contestable en lui-même, ne s'applique donc pas.

reckon with different vocalisms as the result of originally unitary phonemes: we have . . . *qe-to-ro-po-pi* 'quadrupeds' with k^{w}etro- < *k^{w}et(w)r̥- vs. *po-da-ko*, i.e. podargos < *pod(H$_2$)r̥gos. We are at liberty to explain the *a*/*o* alternations as due to analogical levellings of various sorts, or to different phonological developments in different environments, or to different dialects in Mycenaean itself, or even to a combination of all these factors. What we lose, however, is the somewhat naive faith in an early *état de langue* in which all treatments are wonderfully simple and regular in contrast with the later intricacies. (Morpurgo Davies 1985: 80)

Est-ce à dire qu'il faille renoncer? Je ne le pense pas. Je crois au contraire que ce serait trahir la pensée de notre collègue et amie que de voir dans ces lignes une incitation au scepticisme.[4] On peut au moins essayer de poser quelques jalons, et cela dans deux directions:

1. Il faut mettre à part *podargos* et, plus généralement, l'ensemble des formes qui se rattachent à la racine ἀργ- 'briller'. Si cette racine est en grec immobile, c'est que ἀργ- repose sur la convergence du degré plein i.-e. *h$_2$erĝ- (skr. *arj*-) et du degré zéro *h$_2$r̥ĝ- (skr. *r̥j*-), en vertu du phénomène connu sous le nom de 'loi de Rix'.[5] En indo-européen, les 'laryngales' (*H) étaient de pures consonnes et avaient donc un coefficient de syllabicité[6] inférieur à celui des sonantes (*R); elles se comportaient à cet égard comme les autres obstruentes (*T, *S), ce qui dans notre racine entraînait au degré zéro une syllabation *h$_2$r̥ĝ-, conservée par l'indo-iranien (*h$_2$r̥ĝ-ró- > véd. *r̥jrá*-, *h$_2$r̥ĝ-i- > *r̥ji*°) et l'anatolien (*h$_2$r̥ĝ-i- > hitt. *harki*- 'blanc'). L'innovation du grec, partagée par l'arménien, consiste en ce que dans ces langues les laryngales ont accru d'une manière considérable leur coefficient de syllabicité, comme le montrent les fameuses 'voyelles prothétiques' du grec et de l'arménien. Ce coefficient est devenu supérieur à celui des sonantes, avec le résultat que l'échelle décroissante de syllabicité *V–R–H–T* a été remaniée en *V–H–R–T*. De là un bouleversement de la structure syllabique, à savoir un déplacement du centre de la syllabe vers l'initiale, car la réalisation vocalique de la laryngale a entraîné une réalisation consonantique de la ci-devant sonante-voyelle: i.-e. *h$_2$r̥ĝ- > gr.-arm. *ə$_2$rĝ- > gr. ἀργ-, arm. *arc*-, avec coloration en *a* de la voyelle *ə dégagée par la laryngale *h$_2$ (de même *h$_1$r̥- > *ə$_1$r- > gr. ἐρ-, *h$_3$r̥- > *ə$_3$r- > gr. ὀρ-). En d'autres termes, l'expression saussurienne de 'quasi-sonantes'

[4] L'étude la plus récente sur le r̥ syllabique est celle de Haug (2002: 49–67) (voir ci-dessous n. 11).

[5] Rix (1970), repris dans Rix (1992: 69). Voir Collinge (1985: 236–7); Mayrhofer (1986: 129–31). Contra: Lindeman (1997: 54–7).

[6] Par cette expression, j'entends l'aptitude plus ou moins grande d'un phonème donné à constituer le centre d'une syllabe.

pour qualifier ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui les laryngales est erronée pour l'indo-européen, mais assez juste pour le grec; ce sont même, à vrai dire, des 'super-sonantes', pour lesquelles il n'y a aucun inconvénient à employer les symboles $*ə_1$, $*ə_2$, $*ə_3$. Dans ces conditions, l'équation gr. ἀργός < *ἀργρός = skr. *r̥jrá-* s'explique sans difficulté, tout comme gr. ἀργι° = skr. *r̥ji°* = hitt. *harki-*, et l'on comprend l'absence de ορ comme reflet de *r̥ dans toute cette famille: elle vient de ce qu'en grec une séquence **HR̥T-* a un traitement différent de celui de **TR̥T-*.[7]

2. La 'drastic view' à laquelle fait allusion A. Morpurgo Davies est l'idée, avancée par Alfred Heubeck, selon laquelle le flottement entre *-o-* et *-o-ro-* dans certains mots (ainsi *ma-to-pu-ro* et *ma-to-ro-pu-ro*) indiquerait qu'à l'époque de la rédaction des tablettes le /r̥/ était encore conservé comme tel dans la langue grecque: vue à vrai dire 'révolutionnaire', comme le dit notre amie (Morpurgo Davies 1985: 107), et qui se démarque des deux autres tentatives d'explication: celle selon laquelle *ma-to-* refléterait /μᾱτορ-/ et *ma-to-ro-* /μᾱτρ-ο-/, avec voyelle de liaison empruntée aux composés à premier membre thématique, et celle selon laquelle l'élément -ρο- de μᾱτρο- serait une autre réalisation de l'ancienne sonante-voyelle.[8] Cette solution extrême n'a guère été acceptée: ainsi que le remarque à juste titre Rémy Viredaz, 'le remède est pire que le mal', car si le /r̥/ existait encore effectivement à l'époque des tablettes, on attendrait une notation constante, alors que nous avons précisément le contraire; la différence de graphie doit bien correspondre à une différence de prononciation (Viredaz 1983: 170–1).

Ce qui, en revanche, est hautement probable, c'est que la couche la plus ancienne de la langue épique atteste bel et bien le /r̥/ syllabique. Je fais ici référence au travail pionnier de Hugo Mühlestein, prolongé par les recherches de Paul Wathelet, en me limitant à l'exemple le plus célèbre.[9] L'hémistiche || Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ # 'Enualios tueur de guerriers' (4× *Il.*), visiblement formulaire mais monstrueux, tant pour la mor-

[7] Dans son article de 1968, A. Morpurgo Davies envisageait cette hypothèse, mais pour la rejeter: 'Though Hitt. *ḫarkiš* points to an initial laryngeal this need not have influenced the treatment of the sonant', dit-elle à propos de myc. *po-da-ko /podargos/* et *to-ma-ko /stomargos/* (802). Cela correspondait à l'état des connaissances de l'époque, mais depuis l'article de Rix (1970) nous pouvons en juger autrement.—J'entends ici par *R* la vibrante, la latérale et les nasales; sur le traitement des semi-voyelles *i/y* et *u/w* dans cet environnement, voir Peters (1980: 5–125).

[8] Cette seconde solution est notamment celle de F. Bader (1969: 17–19). A. Morpurgo Davies, pour sa part, laissait la question ouverte (1968: 802–3 et 807). D'autres auteurs considèrent *ma-to-* comme une simple faute pour *ma-to-ro-* (ainsi Viredaz 1983: 171); mais le fait que cette variation se retrouve ailleurs (ainsi *to-no* et *to-ro-no°*, sur quoi voir ci-dessous) invite à tenir les deux formes pour authentiques.

[9] Mühlestein (1958: 361–5) (et 1987: 186–7); Wathelet (1966: 170–1).

phologie que pour le mètre, sous la forme où il est transmis, devient parfaitement régulier si l'on admet qu'il recouvre un plus ancien *‖ *'Ενυαλίῳ ἀνρ̥φόντᾳ* # (⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑––, avec *ῡ* selon la règle), dont le dernier mot est à la base de l'anthroponyme de Cnossos *a-no-qo-ta* /*Ἀνορχ*^{w}*όντᾱς*/ (cf. aussi *a-na-qo-ta*, s'il faut y voir une variante /*Ἀναρχ*^{w}*όντᾱς*/ du même nom); l'ensemble procède d'un composé grec commun /**anr̥-k*^{hw}*óntā-*/ qui continue, avec un suffixe *-*tā*- de date grecque, le composé i.-e. **$h_2$nr̥-g*^{hw}*ón-* conservé dans véd. *nr̥-hán-*. Cette analyse brillante reçoit une belle confirmation dans le fait que chez Homère le nom de qualité transmis *ἀ(ν)δροτῆτα* (acc.) 'vaillance' est à lire *ἀνρ̥τῆτα* (⏑⏑–⏑) pour le mètre; il faut donc partir de g.c. **anr̥tāt-* (cf., avec un autre suffixe, véd. *nr̥mṇá-* 'virilité, courage').[10] On pourra toujours, assurément, discuter telle ou telle pièce de ce dossier, ou contester tel ou tel des autres exemples assez nombreux qui ont été allégués en faveur de /*r̥*/ chez Homère—je le ferai moi-même dans un instant—mais il faut vraiment avoir le goût de l'hypercritique pour s'imaginer qu'on puisse les récuser tous en bloc. Le vrai, c'est le tout, et force est de reconnaître que l'ensemble a une force probante considérable, précisément parce que c'est un ensemble et qu'il permet d'instaurer une articulation cohérente entre le texte homérique, les tablettes mycéniennes et les données de la grammaire comparée, ce qui est une règle d'or en matière de linguistique historique.[11] Cela invite à suivre P. Wathelet quand il interprète la *correptio* de la formule homérique *ἠδὲ τραπέζας* # comme la trace de **τρ̥-* < i.-e. **k*^{w}*tr̥-*, ce qui corrobore l'interprétation classique de myc. *to-pe-za* /*τόρπεζα*/ (Wathelet 1966: 162–4). Au total, il y a de bonnes

[10] En mycénien même, H. Mühlestein a proposé de comprendre le mot *a-no-qa-si-ja* (gén.) comme /*ἀνορχ*^{w}*ασίᾱς*/ 'massacre de guerriers', dérivé du nom d'agent (degré zéro *-*g*^{hw}*n̥-t-* + -*iyā*-). Si cette interprétation pouvait être établie, il conviendrait de rapprocher, pour le second membre, véd. *vr̥tra-hátya-* 'meurtre de Vr̥tra' (avec une finale légèrement différente), dérivé du nom d'agent *vr̥tra-hán-*. Mais le contexte n'est pas clair, et ce n'est qu'une possibilité parmi d'autres (voir *DMic* s.u.).

[11] La bibliographie du sujet est considérable. L'idée est aujourd'hui largement acceptée, avec de bonnes raisons, bien qu'on ne puisse parler d'un *consensus omnium* (Haug 2002: 62). Voir, entre bien d'autres, Schmitt (1967: §§222–7); Heubeck (1971: 74–8); Lamberterie (1990: 326–7 et 750–1); Leukart (1994: 51–6); Watkins (1994: 730–3—article de 1987, avec histoire de la question et nombreuses références); (1995: 499). Le point de vue contraire est défendu en dernier lieu par Dag Haug (2002: 40 et 49–67), qui se rallie aux vues d'Eva Tichy et de son maître Nils Berg selon lesquelles ces cas de *correptio* relèveraient de la théorie du mètre au lieu de révéler un fait de langue. Mais à ce compte, certains des exemples les mieux assurés de traces de *ϝ* chez Homère risqueraient d'être éliminés eux aussi au profit d'une théorie du mètre, ou d'autres explications encore moins convaincantes ('hiatus expressifs' ou autres fantaisies). Ayant assumé la tâche (agréable) de directeur de la thèse de D. Haug après le décès de N. Berg, je lui avais fait part de mon désaccord sur ce point, ce qu'il signale courtoisement dans l'avant-propos du livre issu de sa thèse; je n'en suis que plus à l'aise pour souligner la grande qualité de son travail.

raisons de considérer, avec Cornelis J. Ruijgh, que sur ce point la couche la plus ancienne de l'épopée reflète un état de langue plus archaïque que celui des tablettes mycéniennes.[12]

Je voudrais maintenant, sur la base de ces prémisses, étudier la formation et l'origine du mot *θρόνος* 'siège'. Usuel depuis Homère, ce nom du 'siège' est bien attesté dans la série Ta de Pylos, célèbre dans l'histoire des études mycéniennes pour avoir fourni, voici exactement un demi-siècle, une confirmation décisive au déchiffrement du linéaire B par Michael Ventris.[13] Il a été aussitôt reconnu, sous la forme *to-no*, par les auteurs de *Documents*:

to-no is probably for *thornos*, cf. Cypr. *θόρναξ· ὑποπόδιον* Hesych. A spelling *to-no* = *thronos* would do violence to the spelling rules (but cf. *to-ro-no-wo-ko* = *throno-worgos*? on **39** = As 1517).[14]

Cette interprétation est garantie par le fait que, dans les trois tablettes où il apparaît (Ta 707, 708, 714), le mot est joint à *ta-ra-nu* /*θρᾶνυς*/ 'subsellium', qui dans d'autres tablettes de la série (710, 721, 722) est accompagné de l'idéogramme 220.[15] A cela s'ajoute que, comme l'ont signalé encore M. Ventris et J. Chadwick, le lexique de la série Ta trouve plus d'un écho dans l'*Odyssée*,[16] ce qui invite à rapprocher *Od.* 1. 130–2 (accueil d'Athéna par Télémaque à Ithaque):

αὐτὴν δ' ἐς θρόνον εἷσεν ἄγων, ὑπὸ λῖτα πετάσσας
καλὸν δαιδάλεον· ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.
πὰρ δ' αὐτὸς κλισμὸν θέτο ποικίλον . . .

Il mena la déesse s'asseoir sur un beau fauteuil incrusté, sur lequel il avait étendu une housse de lin, et sous lequel il y avait un escabeau pour les pieds. Pour lui-même, il approcha une chaise ciselée . . .

L'association des deux termes n'est d'ailleurs pas propre à l'*Odyssée*, car ce passage est connu pour faire écho à un épisode de l'*Iliade* (18. 388–90, réception de Thétis par Héphaistos et son épouse Charis):

[12] Ruijgh (1985: 162–3, repris dans 1996: 240–1); (1995: 85–91); (1997*a*: 41–4). Cf. aussi Watkins (1994: 732), avec référence à des travaux de M. L. West qui vont dans le même sens.

[13] Il s'agit de la fameuse 'tablette des trépieds' (voir *Docs*, p. 25).

[14] *Docs*, p. 343 (commentaire de la tablette n° **242** = Ta 707).—Ce fait à lui seul suffirait à prouver, s'il en était besoin, le caractère exceptionnel de ce livre fondateur. Ce n'est évidemment pas A. Morpurgo Davies qui me démentira dans cette appréciation.

[15] *Docs*, p. 333: 'The spelling of the objects *to-no* and *to-pe-za* will be discussed below; but the first, which regularly forms a pair with *thrānus*, is evidently the equivalent of *θρόνος* "chair", the second of *τράπεζα* "table".'—J'emprunte la traduction par 'subsellium' au *MGL* d'A. Morpurgo Davies (cf. aussi, à propos de *to-no*, 'haud dubie sella significatur').

[16] *Docs*, p. 334, avec référence à *Od.* 19. 53–62.

Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα πρόσω ἄγε δῖα θεάων.
τὴν μὲν ἔπειτα καθεῖσεν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου
καλοῦ δαιδαλέου· ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν.

Ainsi dit la toute divine, et, la conduisant plus avant, elle fait asseoir Thétis sur un siège à clous d'argent, un beau siège ouvragé, avec un banc sous les pieds. (trad. P. Mazon)

Même chose encore dans le passage de la *Διὸς ἀπάτη* où, pour convaincre Sommeil d'endormir Zeus, Héra lui promet un cadeau somptueux (*Il.* 14. 238–41):

δῶρα δέ τοι δώσω καλὸν θρόνον, ἄφθιτον αἰεί,
χρύσεον· Ἥφαιστος δέ κ' ἐμὸς πάϊς ἀμφιγυήεις
τεύξει' ἀσκήσας, ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυν ποσὶν ἥσει,
τῷ κεν ἐπισχοίης λιπαροὺς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων.

Je te donnerai en échange un présent, un beau siège, indestructible, en or. C'est mon fils, Héphaistos le Boiteux, qui le fabriquera et l'ouvrera lui-même. Au-dessous il mettra un appui pour tes pieds, et tu y pourras poser tes pieds luisants pendant les festins.

Dans tous ces textes, l'insistance sur la qualité du travail de l'artisan et la richesse de la décoration correspond parfaitement à ce que nous trouvons dans les inventaires de Pylos, au point de donner l'impression de continuité d'un genre littéraire. Le scribe et l'aède sont plus proches l'un de l'autre qu'on ne le croit d'habitude. Cette continuité est illustrée aussi par le fait que, chez Homère comme à Pylos, il ne s'agit pas d'un siège ordinaire, mais d'un fauteuil réservé à un personnage de haut rang.[17]

Si le dossier mycénien est clair du point de vue philologique,[18] il n'en va pas de même en ce qui concerne l'étymologie. Le seul élément incontestable,

[17] La relation entre les données mycéniennes et celles de l'épopée est signalée par R. Janko dans son commentaire du chant 14 de l'*Iliade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Cf. aussi la note d'A. Heubeck ad *Od.* 1. 130 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988): 'This type of chair is regularly offered to guests as a mark of honour', et celle de M. Fernández-Galiano ad *Od.* 21. 139 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). Voir aussi l'étude de J.-L. Perpillou mentionnée à la note suivante.

[18] Le composé *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (PY Fr 1222) contient probablement *θορνο-*, mais le second membre est discuté: relevé des interprétations *DMic* s.u., à quoi il faut ajouter les arguments qu'a donnés J.-L. Perpillou (1981: 227–8) en faveur de *θορνο-hελκτήριον* (le mot 'semble évoquer une circonstance dans laquelle ce type de siège était rituellement montré et pour cela tiré hors de son local habituel'). Le même auteur a proposé aussi (1981: 225–30) d'interpréter le terme discuté *e-to-ni-jo* (voir *DMic* s.u.) comme *ἐνθόρνιον*, 'privilège attaché à l'entrée dans des fonctions auxquelles peut être associée la notion de *θρόνος*: c'est un siège cérémoniel et son rôle paraît considérable dans le palais, symbole de pouvoir religieux ou temporel' (227). Il fait valoir en ce sens, outre le luxe d'ornementation de la série Ta de Pylos, les passages homériques où *θρόνος* se rapporte à un siège de rang honorifique élevé,

et sur lequel tout le monde s'accorde, est que l'alternance de *to-no* et de *to-ro-no°* correspond à celle de θόρναξ et de θρόνος. Pour en rendre compte, deux voies ont été proposées:

1. La majorité des auteurs admettent une métathèse, en posant comme forme ancienne θρόνος, qui contiendrait le même suffixe -ονο- que χρόνος 'temps' ou κλόνος 'tumulte'.[19] Mais Ferdinand de Saussure tenait au contraire la forme en θορ- pour la plus ancienne, du fait qu'il voyait dans ce nom du 'siège' le dérivé à degré *o* d'une racine i.-e. *d^h*er-* 'soutenir, (s')appuyer' (Saussure 1878: 77), et la forme mycénienne *to-no* inviterait à lui donner raison.

2. D'autres expliquent cette alternance en partant d'un ancien *θρ̥́νος: ainsi P. Wathelet et A. Heubeck, qui invoquent à l'appui de cette hypothèse les quelques cas de *correptio* chez Homère (par exemple dans la formule ‖ κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε #, 8× *Od.*),[20] et F. Bader, qui pour le type rapproche ὕπνος 'sommeil', dérivé en *-*no*- bâti sur le degré zéro **sup*- de la racine i.-e. **swep*- 'dormir' (Bader 1969: 34–5). Les termes du débat sont bien résumés par R. Viredaz:

> La double forme myc. *to-no* ⁺*thornos* . . ., cf. θόρναξ . . ., et grec alph. θρόνος, myc. *to-ro-no-* . . ., a été expliquée comme double traitement de **thŕ̥nos* . . . Toutefois il est aussi possible de partir de **thórnos* (< **dhr̥-no-*? **dhorə*$_2$*-no-*?), et d'expliquer alors la métathèse en θρόνο- par l'influence de ⁺*thrānus*, les deux mots étant souvent associés. (Viredaz 1983: 172).

Avons-nous des raisons de choisir entre ces différentes solutions? Il y a, me semble-t-il, des arguments décisifs qui obligent à renoncer à l'hypothèse d'un ancien *θρ̥́νος.[21] En ce qui concerne le dossier homérique, l'essentiel a été dit, voici près de quarante ans, par Arie Hoekstra dans un ouvrage classique dont les conclusions demeurent pleinement valides (Hoekstra

ce en quoi il se distingue de κλισμός (*Od.* 1. 130–2 est clair à cet égard).—L'interprétation de *to-ro-no-wo-ko* (KN As 1517) comme θρονο-ϝοργοί 'fabricants de sièges' a parfois été contestée, mais elle demeure de loin la meilleure (*DMic* s.u.). En revanche, *to-ni-ja* et *api to-ni-jo* ne semblent pas avoir de rapport avec ce groupe et restent obscurs (*DMic* s.u.).

[19] Ainsi *GEW* i. 686–7 (données mycéniennes iii. 107); *DELG* 442–3; Lejeune (1972: §138).—F. Bader (1969: 35) conteste avec raison l'usage parfois excessif que l'on a fait de ce suffixe -ονο- pour rendre compte de mots obscurs; la segmentation χρ-όνος est, de fait, quelque peu arbitraire. Il reste que les termes en question mériteraient un réexamen, mais cela dépasserait les limites de notre propos.

[20] Wathelet (1966: 165) (mais l'auteur n'envisage cette hypothèse qu'avec réserve); Heubeck (1971: 63–4 (données mycéniennes) et 78 (données homériques)).

[21] Sauf erreur de ma part, A. Morpurgo Davies ne cite pas θρόνος dans ses deux études sur le traitement de /r̥/. Je serais porté à y voir l'indice qu'elle exclut implicitement cette solution.

1965: 144–5). Sur les 53 exemples de θρόνος, la plupart sont à scander avec un groupe initial θρ- qui fait position, notamment dans une tournure visiblement formulaire comme ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου # (4×);[22] on relève aussi, dans le même sens, ‖ ἀπὸ θρόνου ὦρτο φαεινοῦ # (*Il.* 11. 665, cf. *Od.* 22. 364, avec une variante ὑπό), ‖ λίπε δὲ θρόνον (*Il.* 15. 124), ‖ ἐπὶ θρόνον (*Il.* 8. 442), et bien d'autres.[23] En regard de cette syllabation, les exemples de *correptio*, qui pour la plupart sont attestés dans l'*Odyssée*, ne semblent guère anciens. Mieux encore, un certain nombre d'entre eux pourraient attester indirectement la même syllabation *θόρνος que dans θόρναξ et myc. *to-no*. A. Hoekstra soutient en effet, après d'autres, l'idée que # σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ ‖ (*Il.* 8. 199) et # ἕζετο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ ‖ (*Il.* 15. 150) reposent sur le remaniement récent d'un plus ancien δ' ἐν θόρνῳ ‖.[24] Dans le même sens, C. Gallavotti fait remonter l'hémistiche formulaire ‖ κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε # (8× *Od.*) à un plus ancien ‖ κατὰ κλισμοὺς θόρνους τε #, ainsi dactylisé (Gallavotti 1968: 846).[25] Bien entendu, une telle manipulation du vers, parfaitement licite lorsque le *textus traditus* est aussi bizarre que εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, est impossible dans d'autres cas. Rien n'autorise, par exemple, à retrouver sous # ἐν δὲ θρόνοι περὶ τοῖχον ‖ (*Od.* 7. 95) un plus ancien ἐν θόρνοι, car la particule est nécessaire à la syntaxe; il en va de même pour # ἔς ῥα θρόνους (*Od.* 4. 51), et à plus forte raison pour # αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα θρόνους ‖ (*Od.* 22. 438 = 452). Ce sont là des exemples authentiques de *correptio*, mais nous avons la preuve tangible qu'ils appartiennent à la catégorie des abrègements récents. D'après mes propres décomptes, le seul passage de l'*Iliade* qui relève de ce type est *Il.* 15. 142 Ὣς εἰποῦσ' ἵδρυσε ‖ θρόνῳ ἔνι θοῦρον Ἄρηα, sous lequel on ne saurait sans arbitraire rétablir un plus ancien ἵδρυσεν ‖ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ (‖ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑), car il faudrait pour cela remplacer θοῦρον par un mot à initiale vocalique, ce qui, sans être impossible si l'on songe aux formules ὀξὺν Ἄρηα # et οὖλον Ἄρηα #, serait pousser un peu loin la réécriture du texte homérique. Mais ce vers se trouve au voisinage de *Il.* 15. 150 # ἕζετο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ ‖. A cela s'ajoute que la *correptio* est ici rendue possible par la césure; de l'aveu même de

[22] Le même syntagme θρόνου ἀργυροήλου # est précédé de ἰδὲ en *Od.* 22. 341; cf. aussi θῆκε θρόνον ἀργυρόηλον # en *Od.* 8. 65.—A. Heubeck a dû être égaré par quelque malin génie pour écrire: 'A form **thr̥nos* (but also *thronos*) would fit the verse-end formula θρόνος ἀργυρόηλος' (1971: 78); les meilleurs savants ne sont jamais à l'abri d'une distraction.

[23] J'exclus évidemment de ce relevé les exemples non pertinents du type de καλὸν θρόνον (*Il.* 14. 238) ou ἐς θρόνον (*Il.* 24. 553), etc.

[24] Hoekstra (1965: 145), avec référence à J. N. Lee, 'Some Vestigial Mycenaean Words in the *Iliad*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 6 (1959), 7.

[25] On pourrait être tenté d'ajouter (mais c'est nettement plus douteux) ‖ ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι θρόνοισι # (*Od.* 8. 422) < ‖ ὑψηλοῖς θόρνοισι (?), ou ‖ ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι θρόνοισι # (*Od.* 15. 408) < ξεστοῖς θόρνοισι (?), en admettant un syncrétisme ancien du locatif et de l'instrumental.

P. Wathelet, la licence métrique de l’abrègement se rencontre volontiers en cette position,[26] et rien par conséquent ne permet de restituer un plus ancien *θρ̥́νῳ. Il en va de même pour *Od.* 6. 308 *ἔνθα δὲ πατρὸς ἐμοῖο* || *θρόνος ποτικέκλιται αὐτῇ* ou *Od.* 10. 352 *τάων ἡ μὲν ἔβαλλε* || *θρόνοισ’ ἔνι ῥήγεα καλά*. C’est évidemment à partir de tels exemples que les aèdes se sont autorisés à pratiquer la *correptio* à l’intérieur d’un hémistiche, et cela dans l’*Odyssée* seulement. La conclusion, inéluctable, a déjà été tirée par A. Hoekstra. Sur ce point comme sur beaucoup d’autres, la langue épique se révèle composite. On est même en droit d’y voir un raccourci d’histoire, car elle atteste directement *θρόνος* (avec un groupe *θρ-* qui fait normalement position, exception faite des cas de *correptio*, qui appartiennent en l’occurrence à la couche la plus récente), et indirectement **θόρνος*, c’est-à-dire deux formes irréductibles l’une à l’autre. La comparaison avec myc. *to-no/to-ro-no°* montre que cette dualité est ancienne dans la langue.

De toute manière, quand bien même la *correptio* du groupe *θρ-* aurait un caractère ancien (ce qui, nous venons de le voir, n’est pas le cas), elle ne saurait être considérée à elle seule comme une preuve suffisante pour poser un */r̥/*. Il faudrait encore, pour cela, que la sonante-voyelle soit garantie par l’étymologie. Prenons le cas de *βροτός* ‘mortel’. Ce qui invite à rechercher une forme **μρ̥τός* sous les tours formulaires du type de # *ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης* || (3×) ‘le bouclier qui protège l’homme’ ou *δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι(ν)* # ‘aux malheureux mortels’ (6×, cf. *ἠδὲ βροτοῖσι* #, *πῆμα βροτοῖσι* #, *σῆμα βροτοῖο* ||, etc., ou encore *εὕδουσι βροτοὶ ἄλλοι* # < *εὕδουσι μμρ̥τοί* ou *εὕδουσιν μρ̥τοί*), c’est que l’étymon ainsi restitué est le répondant exact de arm. *mard* ‘homme’ (nom.-acc.) < **mr̥tos* (*-om*), gén. *mardoy* < **mr̥tosyo* (Wathelet 1966: 166–8);[27] de la même manière, l’expression # *νὺξ ἀβρότη* (*Il.* 14. 78) ‘nuit immortelle’ fournit la trace indirecte d’un composé **ἄμρ̥τος* qui forme une équation parfaite avec véd. *amŕ̥ta-* < i.-e. **n̥-mr̥to-*.[28] Ici encore, comme dans le cas de *ἀνρ̥-* < i.-e. **$h_2$nr̥-*, c’est la continuité entre le texte homérique et les données comparatives qui a valeur de preuve. Il faut donc voir ce qu’il en est, à cet égard, de *θρόνος*/

26 Wathelet (1966: 150–1) (mais sans mention de ce passage).

27 Le mot gréco-arménien **mr̥-tó-* ‘mortel’ procède lui-même de l’adj. verbal i.-e. **mr̥-tó-* ‘mort’ (véd. *mr̥tá-*), avec pour le sens une innovation qui est une isoglosse remarquable entre ces deux langues et qui est due à l’influence de l’antonyme **n̥-mr̥-to-* ‘immortel’ (voir de Lamberterie 1997: 73).

28 Voir le commentaire de R. Janko ad loc., avec histoire de la question.—L’existence du couple antonymique ‘mortel/immortel’ dans la préhistoire du grec (voir note précédente) est un argument de plus en faveur de cette analyse.

θόρνος, et notamment, puisque ces deux formes ne reposent pas sur un original commun, chercher à établir laquelle est la plus ancienne.[29]

Le rattachement de ce nom du 'siège' à la racine i.-e. *$*d^h er$- 'tenir, (s')appuyer, (se) fixer', qui est traditionnel, mérite certes d'être conservé, mais il est insuffisant si l'on s'en tient là et relève même, à la limite, de la 'Wurzeletymologie'. Il importe avant tout d'établir quelle est la situation à l'intérieur de la langue grecque, et à cet égard la seule chose claire est que *θρόνος* ne saurait être séparé de *θρᾶνυς*.[30] Nous avons vu que les deux mots étaient étroitement liés en mycénien de Pylos et dans l'épopée homérique. Mieux encore, *θρῆνυς* désigne chez Homère non seulement un 'tabouret de pied', mais aussi un 'banc de rameurs' (*Il.* 15. 729). Il est difficile de savoir d'où vient au juste la flexion en *-υ-* de ce mot (myc. nom. pl. *ta-ra-nu-we* /*θράνυες*/, PY Ta 721, Vn 46), mais elle semble, quoiqu'ancienne, être secondaire, car le mot *θρᾶνος*, de même flexion que *θρόνος*, est bien attesté dans la langue classique avec les acceptions de 'poutre transversale, planche en travers, banc, escabeau, chaise percée'.[31]

S'ils sont liés entre eux, ces deux mots *θρόνος*/*θόρνος* et *θρᾶνος*/*θρᾶνυς* sont, en revanche, isolés du reste de la langue: ils n'appartiennent pas à une famille étymologique et sont dénués d'assise verbale.[32] Au reste, d'une manière générale, seul l'indo-iranien semble avoir conservé des formes verbales primaires de la racine *$*d^h er$-;[33] ailleurs, on ne trouve que des for-

[29] Dans la discussion qui va suivre, je laisse de côté le mot *θρόνα* (n.pl.) 'ornements tissés d'une étoffe, fleurs', attesté une fois dans l'*Iliade* (22. 441), dont l'étymologie est inconnue et qui en tout cas paraît dénué de tout lien avec le nom du 'siège' (*GEW* i. 686; *DELG* 442). Les composés homériques et poétiques en °*θρονος* posent un problème philologique ardu, car on ne sait au juste s'ils procèdent de *θρόνος* ou de *θρόνα*. Sur cette question, qui ne nous retiendra pas ici car elle importe peu pour notre propos, et sur le sens exact de *θρόνα*, voir en dernier lieu Jouanna (1999).

[30] Voir *GEW* i. 678–9 et 686–7; *DELG* 439 et 442–3; *IEW* 252–4.

[31] Voir Chantraine (1933: 119).—Peut-on rapprocher la relation *θρᾶνος* : *θρᾶνυς* de *ἀπό* : *ἀπύ* (arc.-chypr., myc.), et considérer la finale de hom. *θρῆνυς* comme un mycénisme? Ce serait de loin la solution la plus simple, mais cela ne résout pas le problème de l'origine de *u*. Poser une alternance suffixale **-no-*/**-nu-* héritée de l'indo-européen ne serait pas exclu *a priori*, mais ce serait le type même de la solution de facilité. La question a-t-elle, tout compte fait, une si grande importance?

[32] Les témoignages que l'on a cherchés en ce sens se révèlent inconsistants, et sont bien cités comme tels par H. Frisk et P. Chantraine (réf. n. 30). La glose *ἐνθρεῖν· φυλάσσειν* (Hsch.) est bien loin pour le sens. L'infinitif *θρήσασθαι* qu'on a voulu comprendre comme 's'asseoir' chez un poète comique du IVe–IIIe s. est isolé et mal établi, au point que les fragments attribués jadis à cet auteur présumé, Philétas, ne sont pas retenus dans les *PCG* de R. Kassel et C. Austin (voir la note dans le t. vii (1989), 317). Quant au verbe *θρησκεύω* 'observer une loi religieuse' (Hdt.+), l'analyse en est douteuse et un découpage *θρη-σκεύω* est arbitraire, sans parler de la différence de sens (*GEW* i. 682; *DELG* 440). Il faut en outre voir dans *θρη-* un ionisme si l'on veut en rapprocher *θρᾱ-*, ce qui est un pur postulat.

[33] Voir *EWAia* i. 778–9 et *LIV* 145–6.

mations nominales isolées, du type de lat. *firmus* 'solide', etc. Sans prétendre procéder à un examen détaillé de cet ensemble, je me limiterai à nos deux substantifs. On s'accorde à considérer que *θρᾶνος* (-*υς*) repose sur une base lourde, que P. Chantraine pose comme **dhreə₂*-, en admettant qu'il s'agit là d'une 'autre structure radicale' que dans *θρόνος*, qu'il segmente en *θρ-όνος*. J. Pokorny, quant à lui, dérive *θρᾶνος* 'von der schweren Wurzelform', ce qui est juste, mais propose pour le nom du 'siège' un découpage *θρό-νος* évidemment irrecevable. En réalité, le lien étroit entre les deux termes invite au contraire à les expliquer en partant de la même base radicale, et dès lors une solution simple apparaît possible:[34] analyser *θρᾶνος* (-*υς*) comme une formation à degré zéro radical reposant sur i.-e. **d*^{h}*r̥h*$_2$-*no*- (et/ou *-*nu*-, s'il faut pour cette finale remonter plus haut que le grec, mais c'est là un point de peu d'importance), et *θόρνος* comme une formation à degré *o* **d*^{h}*or-no-* < **d*^{h}*orh*$_2$-*no*-, avec chute de la laryngale en vertu de l''effet Saussure'. Telles sont les deux formes héritées. Quant à la forme *θρόνος*, elle s'explique par une métathèse de *θόρνος* due à l'influence de *θρᾶνος* (-*υς*), en raison de la relation étroite entre le nom du 'banc' et celui du 'siège'. Cette mise en perspective s'accorde bien avec ce qu'enseignent les données philologiques, car il est patent que *θόρνος* et *θόρναξ* sont des formes résiduelles,[35] en regard de *θρόνος* qui est la forme vivante. Dans le composé **θ**ορ**νο-ϝ**ορ**γός* > *θρονο-ϝοργός* 'fabricant de sièges' (myc. *to-ro-no-wo-ko*), l'anticipation du -*ρ*- est due probablement à un fait d'ordre phonétique, ce qui a contribué aussi à généraliser ultérieurement la forme en -*ρο*- dans le simple.

Rappelons brièvement ce que l'on entend par l''effet Saussure'—j'emprunte cette expression, qui me paraît heureuse, à Alan J. Nussbaum (1997).[36] Il s'agit, au départ, d'une très brève note que l'on trouve dans la contribution de F. de Saussure aux *Mélanges Nicole*:

Le type *τόρ-νος* en regard de *τέρε-τρον* n'a pas à passer pour fortuit ou anormal, mais pour RÉGULIER (de même *βρον-τή* contre -*βρεμέ-της*, *ὄρφ-νη* contre *ἐρέφ-ω*, *ὄγκ-ος* contre *ἐνεκ-*, *τόλ-μα* contre *τελα-μών*, *πότ-μος* contre *πέτα-μαι*,

[34] Solution que R. Viredaz a entrevue pour *θρόνος* (1983: 172), mais en ne la mentionnant que comme une possibilité parmi d'autres et sans fournir d'analyse de *θρᾶνος* (-*υς*), alors que l'essentiel me paraît être précisément de proposer une étymologie qui puisse rendre compte des deux termes à la fois.—J'avais suggéré à D. Haug l'explication exposée ici, et il en a fait état dans une note de son ouvrage (2002: 58 n. 18), ce dont je le remercie.

[35] A propos de la glose hésychéenne *θόρναξ· ὑποπόδιον, ἢ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ, ἀπό τε θόρνακος Θορνάκιος Ἀπόλλων*, J.-L. Perpillou (1981: 228) remarque avec raison que 'cette mention renvoie au passé d'une Laconie non encore spartiate', et souligne le lien avec myc. *to-no* /*θόρνος*/.

[36] Si l'auteur parle d''effet' et non de 'loi', c'est évidemment parce que la 'loi de Saussure' renvoie, comme chacun sait, à tout autre chose (voir Collinge 1985: 149–52).

etc.). Ceci n'empêche pas des doublets, dûs aux réfections postérieures: tels *πότ-μος* et *ποτα-μός*, *ὄλμος* et *ὄλε-μος*. (Saussure 1905: 582 n. 2)

Ces quelques lignes n'auraient probablement eu que peu d'écho si Antoine Meillet, trois ans plus tard, ne les avait signalées dans le chapitre de ses *Dialectes indo-européens* consacré au 'traitement de *ə*', en y ajoutant d'autres exemples en grec même et en élargissant le phénomène à d'autres langues que le grec (Meillet 1922: 68–70). Acceptées plus tard par Hermann Hirt (on parle parfois de 'loi de Saussure–Hirt'), ces vues font partie depuis longtemps du bien commun des comparatistes, et cela d'autant plus qu'elles sont corroborées par des phénomènes du même ordre à l'initiale: il est bien connu, par exemple, que la 'prothèse vocalique' du grec fait souvent défaut dans les formations à degré *o*, ainsi dans *μοιχός* 'adultère' en regard de *ὀμείχω* 'faire de l'eau'. Je n'entreprendrai pas ici de retracer l'histoire de la question; une référence à l'excellent article d'A. Nussbaum dans la *Festschrift Beekes* m'en dispensera.[37] Et je ne poserai pas non plus le problème, pourtant essentiel, de savoir si la chute de la laryngale en cette position est une innovation du grec ou au contraire un héritage indo-européen. Ce problème est d'ailleurs lié à celui, plus général, de savoir comment se comportent dans cet environnement les différents dialectes indo-européens: la réponse n'est pas donnée d'avance.[38]

L'un des exemples qui appartiennent en propre à Meillet dans l'ouvrage que je viens de citer est celui de *πόρνη* (Archil.+) 'prostituée', sous la forme d'une ligne laconique: '*πόρνη* "meretrix" : *ἐπέρασσα*, *πιπρᾱ́σκω*' (Meillet 1922: 68). L'idée a été souvent acceptée par la suite,[39] mais elle ne fait pas l'unanimité. H. Frisk laisse le choix entre deux solutions, celle du degré *o* et celle du degré zéro (avec *-ορ-* comme traitement de /r̥/), qui vient d'E. Schwyzer; quant à P. Chantraine, il opte résolument pour le degré zéro.[40] Que le nom grec de la 'prostituée' se relie au verbe 'vendre'

[37] Nussbaum 1997 (avec référence pp. 181–2 à l'ouvrage classique de Beekes 1969, où la question est abordée pp. 238–42, 254 et *passim*). Cf. aussi, dans le même volume de la *Festschrift Beekes*, Rasmussen (1997: 260–1, avec des vues personnelles sur le statut de *o*), et Ruijgh (1997*b*: 277).

[38] Dans l'article signalé, A. Nussbaum, à la suite de Meillet, a reconnu de bons exemples de l''effet Saussure' dans les langues italiques; pour le balto-slave, en revanche, il semble qu'il n'en aille pas de même (Lindeman 1997: 193–4). Il faut d'ailleurs distinguer plusieurs cas de figure. Le fait qu'il n'y ait pas de dégagement d'une voyelle dans cet environnement n'empêche pas qu'il puisse y avoir un reflet de la laryngale (par exemple sous la forme d'une intonation rude en balto-slave, ou d'absence de l'allongement Brugmann en indo-iranien).

[39] Ainsi Beekes (1969: 239–40); Nussbaum (1997: 182); Ruijgh (1997*b*: 277); Lindeman (1997: 193).

[40] *GEW* i. 581 (avec bibl.); *DELG* 888. Pourtant, dans sa *Formation des noms*, P. Chantraine retenait l'autre solution (1933: 193).

n'est guère contestable, si l'on songe que chez Homère ce verbe s'applique surtout au trafic des esclaves. Mais comme le verbe repose sur une structure apophonique *περᾰ-/πρᾱ-* < i.-e. **perh₂-/pr̥h₂-*, le seul reflet possible d'une formation à degré zéro serait **πρᾱ́-νᾱ*, ce qui donne raison à Meillet.[41] Il faut donc partir d'un substantif abstrait **πορνᾱ́* 'trafic' < i.-e. **por-nā́-* < **porh₂-néh₂-*, du type de *ποινή* (< **kʷoi-nā́-*) 'prix à payer', qui a désigné secondairement la 'femme objet de trafic', avec la remontée de l'accent qui accompagne le passage de l'abstrait au concret. On notera, au passage, le voisinage lexical de ces deux mots qui appartiennent au vocabulaire du commerce; c'est une raison de plus pour y voir les représentants de la même classe dérivationnelle.[42]

Comme exemple de coexistence du degré zéro et du degré *o* dans une formation en **-no-*, on rappellera qu'en regard de *ὕπνος* 'sommeil' (< i.-e. **sup-no-*, cf. v.sl. *sŭnŭ*), l'arménien, qui est la langue la plus proche du grec à l'intérieur de la famille indo-européenne, a *kʿun* < **swop-no-*:[43] arm. *kʿun* est à *ὕπνος* dans le même rapport qu'en grec même *θόρνος* à *θρᾶνος* (*-υς*). Le même phénomène se constate aussi dans d'autres formations suffixales. L'un des meilleurs exemples est celui qu'a mis en évidence A. Nussbaum, à savoir gr. *οὖλος/ὅλος*, skr. *sárva-*, lat. *sollo-* 'entier' < i.-e. **sól-wo-* < **sólh₂-wo-* (avec 'effet Saussure') en regard de lat. *salvus*, osq. *salavs* 'sain et sauf' < ital. **salavos* < i.-e. **sl̥h₂-wó-* (Nussbaum 1997: 186–92). Il resterait à justifier ces différences de vocalisme, mais ce n'est pas le lieu ici d'aborder cet immense problème. Je me bornerai, en conclusion, à observer qu'en ce qui concerne les noms du 'siège' et du 'banc', l'essentiel avait été dit par F. de Saussure dans deux passages du *Mémoire*: '*θρόνος* est la métathèse de **θόρνος* assuré par *θόρναξ· ὑποπόδιον, Κύπριοι* Hés. sur la racine *θερ*', et 'nous avons vu . . . que *θρόνος* pour **θόρνος* appartient à la racine *θερ*, non à *θρᾱ* (*θρᾶνος*)' (Saussure 1878: 77, 101). Cela laissait subsister une difficulté quant à la relation formelle entre deux mots si proches l'un de l'autre, mais la brève note des *Mélanges Nicole* permet de ramener ces deux bases radicales à l'unité. Anna Morpurgo Davies, qui est, comme nous le savons tous,

41 Sur la forme et le sens du verbe, voir en dernier lieu Lamberterie (2000: 128–9). Je pense que P. Chantraine s'est laissé abuser par la ressemblance extérieure du nom *πόρνη* avec les formes dialectales (éoliennes) du verbe que sont *πορνάμεν· πωλεῖν* et *πορνάμεναι· πωλούμεναι* (Hsch.), formes qui reflètent bien, quant à elles, un authentique degré zéro, en regard de *πέρνημι* qui doit son vocalisme radical à l'influence de l'aor. *ἐπέρασ(σ)α*.

42 Le substantif **kʷoi-nā́-* pourrait d'ailleurs être lui aussi un exemple de l''effet Saussure', si l'on songe que lit. *káina* 'prix' a une intonation rude et qu'en grec même la base *τῑ-* de *τῑμή* atteste une racine *seṭ*. Mais on pose d'ordinaire deux racines, une racine *aniṭ* signifiant '(faire) payer' et une racine *seṭ* signifiant 'honorer' (ainsi *DELG* 925 et 1119–21). Peut-être faudrait-il reconsidérer le dossier, mais cela dépasserait les limites de notre propos.

43 Voir Meillet (1936: 19 et *passim*); Schindler (1966).

l'un des meilleurs connaisseurs de la linguistique du xixe siècle, ne me contredira certes pas si je rappelle tout le profit que l'on peut tirer, aujourd'hui encore, de la lecture de Saussure:[44] pour présumer, en 1878, l'existence d'un substantif *θόρνος* qui devait être identifié trois quarts de siècle plus tard grâce au génie de M. Ventris, il fallait le même don de divination que pour attribuer à l'indo-européen les fameux 'coefficients sonantiques' dont le déchiffrement du hittite a confirmé plus tard la réalité.

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44 Voir Morpurgo Davies (1996: 331–3), où l'importance du *Mémoire* est soulignée à juste titre.

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17

Zu griechisch τῡρός 'Käse'

Michael Meier-Brügger

Das griech. Wort τῡρός ist bereits mykenisch in Pylos belegt (*DMic* ii. 379). Die Schreibweise *tu-ro*$_2$ weist auf ein myk. *tūrró-* bzw. älter *tūri̯ó-* (Ruipérez 1972: 257). Die daraus entwickelte alphabetgriech. Form *tūró-* ist regelhaft, vgl. etwa ὀλοφύρομαι (seit Homer: *LfgrE* s.v.) 'klagen, jammern' mit *-ūr-* < **-ŭri̯-* (Lejeune 1972: 155) (in den Dialekten außer dem Lesbischen und dem Thessalischen schwindet bei den Konsonantengruppen *-ri̯-* und *-li̯-* das *i̯*, ein davor stehendes *e*, *i* oder *u* wird gelängt (ein bereits langer Vokal bleibt natürlich lang!)).

Mit τῡρός wird seit Homer ein 'Topfenkäse' bezeichnet (Kroll 1919; Richter 1968: H64; Gutsfeld 1999; Auberger 2000).

Man hat längst gesehen, dass das avestische Neutrum *tū*^{i}*ri-* 'käsig gewordene Milch, Molke' und das dazu gehörige av. Adjektiv *tū*^{i}*riia-* 'käsig geworden, verkäst' mit τῡρός zusammenzustellen sind (Bartholomae 1904: 656). Das alphabetgriech. τῡρός ist zwar, wie wir jetzt wissen, aus **tūri̯ó-* entstanden, es sieht aber nach der Beseitigung des *i̯* wie ein *-o*-stämmiges **tūró-* aus. Und von diesem angeblichen **tūró-* musste die ältere Forschung notgedrungen auch ausgehen, vgl. Frisk, *GEW* ii. 948 s.v.: 'mit aw. *tū*^{i}*ri-*... bis auf die Stammbildung ... identisch'. Und: Auch nach der Entzifferung des Myk. wird das alphabetgriech. τῡρός z.T. weiterhin als **tūró-* gesehen und das myk. *tūri̯ó-* als dazu gebildetes Diminutiv betrachtet (so Lejeune 1972: 156). Misslich ist bei dieser Annahme aber, dass die reguläre Form der Diminutiva nicht *-i̯ó-*, sondern *-ii̯o-* lautet und dass die Diminutiva erst nachhomerisch im 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr. geläufig geworden sind (Chantraine 1933: 65), ferner, dass es nicht einzusehen ist, warum das Myk. gerade das Diminutiv, das Alphabetgriech. dagegen die normale Form verwenden sollte. Die ganze Argumentation gegen die Annahme von Lejeune auch bei Ruijgh (1977: 536; vgl. auch Chantraine 1999: 1147).

Die Folgerung, auch das alphabetgriech. τῡρός als aus **tūri̯ó-* entwickelt zu sehen, hat sich inzwischen aber durchgesetzt, vgl. bereits Frisk, *GEW* iii s.v. mit Bezug auf Ruijgh (1967: §238 p. 275 mit Anm. 22): 'Wegen

myk. *tu-ro₂* will Ruijgh . . . *τυρός* auf **τυρι̯ός* (=aw. *tūirya-*) zurückführen; sehr wohl möglich'. Die direkte Gleichsetzung von griech. **τυρι̯ός* mit av. *tūiriia-* stammt so von Frisk. Ihr ist voll zuzustimmen. In der Diskussion aber bleibt weiterhin die Beurteilung des griech. und av. Wortausganges *-i̯ó-*, vgl. Ruijgh a.O.: '*τῡρyός* peut s'expliquer comme forme thématique de **tūri-*'. Die Thematisierung der griech. und av. Form ist wohl richtig gesehen, sie bedarf aber einer Begründung.

Weiter führt hier die morphologische Analyse des Fachterminus *λοῦσσον* (Theophrast) 'weißer Kern im Tannenholz'. Dieser lässt sich einleuchtend aus **lou̯ki̯-ó-* verstehen und stellt die *-o*-Ableitung vom *-i*-stämmigen Abstraktum **lou̯ki-* im Sinne von 'Weiße habend' dar, s. Nussbaum (1999: 403); Balles (1997: 162 mit Anm. 44); referierend Meier-Brügger (2002: 288). Wie Frau Balles zeigt, ist eine kleine, aber konsistente Gruppe von weiteren *-o*-Ableitungen von *-i*-stämmigen Basen aus der Indogermania zu nennen, aus dem Griech. u.a. *καινός* (seit Homer) 'neu' < **kn̥i̯-ó-* mit einem **kn̥i̯-*, das mit dem indoiranischen Abstraktum **kani-* 'Lebensabschnitt der Jugend' (der Versuch der Bedeutungsangabe stammt von mir) zu vergleichen ist (Mayrhofer, *EWAia* i. 298). Ein weiteres schönes Beispiel kenne ich von A. J. Nussbaum. Er hat es 2001 in seinem Berliner Blockseminar verwendet. Die Tierbezeichnung *χοῖρος* (sicher seit Homer; der vor kurzem in Theben bekannt gewordene myk. Beleg *ko-ro* ist umstritten) 'Ferkel, junges Schwein' lässt sich auf **ghóri̯-o-* im Sinn von '**ghóri-* = Borsten habend' zurückführen. Die ganze Gruppe dieser *-o*-Ableitungen zu *-i*-Stämmen mit Ausgang *-i̯o-* sind in der bisherigen Forschung meist nicht adäquat beurteilt worden, vgl. das Sammelsurium bei Risch (1974: 166–7).

Problemlos lässt sich nun im Anschluss an **lou̯ki̯-ó-* auch griech. und av. **tūri̯-ó-* im Sinn von '**tūri-* habend, aus **tūri-* bestehend = käsig geworden, verkäst = Käse' anreihen. Ich habe diese meine Analyse ohne Platz für weitere Erläuterungen in Meier-Brügger (2002: 287) in der Tabelle angedeutet. Das direkt im Avestischen so belegte Basiswort **tūri-* ist vermutlich ein *-i*-Abstraktum zu einem *-ro*-Adjektiv **tū-ro-*. In **tū-* liegt vermutlich die schwundstufige Verbalwurzel **teu̯h₂-* (s. M. Kümmel in *LIV*² 639) 'schwellen, stark werden' vor, s. die Hinweise bei Frisk, *GEW* ii. 948 (weit verbreitete, aber nicht allgemein anerkannte Ansicht seit F. Solmsen). Das *-ro*-Adjektiv **tū-ró-* bzw. älter **tuh₂-ró-* ist dann mit uridg. **ḱuh₁-ró-* (von uridg. **ḱu̯eh₁-* 'anschwellen', wozu M. Kümmel in *LIV*² 339; = ved. *śū́-ra-* 'stark, mächtig, heldenhaft; Held, Krieger', s. Mayrhofer, *EWAia* ii. 650–1 mit dem weiteren, auch griech. Material wie *ἄ-κῡρος* 'ohne Rechtskraft' und Ableitung *κύριος*) und mit uridg. **u̯iH-ró-* (= ved. *vīrá-*

'kraftvoller Mann, Held', s. Mayrhofer, *EWAia* ii. 569–7 mit dem weiteren Material) zu vergleichen.

Anna Morpurgo ist eine Meisterin guter Argumentation. Ich schätze ihre zahlreichen Arbeiten zur griechischen Sprachwissenschaft über alles und widme ihr diese hier vorgetragene Einsicht in den morphologischen Bau des griechischen, avestischen und wohl auch bereits grundsprachlichen Käsewortes **tuh₂ri̯-ó-*, um ihr das Ausscheiden aus dem aktiven Dienst in Oxford etwas abzufedern.

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18

Two Mycenaean Problems

Torsten Meißner

1 Introduction

One of the remarkable features of Mycenaean is the fact that on a number of occasions identical lexical items or comparable morphological formations are found in two different written forms. Often these can be explained on the basis of our knowledge of the writing system, such as the alternation between *ke-se-ne-wi-jo*, *ke-se-ni-wi-jo*, and *ke-se-nu-wi-jo*, all rendering /*ksenwijos*/, showing varying syllabification and the use of a 'dead' vowel respectively. Similarly, *to-ra-ka* and *to-ra* both render /t^h*ōrāks*/, showing the facultative rendering of a stop in the coda of a syllable. Sometimes, however, the oscillation cannot easily be explained with reference to the vagaries of the graphic system. In what follows, two such cases will be discussed.

2 re-ke-(e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo

On the olive-oil tablets from Pylos, the names for two Mycenaean festivals, formed with a suffix *-te-ri-jo*, are found: *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (one attestation) and *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo*.[1] While the interpretation of the former is still disputed,[2] the meaning of the latter seems clear, but it too presents difficulties as it is also found written as *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo*. Thus PY Fr 1217 reads

.1 e-ra$_3$-wo, pa-ko-we, we-ja-re-pe[
.2 re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo
.3 pa-ki-ja-na-de OLE+*A* V 1

Oil, sage-scented, for perfuming [or similar], at/for the *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* festival, to *pa-ki-ja-na*.

I am grateful to John Killen and Olga Tribulato for helpful comments.

[1] Some used to think that *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo*, occurring only on PY Fr 1222, was a shrine rather than a festival (see *Docs*[2] p. 482), but the parallelism of the formation as well as the now almost certain interpretation of *wa-na-so-i* as a place name (rather than as a personal name or title) render this unlikely.

[2] See *DMic* s.v.

The shorter form occurs on PY Fr 343:

.a e-ti-we,
po-]se-da-o-ne re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo OLE[

For Poseidon at the *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo* festival *e-ti-we*-type oil.

The tablets are written by two different scribes, S1217 and 'hand 4' respectively. That the festival is the same is self-evident, and supported by the fact that the tablets belong to the same set. Whether or not *e-ti-we* refers to a scent[3] or perhaps colour,[4] sage-scented and *e-ti-we*-type oil are compatible with each other, as is shown by Fr 1224:

.a pa-ko-we, e-ti-we
pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no, po-se-da-o-ne OLE+*PA* Z 2

In the month of Pakianios for Poseidon sage-scented, *e-ti-we*-type oil.

Thus it cannot be excluded that the two tablets Fr 1217 and 343 refer to the very same occasion.

The reading of this festival name as *lek^{h}estrōtērion* and its interpretation as 'the spreading of the bed/couch', for which Latin *lectisternium* seems to furnish a parallel that is almost too good to be true, are relatively uncontroversial. The Latin festival is very ancient, having been performed for the first time in 399 BC in order to avert a plague; this happened on the advice found in the *libri Sibyllini*, and the Latin parallel may, in fact, even be a loan translation of the Greek term. As nothing remains of the Sibylline books, however, this must remain speculative.

What is evident is that the Greek term is structured just like the Latin one, containing the word for 'bed', λέχος, and a second element -στρω-τήριον from the root **sterh$_3$-* 'to spread, scatter'.[5] What is not clear, however, is why the word is spelt in two different ways. Scribal error cannot ultimately be ruled out, but as the word is found only in the two attestations quoted above, such an assumption is quite disingenuous and unsatisfactory. In order to explain the oscillation, several proposals have been put forward:

(*a*) The first is that there were two variant forms of the second member, namely -στρωτήριον and a prefixed form -εν-στρωτήριον or -εσ-στρωτήριον.[6] But apart from general doubts about the use of a prefixed

[3] Bennett (1958: 19 *et passim*); Foster (1974: 147).

[4] Cf. ἔρτις· κρημνός, i.e. 'purple dye'.

[5] See *LIV*[2] 599–60.

[6] See *DMic* ii. 238 for references.

verb ἐν-/ἐσ-στόρνυμι in composition,[7] it seems very unlikely that the festival should have had two different names.

(*b*) More ingenious is the suggestion that the seemingly aberrant *re-ke-e* should be interpreted as a dual form λέχε(*h*)ε.[8] In support of this, one could argue that in the Latin festival the images of the gods were put on the couch in pairs, but it is far from certain that this also implies the existence of two beds, and even if this were the case, it would be unparalleled to find a dual form as a first member of a compound.[9]

(*c*) The interpretation that seems to have found the most favour[10] was proposed by Lejeune himself (1963: 374): *re-ke* and *re-ke-e* represent λεχεσ- and λεχεει- respectively. The former would be a regular compositional stem form for an *s*-stem, type Homeric ἐγχέσπαλος,[11] the latter a dative, and Lejeune expressedly referred to the locative form ὀρει- found in later compounds. But again this proposal meets with some difficulties: ὀρει- as a first member of a compound does not occur in Homer, and where it is found, the locative form is usually justified by the sense of the compound, as in Pindar's ὀρειδρόμος 'running on the hills'; only the formation ὀρείχαλκος 'mountain-copper' (Hes.+) shows a freer usage of ὀρει- as a compositional form. But there is an important difference: ὀρεί-χαλκος can be explained as an analogical spreading due to the frequent usage of this word in the locative (sg. and pl.) in compounds. For λέχος this is a priori much more unlikely, and indeed a first member λεχει- is nowhere to be found; the common expression στορέσαι λέχος (*Il.*+) finally makes it clear that a locative would be syntactically unsuitable. There is also a morphological difficulty here, since dative/locative forms of *s*-stems in Mycenaean routinely prefer the ending *-i*, while *-ei* is not just extremely rare but limited to place names (cf. *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* if the latter, as seems probable, contains the word ἄγκος). A dative/locative *re-ke-e-* would thus be morphologically suspicious, especially since it is likely not to be the original first member of the compound.

Consequently, none of the proposed interpretations seems to be entirely convincing. In principle, an explanation that does not assume the existence of two different formations but reduces the variation to phonetic factors would be preferable. Let us first consider what seems—without

[7] Cf. Lejeune (1971: 374): 'Mais ce *λεχε-ενστρώτηριον [*sic*] n'est pas convaincant; ce n'est guère l'usage du grec de présenter en composition des seconds termes préverbés.'

[8] Originally put forward by Palmer: see *DMic* ii. 238.

[9] Cf. again Lejeune (1971: 373): 'aucun composé grec n'a jamais présenté, en fin de premier terme, une désinence de cas direct à quelque nombre que ce soit'.

[10] See again *DMic* ii. 238.

[11] See Risch (1974: 218).

further justification—to be taken as the regular form, *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo*. There is actually no agreement as to what the shape of the first member is. Some (e.g. *Docs*^{2} p. 582) read λεχε-, others, such as Lejeune (above), λεχεσ-. In fact, a survey of compounds with an *s*-stem as their first member shows that the compositional form in -εσ- occurs only when the second member begins with a stop. A form *λεχεσ-στρωτήριον would have been reduced to λεχεστρωτήριον, like δυστηνός < *δυσ-στηνός.[12] The connection with στορέσαι was still felt, as is shown by the frequent στορέσαι λέχος, and therefore λεχε- was regarded as the first member.[13] In post-Mycenaean Greek, only one compound in λεχε- before a consonant is found, λεχε-ποίη(ς). λεχε-ποίης, epithet of the River Asopus, was taken by Risch (1974: 190 n. 9) as a verbal governing compound (of the type φερέοικος) 'im Gras lagernd', despite the fact that it is very unusual—though admittedly not entirely without parallels—for the nominal second member not to be the direct object of the verbal first member. Also, it seems likely that **leg*^{h}- is 'sich hinlegen' rather than 'liegen, lagern',[14] and this is confirmed by λέχεται· κοιμᾶται (Hesychius). Taken as a verbal compound, λεχε-ποίη(ς) therefore should mean 'sich ins Gras legend', and this is quite unsuitable as an epithet for a river. It is perhaps more likely that λεχε-ποίης is in origin a bahuvrihi compound 'for whom the meadow is the bed', i.e. 'having a grassy bed'. No other compounds of the word for 'bed' with a second member beginning with a consonant are attested, and neither λεχεσ- nor λεχο- is ever found. It would thus appear, remarkably, that λεχε- is in fact the standard compositional form of the word for 'bed', beginning life in Myc. *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo*.

On the other hand, it must have been clear that a segmented λεχε- was unusual. It could easily have been remodelled on the basis of the living Myc. paradigm, i.e. to λεχε*h*-, and I would suggest that *re-ke-e* can be interpreted as a conscious attempt to write just this: the scribe used -*e*- in order to render *h*, with *e* as a dead vowel, just as in *wa-na-ka* for *wanaks* etc. If it is unusual to find this for a sound that is not a stop, the spelling *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* had the additional advantage of clearly marking graphically the morpheme boundary in the compound. If correct, this would also demonstrate that intervocalic *h* was still very much pronounced and in all

[12] Quite possibly 'Ορέστης in Leukart's ingenious interpretation as < *ὀρεσ-στας (1994: 121 and 157–8) also belongs here. As Leukart points out (157 n. 77), later spellings like αρισστος do not affect this but rather show a syllabification ..*s.t*.. with a syllable boundary between simple *s* and *t*.

[13] Apart from common compositional forms of *s*-stem nouns in -εσ- and -ο-, cf. also Homeric Σθενέ-λαος.

[14] See *LIV*^{2} 398.

likelihood a phoneme and not just a glide, at least at Pylos, where spellings like *ke-re-a*$_2$ are at any rate regular. Rather than indicating two different formations or a stem vs. a case form as the first member, the oscillation between *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo* and *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* shows nothing more than two different stem forms, one that resulted from regular sound change, the other owing its existence to remodelling from the paradigm.[15]

3 po-ne-to

While Mycenaean nominal morphology is reasonably transparent, relatively little is known for certain about the Mycenaean verb, owing to the few verbal forms attested. Where they are attested, they often present considerable problems. One such problem became apparent recently as a result of Killen's new reading and interpretation of PY Eq 36 (Killen 1999: 343–4). He takes the phrase *po-ne-to-qe-mi* as *ponē̆toi k*^{w}*e min* 'and he works it' and notes that there are three possibilities for what the spelling actually represents:

(*a*) athematic *ponētoi* much like the type Aeolic φίλημι. However, Killen notes Schwyzer's opinion (1938: 729) that this type arose as a post-Mycenaean analogy after the type τίμαμι. But it should not be overlooked that the denominative type φίλημι is not necessarily comparable to the iterative/intensive formation πονέομαι vs. primary πένομαι; García-Ramón (1975: 53) sets these verbs, with good reason, apart from the denominatives.

(*b*) *ponĕtoi*, 'viz. if the *ē* of φίλημι is due to analogy, what was presumably the form of the athematic before lengthening'. This seems very difficult from a morphological point of view and is unlikely.

(*c*) thematic *ponētoi* with *ē* resulting from the contraction of *ĕ* + *ĕ*. Killen ends his discussion by stating that it does not seem possible to decide once and for all between these possibilities. If his interpretation of *po-ne-to-qe-mi* is correct, then clearly (*c*) is a very attractive option. Killen himself notes the contrast with the clearly thematic *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* and argues

15 *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo/re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* may not be the only such oscillation, but it is by far the most clear-cut one. Cf. also *ka-na-a-po* on KN V (2) 7510, which may be the same personal name as]*ka-na-po* on KN V (4) 5536. 2; but this is very uncertain for obvious reasons and the name is not clear in its formation or interpretation. *a-te-re-e-te-jo* on PY Tn 996. 1 may be a variant of *a-te-re-te-a* on KN So 849. 1, but again this is uncertain and even if correct, the same interpretation as put forward above may hold good. Interestingly, it seems that]-*we-e-a*$_2$ on PY Xn 872. 2 (now known to be part of the same tablet as PY Un 853) may have to be read as *pa-we-e-a*$_2$ and not as *we-we-e-a*$_2$; but again this is not certain. If right, we may be faced either with a very unusual spelling of *pa-we-a*$_2$ or with a regularly formed adjective of material from *pa-wo*. I am grateful to J. Killen for pointing out these variant spellings and new reading to me.

that *(q)e-jo* is a historical spelling for what was actually pronounced /*eo*/ and that contraction may have taken place between two like vowels /*ee*/ but not between two unlike vowels. This is a distinct possibility and there is no evidence to the contrary.

It is worth looking at the scenario in a wider context. From a comparative point of view, of course, a thematic inflexion would be expected for an iterative deverbative formation. Yet it is well known that in a number of Greek dialects, at least Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot, vocalic verbs follow the athematic inflexion; and in Mycenaean itself the much-discussed 3rd sg. *te-re-ja* and inf. *te-re-ja-e* may point in the same direction. In Aeolic, at least, this includes the iterative class: cf. φορήμεθα Alc. 208a. 4.[16] It seems that Mycenaean holds the key for the explanation of this development. Ignoring the present of these verbs because of the uncertain history and distribution of the endings of the 2nd sg. in -εις and in particular of the 3rd sg. in -ει,[17] and concentrating instead on the pragmatically frequent imperfect, using the principles of contraction set up in the interpretation of *po-ne-to*, we can establish the following paradigm:

1st sg.	/(e)p^{h}oreyon/ > /(e)p^{h}oreyon/
2nd sg.	/(e)p^{h}oreyes/ > /(e)p^{h}orēs/
3rd sg.	/(e)p^{h}oreye/ > /(e)p^{h}orē/

One need not reconstruct beyond the sg. to realize that this is an odd-sounding paradigm, oscillating between the clearly thematic *-eyon* and seemingly athematic *-ēs* etc., comparable to the equally non-ablauting type (ἐ)μάνην, -ης etc., and probably also by this stage to the type (ἐ)τίμας (< τίμαμι). Mycenaean thus shows precisely the split paradigm from which Aeolic, Arcado-Cypriot, and possibly some Doric dialects developed the largely athematic, and the remaining dialects the thematic, inflexion of this class.[18]

16 Thematic ποτέονται in Alc. 322 is a direct loan from Homer; Lesbian otherwise only has πόταμαι (see Hock 1972: 76 and Blümel 1982: 173 and n. 175). Late Cypriot has seemingly thematic *u-na-po-re-i* in *ICS* 231. 2 (Kafizin), which may be a rethematization or else a *Mischbildung* (see Thumb and Scherer 1959: 169). In any case, it is not usable as evidence (see also Hock 1972: 279–80); otherwise evidence from Arcado-Cypriot for this verb class is completely lacking.

17 Hock (1972: 495 *et passim*) points out the important fact that the present 3rd sg. of the 'Aeolic' inflexion never shows the expected reflexes of the athematic ending *-*ti* but instead looks thematic. But it is unclear whether this points to an incomplete 'athematization' or whether the athematic ending could have been *-∅ (as in Myc. *te-re-ja*?), for which inscriptional ποίη and ὄρη in Theocr. 30. 22 have been quoted, but both are very uncertain (cf. Hock 1972: 157 ff.).

18 I mention in passing that the athematic inflexion of this type is found only in those

The question then is how this fits in with *te-re-ja*, *te-re-ja-e*. The interpretation of these denominal forms is difficult. Either our contraction has already affected /a/ + /e/ in Mycenaean—in which case these forms could actually be thematic and would have nothing to do with the problem under discussion (but this may be overstretching the point)—or, as is commonly assumed, they are athematic (but with the same infinitive ending found also in thematic verbs), either as an inherited feature or having perhaps been influenced by the ancient athematic formations in *-(*n*)*āmi*.[19] Whatever the case, the distribution of forms in Mycenaean Greek gives excellent support to the long-developed theory[20] that the athematic inflexion in the denominal verbs of the type *τίμαμι* and the rarer type *στεφάνωμι* is a Common Greek archaism while the type in *-ημι* developed much later, and the analogy invoked for this was aided by contracted *po-ne-to*.[21]

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dialects that do not show a difference between the outcome of inherited *-*ē*- and that of a contraction of *-*ĕ*- + *-*ĕ*- which may have served as a further motivation for the athematization: here *ἐφόρη* and *ἐμάνη* ended in the same vowel.

[19] Homeric 3rd sg. *δαμνᾷ* (*Od*. 11. 221) is no help: the Alexandrian reading *δάμνα* may well be correct, and even if not, it would only show the thematization of an old athematic verb—something that could even be invoked, *à la rigueur*, for Myc. *te-re-ja*, *te-re-ja-e*.

[20] See García-Ramón (1975: 53) and in particular Hock (1972: 246–7) (with further references), who has shown that in the Thessaliotis the thematic inflexion of the *e*-verbs is an archaism while in the Pelasgiotis and Perrhaebia it seems to have been replaced by the athematic inflexion. Hock does not, however, distinguish between iterative formations and *e*-verbs of other origins.

[21] And possibly instrumentative formations in *-*ēmi* (cf. Jasanoff 1978: 123 ff.), though at least the present of such formations, if they can be postulated for early Greek, was clearly on the way out.'

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19

On Some Greek *nt*-Formations

Martin Peters

In the revised version of my Ph.D. thesis I followed the claim made by members of the Erlangen School and, most notably, Helmut Rix that in PIE *nt*-participles built on athematic non-Narten root presents or root aorists simply inflected the hysterokinetic way, i.e. added the *e*-grade variant of the suffix **-ent-* to the zero grade of the verbal root in the strong cases, and the zero grade of the suffix **-n̥t-* to the very same zero grade of the root in the weak cases (Peters 1980: 24–5).[1] Reasonable as such a view might seem at first sight, since it is capable of explaining why it is the zero grade of the root that regularly shows up in *nt*-participles of a non-Narten pedigree,[2] I abandoned it immediately upon the publication of my monograph, and this was mostly due to a careful (re)reading of Anna Morpurgo's seminal contribution to the *Étrennes . . . Lejeune* (Morpurgo Davies 1978). The general lesson to be learnt from this gem of hers is that participial stems in **-ont-* (such as, for example, from PIE *h_1*es-* 'to be' Mycenaean *e-o* /*e*(*h*)*ōn*/, (-)*e-o-te* /(-)*e*(*h*)*ontes*/, Common [non-Attic alphabetic] Greek ἐόντ-, Lat. *sōns* 'guilty') that alternate with forms having **-ent-* instead of **-ont-* (such as, for example, from the very same root *h_1*es-* Aeolic and Doric ἐντ-) are to be judged *lectiones difficiliores*, since the presence of variants in **-ent-* can easily be attributed to an analogical reshaping on the model of related 3rd pl. indicative/injunctive forms ending in **-ent*(*i*).[3] Accordingly, since I

[1] As for the *nt*-participles built on Narten paradigms, I obviously had no doubts about a non-ablauting **ĝerh*$_2$*-n̥t*-type inflexion later in that book (Peters 1980: 193–4 n. 149).

[2] Remarkably, this view is still upheld in Stefan Schaffner's most valuable monograph on the traces of Verner's Law to be detected in Proto-Germanic noun inflexion (Schaffner 2001: 611 ff.; there he also shares my former views (see n. 1) about the formation and inflexion of *nt*-participles belonging to Narten paradigms).

[3] In this respect Anna Morpurgo was preceded by Jerzy Kuryłowicz (1968: 269), as she acknowledges, and also by Raimo Anttila (1970: 172) and Alan J. Nussbaum (1976: 252 n. 27), while later on she was explicitly followed by Michael Meier-Brügger (1999: 519), and implicitly by Alfred Bammesberger (1981: 290 n. 10; 1984: 15–16) and C. J. Ruijgh (1992: 459; 1998: 220). According to Viredaz (1993: 335), Doric εντες was just the result of an irregular phonological treatment of Common Greek *eont-* (an idea which Meier-Brügger also toys with). Such an approach would not work, however, with the rest of the Greek participles ending in (*)*-ent-*, -εσσα, such as δρακέντ- and ἀκάμαντ-, to be mentioned immediately

first fell for Anna Morpurgo's analysis of *ἐντ-* I have always clung to the idea that in late PIE and also still in early Proto-Greek *nt*-participles that were built on non-Narten root formations inflected the **h₁s-ont-*/**h₁s-n̥t-* way only,[4] while *nt*-participles that were built on Narten root presents and aorists rather followed the **ĝerh₂-ont-*/**ĝ(e)rh₂-n̥t-*[5] pattern consistently.[6]

below, and also *ἴεσσα*. Needless to say, within the framework that I have now adopted all the Greek participles of the *φάντ-* and *στάντ-* type (among them, of course, all the innumerable aorist participles in (*)*-sant-*) are obviously to be explained by a Proto-Greek remodelling process of the very same kind as is assumed here for Aeolic and Doric *ἐντ-* (see also below in the text). For yet another way to cope with Greek (*)*-ent-*, see n. 4 below.

[4] That is, of the holokinetic type as far as the suffix is concerned, but having generalized the zero grade of the root probably for the reasons given in n. 6 below. That in PIE *nt*-participles were exclusively shaped and inflected that way was more or less explicitly stated by Raimo Anttila (1970: 172) and Alfred Bammesberger (1981; 1984: 12 ff.; 1986: 101). Incidentally, claiming holokinetic inflexion for *nt*-participles also implies that the original locative of the singular paradigm ended in **-ent-i* or **-ēnt* (see Schindler 1994: 397); I think it is by such a locatival **-ēnt* that both Proto-Germanic **sēn* 'soon' (see Anttila 1970) and the Common Tocharian **-´ænt-* allomorph of the participial suffix *-nt-* ought to be explained. (In Tocharian, quite a lot of oblique singular forms are best traced back to PIE locative singular forms: see also n. 5 below and note that B *-eñc-* by its suffix-final *-c-* clearly points to provenance from a case form with desinence-initial **-i-* or **-e-*.) Accordingly, there is even the remote possibility that all, most, or at least some of the cases of (*)*-ent-* prevailing in Greek were due to an analogical spread of the original locative allomorph of the *nt*-suffix; Greek was not Tocharian, however, and as a rule did not generalize a stem variant that originally had shown up exclusively in the locative singular.

[5] It is highly doubtful that ablaut of the root syllable ought to be reconstructed for this paradigm, as has been claimed by some scholars (see Schaffner 2001: 613 ff., with literature). Incidentally, I think that a weak-stem allomorph with the full grade of the root **ĝerh₂-n̥t-* or perhaps rather locatival **ĝerh₂-ent(-)* is also presupposed by Tocharian B nom. pl. **śrāñ* > *śrāy*, obl. pl. *śrān-* 'adult men' (see Carling 2003: 92–3 for the attestations and the semantics), because from these plural forms it can be inferred that the word was a member of the (receding) *kantwo/kantwa/*käntwāñ* class, which implies that in Proto-Tocharian the respective nom. sg. ended in **-ā̆s* (as the proto-form of B *kantwo* 'tongue' certainly did, and probably also the ancestor forms of *pānto* 'support' and *tāno* 'grain', which belong to the only other members of this class plausibly etymologized so far) rather than in **-ōs* from PIE **-ō(n)* or **-ō(u̯)* (as the proto-forms of *okso* 'ox' and **poko* 'arm' certainly did, which belonged to typical members of the expanding *okso/oksai/oksaiñ* class), because otherwise **śraiñ/n-* matching *oksaiñ* and *pokaiñ* would have been the plural forms to be expected (see Winter 1989: 115 ff. for a full list of the relevant forms and a slightly different diachronic approach); now in the particular case of B nom. sg. **śaro* from Late Proto-Tocharian **k´ärā̆s* as far as I can see there is only one plausible etymological analysis available, and this is **gerăn(t)s*, which I guess could have been based on a loc. sg. **ĝerh₂-ent(-)* (see n. 4 above), or perhaps also on a weak-stem allomorph **ĝerh₂-n̥t-* that by some analogical process had developed into **gerant-*; as for possible parallels, B nom. sg. *walo* 'king', according to Klingenschmitt (1994: 404), is also to be traced back to a proto-form ending in **-ăn(t)s*. (This is, however, far from certain because of B *ylaiñäkte* 'Indra', most ably discussed in Lubotsky 1994; perhaps B *walo* and *ylai-* rather derive from unextended *n*-stem nominative and vocative forms **u̯elHō(s)* and **u̯elHon*, respectively.)

[6] As can already be gleaned from my remarks in Peters (2002: 115 n. 38). If my memory

As a corollary, *nt*-participles in (*)-*ent*- such as Pindaric δρακέντ- or the participial stem **kamant*- evidenced by poetic (mostly Homeric and Pindaric) ἀκάμαντ- 'untiring',[7] which seem to fit the original athematic root aorists beneath thematic ἔδρακον 'saw' and ἔκαμον 'laboured, became weary' much better than thematic ἔδρακον and ἔκαμον themselves,[8] precisely by having (*)-*ent*- instead of -οντ-, attest to the former existence of 3rd pl. root aorist forms such as *(*e*-)*dr̥k̂-ent* and *(*e*-)*k̂m̥h₂-ent* in Greek,[9] and this is, of course, most welcome additional grist to the mills of the likes of me who adopted Watkins's view that the thematicization of root aorists in Greek was based on 3rd sg. middle forms with an athematic ending *-*e* rather than on 3rd pl. active forms with an athematic (*sic*) ending *-*ont*.[10]

At the same time, δρακέντ- and ἀκάμαντ-, if taken as relic forms and seen together with all the participles of the φάντ- and στάντ- type,[11] clearly point to the conclusion that in the active participles of both athematic present and athematic aorist stems a general replacement of *-*ont*-/*-*n̥t*- by the regular outcomes of the *-*ent*(-) and *-*n̥t*(-) elements in the endings

does not deceive me, this is what the late Joki Schindler thought about the formation of *nt*-participles after taking up his Harvard appointment (a view that I was stubborn enough not to adopt for a couple of years). Notice that in a form such as **ĝerh₂-ont*-(/-*n̥t*-) the *e*-grade variant of the root (which is expected to show up in holokinetic paradigms) was identical with the 'weak-stem' root variant, i.e. the root allomorph proper to the whole middle and the (1st, 2nd, and) 3rd pl. and dual forms of the active of the Narten indicative/injunctive which the *nt*-form belonged or had once belonged to synchronically; this means that from Narten participles such as **ĝerh₂-ont*-(/-*n̥t*-) a morphological rule could have been abstracted according to which *-*ont*-/*-*n̥t*- had simply to be affixed to the 'weak-stem' root allomorph of any given root present or root aorist indicative/injunctive: that is, the consistent use of the zero grade of the root in *nt*-participles from non-Narten root formations need not in fact be explained in terms of an original hysterokinetic inflexion.

[7] I think ἀκάμαντ- must have been both Ionic (see the argument in Peters 1989: 247) and Attic; see for Attic Ἀκάμᾱς and Ἀκάμαντες above all Aloni (1986: 25 ff.) and Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky (1993: 109).

[8] See for δρακέντ- the argument by Forssman (1964), which incidentally was not taken into account by Ruijgh (1998: 220). (Evidently most, if not all, thematic aorists of Greek are to be derived from PIE athematic root aorists.) By the way, I do not think that there ever existed an archaic participle **damant*- paralleling -καμαντ-: see my remarks in Peters (1989: 247). I would also now refrain from including -φάεσσα in a list of rather archaic (poetic) *nt*-participles ending in (*)-*ent*-, -εσσα, as I did in Peters (1980: 24): see my alternative account in Peters (1993: 104–5 n. 84).

[9] As was already explicitly stated on behalf of δρακέντ- by Bammesberger (1981: 290 n. 10; 1984: 15–16).

[10] See Watkins (1969: 100–1), and for similar views advanced more recently Peters (1998); Praust (1998: 79–80, 108 n. 196); Rasmussen (2002: 380–1). Of course, other forms such as Mycenaean *e-e-si*, *ki-ti-*(*j*)*e-si*, etc., and indirectly also forms such as ἴεσσα and τάλαντα etc., militate strongly against reconstructing athematic 3rd pl. forms with an ending *-*ont*(*i*) for Proto-Greek as well.

[11] See n. 3 above.

of the related 3rd pl. forms of the active paradigms must have taken place even as early as the period of Proto-Greek, with only a few of the most common present participles, such as **h₁s-ont-* (from **h₁es-* 'to be'), **h₁i̯-ont-* (from **h₁ei̯-* 'to go'), having escaped at least for a while.[12] Accordingly, the process of thematicization which was inflicted upon most of the athematic root aorists inherited from PIE cannot have been triggered by the presence of related participles in **-ont-* either,[13] because inherited participial stems in **-ont-* such as **dr̥k̑-ónt-* and **k̑m̥h₂-ónt-* must have turned into the likes of **drəként-* and **kəmánt-* already at a time when the related indicative/injunctive paradigms still inflected the athematic way.

Now there is nothing flawed in explaining participles ending in (*)*-ent-* by the former presence of related active 3rd pl. forms ending in **-ent*(*i*), as long as there is some reason to assume active inflexion of the respective tense/aspect stem. While this certainly holds for δρακέντ- and ἀκάμαντ-, the matter is different with another form from my 1980 list, viz. κύεσσα 'pregnant' transmitted by Hesychius. Since the related Vedic aorist *áśvat* 'swelled' may be based on a 3rd sg. middle form **e-k̑uH-e* and in Greek itself it is only the middle of the sigmatic aorist κῡσ- that is attested in the meaning 'conceive, get pregnant', I consider it rather doubtful that there had ever existed an active 3rd pl. root aorist form *(*e-*)*k̑uH-ent* meaning 'they conceived' in PIE or even only in Proto-Greek. Luckily enough, for κύεσσα another sort of explanation seems available which is backed by some other evidence from Greek itself.

There exists an enigmatic hapax εγκυαρ in Greek, which occurs in the inscriptional phrase οις λευκη εγκυαρ *Del.*[3] 725. 6 (from Miletus); it is either adjectival (meaning 'pregnant') or substantival (meaning 'pregnant animal'), and one would certainly have expected to find either a form of ἔγκυος itself (which was one of the common terms in Greek for 'pregnant'), or perhaps a derivative of ἔγκυος that was formed by means of 'individualizing, substantivizing' **-e/on-* or **-e/ont-*[14] rather than with heteroclitic **-r/-n*(*t*)*-*. Now if Greek indeed had a derivative of ἔγκυος in **-e/ont-/*-n̥t-*, i.e. an adjective **enkuu̯e/ont-/*-n̥t-* 'pregnant'[15] of which in all likelihood

[12] That is, in the end even the participles belonging to εἰμί and εἶμι were reshaped on the model of related 3rd pl. forms ending in **-ent*(*i*) in some dialects, witness Aeolic and Doric ἐντ-, and also ἴεσσα transmitted by Hesychius.

[13] As was claimed indeed by Ruijgh (explicitly in 1998: 220–1, implicitly as early as in 1992: 459–60).

[14] See now for these two suffixes the studies by Melchert (2000) and Oettinger (2001).

[15] Incidentally, this formation can be equated with Latin *inciēns* 'pregnant' in case one is willing to assume that within the history of Latin **enku-* could have turned into /*inki-*/ by the same process that made **enklu-* develop into /*inkli-*/ in *inclitus*, the well-known variant

the substantivized neuter meaning 'pregnant animal' alone was in use at least at the final stage of development, and if this *nt*-formation was somehow able to escape the familiar levelling process by which the respective strong-stem allomorphs in *-e/ont-* became regularly generalized in almost all of the other Greek stems ending in *-nt-*, then the expected nom.-acc. plural form of this neuter noun (which was probably mostly used as a collective) is precisely **enkuu̯ata* (at least to judge from other archaic neuter nom.-acc. plural forms showing the zero grade of the suffix, such as βέλεμνα and κάρηνα),[16] and at least in theory a form like this may well have been capable of being (re)interpreted as the plural form of a neuter *r/n*-stem, and accordingly could have given rise to a new nom.-acc. (singulative) singular form εγκυαρ. Since I cannot conceive of any other viable approach, let alone a better one, to account for εγκυαρ, our reconstruction of an adjective **enkuu̯e/ont-* might seem to be vindicated, and so by now we can even feel free to set up an **-ih₂-* feminine that belonged to this adjective. Such a feminine can only have been **enkuu̯essa* in case the corresponding neuter ended in **-ent* rather than in **-ont* in the nom.-acc. singular, and **enkuu̯essa* was certainly capable of being reanalysed as a participle of a compounded verb (matching Homeric ὑποκῡσαμένη this way) and thus also of becoming decompounded in any dialect that had, or in the mind of anyone who knew of the existence of, feminine participles in -εσσα such as ἔσσα and ἴεσσα.[17]

One may object, however, that a (collective) plural form **enkuu̯ata* would rather have triggered the back-formation of a new (singulative) singular form **enkuu̯aton*, to judge from πρόβατον and lots of other singular forms in -ον that were based on originally athematic (collective) plural forms ending in -α.[18] Naturally, the best way to counter such an argument is to produce parallels. So let us see if there are other nom.-acc. singular

form of *inclutus* 'famous' (as for the semantics, see now Schmidt 1997: 553 ff.; *cliēns* is not an outcome of *cluēns* and accordingly should not be quoted as a parallel: see most recently Seldeslachts 2001: 72–3). For another way to cope with *inciēns* see now Kölligan (2002: 148).

[16] The reason why **-ata* was preserved instead of being replaced by **-e/onta* may have been that the (collective) plural forms of this noun were much more frequently used than the nom.-acc. form of the singular; the same was certainly true for another term from the very same semantic field, πρόβατα 'small cattle; cattle; sheep' (which originally was an athematic noun as well, thematic πρόβατον representing just a different sort of back-formed nom.-acc. (singulative) singular: see Egli 1954: 41 ff. and, more recently, Leukart 1987: 344–5).

[17] In theory, κύεσσα could also be taken as a **-u̯ent-* derivative from a root noun **k̂uH-*, but there is no other evidence from Greek itself in favour of such an analysis.

[18] See the most valuable collection of relevant material in the booklet by Egli (1954) mentioned in n. 16.

forms ending in -αρ that are best explained in a way similar to the one we have envisaged here for εγκυαρ.

There is certainly one that Schwyzer once took to be of such a kind, viz. ὄπεαρ 'awl'; but Vine (1995) made a good case for deriving this word from an original denominal **-u̯er/n-* formation instead. This is why I shall now try to prove that at any rate Arcadian ὑφέαρ 'mistletoe (*viscum album*)' can be taken as another instance of that peculiar kind of back-formation posited above to account for εγκυαρ.[19]

As is well known, ὑφέαρ in Hesychius is provided with the following *interpretamentum*: τὸ ἐπιφυόμενον ταῖς πεύκαις καὶ ἐλάταις, i.e. 'what grows upon the pines and the silver firs'. Accordingly, it seems to make sense to have a stab at deriving ὑφέαρ from an archaic kind of participial formation that had once belonged to the paradigm of ἐπιφύομαι 'to grow upon', i.e. at least for morphological reasons[20] from a predecessor of the *nt*-participle of the verb's active root aorist *e/opi+ pʰū-*.

In accordance with the claims made above, the expected original inflexion of such a participle is **e/opi+ pʰu̯u̯ont-/pʰu̯u̯at-*, with **-at-* showing up even in the nom.-acc. plural form of the neuter, and indeed a nom.-acc. collective plural form may also have been the unmarked form of the paradigm in the case of a plant name such as 'mistletoe', at least in the prehistoric period. Now precisely in Arcadian the variant with **opi*, i.e. **opi+ pʰu̯u̯at-*, could have developed into **opʰu̯u̯at-* not only by haplology, but also by a treatment of **opi*(+) quite analogous to the very special one that κατά(+) and πεδά(+) were subject to in this dialect (and also Laconian) if followed by a word/verb that started with an obstruent,[21] and of course **opʰu̯u̯at-* may thereupon have turned into **upʰu̯u̯at-* simply by vowel

[19] I dismiss ἄλειφαρ 'unguent', which alternates with a form in -α ἄλειφα, as another possible parallel, since it was rather the variant in -α that was the analogically innovated form (see Morpurgo Davies 1968: 801).

[20] An original meaning 'what has grown upon' nevertheless also makes excellent sense with respect to semantics; note that mistletoe is easiest to detect upon its host when the latter has been stripped of its needles and it becomes evident that specimens of the parasite plant probably *have grown* there for some considerable time. (Note also that Greek τάλαντα '(pair of) scales', which is most probably a form of a former root *aorist* participle, was taken to be the form of an old root *present* participle on semantic grounds even by the great Felix Solmsen (1912–13: 499).) Incidentally, according to Balles (1999: 140), the Germanic term for *viscum album* ('**mi-zd-o-*') had a quite similar original meaning, viz. 'was darauf (nämlich auf dem Baum) bzw. inmitten (des Baumes) sitzt'.

[21] See e.g. Dubois (1988: i. 133–4, 139–40). I think it is perfectly safe to assume that **opi*(+) had once been in use as a variant of ἐπί(+) in Arcadian as well, to judge from its sporadic attestation as such a variant form in other dialects of the first millennium such as Thessalian, and above all from what Anna Morpurgo Davies has taught us about Mycenaean *e-pi* and *o-pi* (Morpurgo Davies 1983); see also Dubois (1988: i. 138).

assimilation,[22] and **up^h u̯u̯at-* eventually into ὑφέατ- simply by application of Kalén's Rule (Kalén 1918: 1–38). So all that we finally need in order to make ὑφέαρ an outcome of the original participle of the root aorist *e/opi+ p^h ū-* is precisely the very special kind of back-formation that was proposed above for ϵγκυαρ.[23]

Now a collective plural **up^h u̯u̯ata* which triggered the creation of a singulative singular **up^h u̯u̯ar* is not only a most welcome parallel, it may also tell us *why* **enkuu̯ata* in fact behaved differently from the normal pattern adopted by the likes of πρόβατα. Since **enkuu̯ata* and **up^h u̯u̯ata* both ended in *-*uu̯ata* (whereas πρόβατα did not), the presence of either an *-*uu̯*- or merely a *-*u̯*- element in front of (*)-*ata* seems to have been crucial, and it is indeed easy to give a reason why this may have been so: there certainly was no neuter suffix *-*u̯ato*- in Greek, but there existed quite a lot of neuter nouns with suffixal *-*u̯ar*/*-*u̯ata*; accordingly, it does not come as a great surprise in the end that the likes of πρόβατα and the collective plural forms in *-*uu̯ata* went different ways, the first following the model of the innumerable *to*-formations, the second adopting the pattern of the neuter *-*u̯ar*/*-*u̯at*- stems.[24]

[22] Alternatively, one could toy with the idea that Arcadian had **upi* as a variant of **opi*, as Mycenaean probably did (at least to judge from *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*); Mycenaean *u-pi-* itself is best explained as due to Panagl's Rule (see Panagl 1975: 424 ff. and 1989), which seems to have mostly operated in Mycenaean, but according to its discoverer was sporadically applied to Arcadian (and Lesbian) forms as well.

[23] Two very sophisticated alternative accounts of ὑφέαρ have been put forth relatively recently, one by Charles de Lamberterie (1994: 331 ff.) and another by my extremely gifted student Sasha Nikolaev (2002: 126–7 n. 6). It is to him that I owe the idea that ϵγκυαρ and ὑφέαρ are birds of a feather.

[24] According to my account, there could indeed have existed nom.-acc. singular forms ending in *-*u̯ar* even in Arcadian (see Peters 1986: 313 for my view on the outcomes of **r̥* in what most people subsume under the heading of 'Achaean dialects'). As for the accent of ὑφέαρ, I think that the PIE root aorist **b^h úH-t* inflected the acrostatic way, i.e. had a 3rd pl. **b^h ū́nt* from **b^h úH-n̥t* (to judge from the joint evidence of Homeric ἔφῡν, *Od.* 5. 481, and Vedic *ábhūvan*) and accordingly as its participle **b^h úH-ont-*, also carrying the accent on the root syllable, so **up^h úu̯ata* with accent on the *-*u*- was to be expected anyway. Now if it comes to *-*u̯ar*/*-*u̯at*- stems that could have provided a model for the creation of **up^h úu̯ar*, I should think a sure bet would be **onāu̯ar*/**onā́u̯ata*, and the Arcadian dialect (unlike epic diction, which has ὄνειαρ 'advantage, food') may quite well have preserved the original accent on the root vowel *-*ā*- and not have shifted it onto the prothetic vowel *o*-: that is, in Arcadian a form **onā́u̯ar* may have existed, which of course could only have served as a model for a new singulative singular **up^h úu̯ar*, which also carried the accent on the second syllable.

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20

Accentuation in Old Attic, Later Attic, and Attic

Philomen Probert

1 Introduction

(1) *πηρόν {θέσαν}· ὡς χρηστὸν κατ' ὀξεῖαν τάσιν παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς πῆρον ὡς λῆρον*. . . . (Σ *Il.* 2. 599b (A))[1]

πηρόν {θέσαν}: (Accented) like *χρηστόν*, with an acute on the final syllable, in Homer. But among Attic speakers *πῆρον*, like *λῆρον*. . . .

This remark comes from the scholia in a tenth-century manuscript of the *Iliad*, Venetus A; as with many of the scholia to the *Iliad* dealing with prosody, its source is the grammarian Herodian writing in the second century AD and himself making use of earlier, Hellenistic, works on accentuation. We are told that the word *πηρόν* (nominative *πηρός*) 'disabled' is accented one way in Homer (*πηρόν*) but another way in Attic (*πῆρον*). A question that arises from this passage, and from others like it, is that of the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic grammarians' sources of knowledge about Homeric accentuation. This question has been discussed since the early nineteenth century[2] and still deserves attention, but it is not the subject of the present essay. Instead we shall consider a different, perhaps less immediately obvious, question: what is meant here by 'Attic'? The language of Plato, or perhaps Menander? If so, how would Herodian have known how Plato or Menander accented a word? Or does the term refer to the speech of some contemporaries of Herodian? Or of some contemporaries of some of

I am grateful to many friends and colleagues for discussions about Herodian, and in particular to Eleanor Dickey for valuable criticism of a draft of this essay and to John Penney for careful editing. It gives me much pleasure to offer to Anna Morpurgo Davies, to whom I owe my interest in such questions, an attempt to understand something about the ancient Greeks' understanding of their language.

[1] Abbreviations for ancient authors and works, and the editions used, are as in Dyck (1995: 7–17) (except that Σ = sch.).

[2] See Lehrs (1833: 269–71; 1837: 175); Steinthal (1863: 459–60); Wackernagel (1893: 33–8; 1914; 1943: 181–2); Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1916: 8–9); West (1981).

Herodian's sources? Or is the term 'Attic' just used loosely here to include the Attic-based Koine?

Some fragments of Herodian refer to 'later' Attic or its speakers, and further questions arise as to the meaning of this term:

(2) *οὕτως συνθεσίαι τε ὡς θυσίαι τε. ὅσοι δὲ προπαροξύνουσι, πταίουσι· τῆς γὰρ μεταγενεστέρας Ἀτθίδος ἡ τοιάδε ἀνάγνωσις.* (Σ *Il.* 2. 339b (A))

συνθεσίαι τε (is accented) like *θυσίαι τε*. Those who put an acute on the antepenultimate syllable (*συνθέσιαί τε*) are wrong. For this sort of reading belongs to later Attic.

Herodian prescribes the accentuation *συνθεσίαι* for Homer, commenting that *συνθέσιαι* is not Homeric but 'later Attic'. What period is meant by 'later', and how did Herodian know about the accentuation of 'Attic' at different periods?

Stephan (1889), investigating the meanings of Herodian's terms for various dialects, came to the following conclusions. The terms *ἡ συνήθεια* and *ἡ κοινὴ συνήθεια* referred to the Koine in our sense, which Herodian regarded as having arisen roughly after Alexander the Great.[3] The Koine is contrasted with five other, 'old', dialects: Attic, Ionic, Doric, Aeolic, and Boeotian. Distinctions are drawn between older and later forms of Attic, Ionic, and Aeolic, but in each case the 'later' form is still an 'old' dialect by contrast with the Koine, i.e. one of the dialects used by authors who lived before Alexander. The 'later' forms of the 'old' dialects are regarded as having arisen at some point after the time of Homer; it is clear from several passages that Herodian thought Homer used forms from various different 'old' dialects, but that he did not use forms peculiar to their 'later' varieties or to the even later Koine.[4]

Stephan's conclusions are well supported and must be fundamentally correct. But Herodian's use of terms for Attic, later Attic, and the Koine in relation to discussions of accentuation is worthy of special attention. Serious grammatical discussion of accents, and the availability of signs for accents, began in the Hellenistic period. It is clear that there was some tradition about the accentuation of some pre-Hellenistic variety or varieties of Greek, in particular about the accentuation of Homer, but it is worth

[3] Other Herodianic ways of referring to the Koine include the use of the first-person plural ('we say *x*', or 'in our dialect'), expressions involving the word *νῦν* or *νυνί* 'now', and the term *ἡ ἀνὰ χεῖρα ὁμιλία*: see Stephan (1889: 89–105) (discussing also instances in which the word *συνήθεια* or the first-person plural is used in other ways). On the terms *κοινός*, *κοινόν*, *κοινῶς*, *κατὰ κοινὴν διάλεκτον*, and *ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος*, see below with n. 7.

[4] For Herodian's view that Homer did not use forms peculiar to 'later Attic', see passage (2); for the same exclusion of 'later Ionic' forms from the language of Homer, see Σ *Il.* 18. 266a (T).

asking for how many different varieties of Greek, and especially of pre-Hellenistic Greek, the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic grammarians had information about the accent. Were they really able to distinguish between the accentuation of Homer, that of an earlier and that of a later Attic, and that of the Koine (in addition to various other dialects), or did they have, for example, information about the accentuation of the Koine and about that of Homer, into which they fitted the accentuation of Attic of different periods according to some notions as to whether the Attic of a particular age would have agreed in accentuation with the Koine or with Homer?

Wackernagel (1893: 38) thought that on the whole the Hellenistic grammarians applied to the texts of 'Attic' authors the same accents and accentual rules as applied to the Koine, whose accentuation they knew from their own speech, and he attached little significance to the frequent oppositions made by grammarians between the accentuation of 'Attic' or 'old Attic' on the one hand and that of Koine or 'new Attic' on the other. In some cases he thought the accentuation assigned to 'old Attic' (or to 'old Ionic') was that known from the tradition of accenting Homer. In other instances he thought the distinction arose because an accent that the Hellenistic scholars assigned to a particular word was different from the one used by later scholars such as Herodian; the later scholars therefore recorded the accentuation prescribed by the earlier grammarians alongside their own accentuation of the word, labelling the former 'Attic' or 'old Attic' and the latter 'Koine' or 'new Attic'. He allowed that a performance tradition may have preserved some information about the accentuation of Attic tragedy, but did not elaborate on this suggestion. His discussion of the whole question is very brief and rather elliptical:

> Was die alten attischen Texte betrifft, so wurden sie wohl im Ganzen nach der *κοινή* des dritten Jahrhunderts akzentuiert, obwohl für die Tragödie die Tradition der Bühnensprache in Betracht gekommen sein mag. Dass so oft attischer oder altattischer Akzent gemeinsprachlichem oder neuattischem Akzent entgegengesetzt wird, ist von nicht so grossem Belang. Bei Herodian zu Β 339. Ε 54. Ξ 521 und *περὶ μον. λεξ.* 33, 11 (ebenso wie zu Σ 487, wo vom Spiritus die Rede ist) ist altattisch mit homerisch gleichwertig, wie bei Herodian zu Σ 266 altionisch. In anderen Fällen scheint mit 'attisch' der in alexandrinischer Zeit fixierte Akzent der attischen Autoren dem in der Gemeinsprache der Kaiserzeit üblichen entgegengesetzt zu werden. Gehört dahin auch das thucydideische *τροπαῖον* für sonstiges *τρόπαιον*? Ich bedaure, dass mir der Raum fehlt, über diese Dinge ausführlicher zu sprechen. (Wackernagel 1893: 38)

Notice that Wackernagel's view is based on an assumption, which I paraphrased above without comment, that in the relevant passages it is a

fundamentally two-way distinction that is being drawn: 'Attic' or 'old Attic' on the one hand is opposed to 'Koine' or to 'new Attic' on the other. This two-way distinction corresponds in some cases to a distinction between the accentuation of Homer and that of the Koine and in others to a distinction between Hellenistic Koine and the later Koine of the Roman period; either way the contrast is between one older and one newer variety. The intention of this essay is firstly to show that in some cases Herodian made at least a three-way distinction between the accentuation of Homer or of old Attic, that of later Attic, and that of the Koine, and secondly to consider briefly some of the possible consequences of such a three-way distinction.

I restrict attention deliberately to the fragments of Herodian, since the use of relevant terms by other grammarians deserves separate investigation. Scholarship on Herodian is, however, plagued by the difficulty of knowing for certain when something is a genuine Herodianic fragment.[5] For present purposes we are fortunate in being able to rely heavily on the following good sources of Herodian's doctrines: [Arcadius]' epitome of Herodian's *Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας*; the *Iliad* scholia deriving from Herodian; Herodian's surviving treatise *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*; and statements elsewhere to which Herodian's name is explicitly attached. Other sources will be used with caution where they can add something substantial.

A basic assumption, even though a commonly made one, needs to be stated. The surviving works of Herodian on accentuation give the impression that on the whole they describe not a particular variety of Greek but simply 'normal' Greek accentuation, Greek accentuation *par excellence*. Specific varieties of Greek are mentioned from time to time for points on which they differ from this 'normal' standard. I take Herodian's view of 'normal' accentuation to be based on the accentuation of the Koine familiar to him or to his Alexandrian predecessors. In other words, when accentuation is prescribed without comment for a word that was in use in the Koine, I take the accentuation given to be the, or at least *a*, Koine accentuation of the word.[6]

A similar assumption applies to three of the passages we shall discuss (6, 7, and 17), which refer to a particular accentuation as *κοινόν*. Consani (1991: 27–30), largely anticipated by Stephan (1889: 105–26), has shown that Herodian used this term not to mean 'in the Koine' but 'in most Greek dia-

[5] See Dyck (1993).

[6] There are occasional passages for which this assumption cannot be maintained because the *συνήθεια* ('Koine') is mentioned as the variety that apparently diverges from what is 'normal': see [Arcad.] 93. 7, 208. 16–19. These stand out as very unusual compared to the number of passages in which Attic or another non-Koine dialect is mentioned as the divergent variety, and I therefore suspect that they do not preserve Herodian's original wording very well.

lects' (i.e. rather generally, not only in one specific dialect).[7] Forms said to be *κοινά* often happen to be the Koine forms as well (see Consani 1991: 28), but they are not always and therefore not necessarily. Nevertheless, I make the assumption that *in discussions of accents* such *κοινά* or 'general Greek' accents were in fact the Koine accents. If not, it would be very difficult to imagine where such accents could have come from; the grammarians clearly had accentual information about some non-Koine varieties, but their resources were not limitless and Koine was the variety whose accentuation was by far the most accessible to them.

2 Instances of Agreement between Homer and the Koine against 'Later Attic'

In order to discover as much as possible about the distinctions between different linguistic varieties that Herodian made and used when discussing accentuation, it is useful to collect the fragments of Herodian on the accentuation of particular words or classes of words for which he mentions different accentuations for different linguistic varieties. Often a particular fragment makes only a two-way distinction, between variety A and variety B, but another fragment on the accentuation of the same word or class of words makes a different two-way distinction, between variety A and variety C. C agrees in accentuation with B but we know that the term 'C' is not merely a synonym of 'B'. In other words, we appear to have three linguistic varieties, A, B, and C, with B and C agreeing on the particular accent under discussion and disagreeing with A. The passages we discuss first are ones that, as we shall see, reveal a situation involving the language of Homer, the Koine, and 'later Attic', with Homer and the Koine agreeing with one another against 'later Attic'.

NOMINATIVE PLURALS OF TYPE συνθεσίαι

Several fragments of Herodian relate to the fact that first-declension nouns with paroxytone nominative singular are also paroxytone in the nominative plural, except that at least some are proparoxytone in 'Attic' or in 'later Attic' (the first of these fragments was also quoted above as (2)):

[7] Stephan argued that the term *κοινόν* as well as *κοινῶς* and *ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος* referred to the 'original' dialect or to 'original' forms from which other dialect forms were derived. Consani takes *κοινός* (including *κοινόν*), *κοινῶς*, and *κατὰ κοινὴν διάλεκτον* to refer not to an 'original' dialect but to the consensus of most Greek dialects, but observes (1991: 29) that forms idiosyncratic to a particular dialect are typically taken as derived from '*κοινά*' forms. Unlike Stephan, however, Consani shows that Herodian uses *ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος* (with the article) for the Koine in our sense, differently from *κοινός*, *κοινῶς*, and *κατὰ κοινὴν διάλεκτον*. Cf. the observations of Thumb (1901: 6 n. 1) and Maidhof (1912: 7–8).

(3) *οὕτως συνθεσίαι τε ὡς θυσίαι τε. ὅσοι δὲ προπαροξύνουσι, πταίουσι· τῆς γὰρ μεταγενεστέρας Ἀτθίδος ἡ τοιάδε ἀνάγνωσις.* (Σ *Il.* 2. 339b (A))

συνθεσίαι τε (is accented) like *θυσίαι τε*. Those who put an acute on the antepenultimate syllable (i.e. *συνθέσιαί τε*) are wrong. For this sort of reading belongs to later Attic.

(4) *οὕτως ἐκηβολίαι ὡς εὐστοχίαι· ἔφαμεν γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ἀναδιδόναι τὸν τόνον τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ἐστὶν Ἀττικῶν, ὅτε περὶ τοῦ "πῇ δὴ συνθεσίαι" διελαμβάνομεν.* (Σ *Il.* 5. 54 (A))

Ἐκηβολίαι is accented like *εὐστοχίαι*. For we said that retracting the accent (i.e. to the antepenultimate syllable) is a characteristic of the later Attic speakers, when we discussed *πῇ δὴ συνθεσίαι*.

(5) *αἱ εἰς AI εὐθεῖαι παρεσχηματισμέναι ἀρσενικοῖς ὁμοτονοῦσι ταῖς εὐθείαις τῶν ἰδίων ἀρσενικῶν· τύπτοντες τύπτουσαι, χαρίεντες χαρίεσσαι, ταχέες ταχεῖαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνον· ἐναντίοι ἐναντίαι, Βυζάντιοι Βυζάντιαι, ἥμεροι ἥμεραι (τὸ τριγενές, ἡμέραι δὲ τὸ μονογενές). οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι (προ)παροξύνουσί τινα μονογενῆ· ἥμεραι εὔπράξιαι τιμώριαι αἴτιαι.* ([Arcad.] 152. 21–153. 4)

The nominatives in *-αι* derived from masculines have the accent on the same syllable as the nominatives of the corresponding masculines: *τύπτοντες τύπτουσαι, χαρίεντες χαρίεσσαι, ταχέες ταχεῖαι* (even if the latter does not have the same *type* of accent), *ἐναντίοι ἐναντίαι, Βυζάντιοι Βυζάντιαι, ἥμεροι ἥμεραι* (i.e. the adjective; the nominative of the *noun* is *ἡμέραι*). But the Athenians make some of the nouns proparoxytone: *ἥμεραι εὔπράξιαι τιμώριαι αἴτιαι.*

The scholia (3) and (4) prescribe penultimate accentuation for the nominatives plural *συνθεσίαι* and *ἐκηβολίαι* in the Homeric text, noting that antepenultimate accentuation (*συνθέσιαι, ἐκηβόλιαι*) is incorrect (for Homer) and a characteristic of 'later Attic' or 'later Attic speakers'. The existence of a linguistic variety 'later Attic' is thus taken for granted, and the point made that its accentuation is not always applicable to Homer. In passage (5), where Homer is not under discussion, the accentuation of nominative plurals of first-declension nouns with paroxytone nominative singular arises again, but this time the contrast is between 'the Athenians', who make certain of these nouns proparoxytone, and, implicitly, 'normal' Greek accentuation or Koine. The accentual phenomenon attributed here to 'Athenians' is the same as that attributed in (3) and (4) to 'later Attic'. From these discussions of first-declension nominative plurals we thus learn of three distinct varieties: the language of Homer; the Koine; and 'later Attic', also called simply the speech of 'the Athenians'. We can be sure that 'later Attic' and the Koine are not identical because the linguistic forms used by these two

varieties are different. The language of Homer here agrees with the Koine against 'later Attic'.

ἐρῆμος, ἑτοῖμος, ὁμοῖος, AND γελοῖος

A situation parallel to the one we have just seen emerges from passages (6), (7), (8), and (9):

(6) *τὸ δὲ ἕτοιμος ἀττικόν, τὸ δὲ ἑτοῖμος κοινόν.* ([Arcad.] 70. 7)

Ἕτοιμος in Attic, *ἑτοῖμος* generally.

(7) *Ἐρῆμος. οὐδὲν εἰς μος λῆγον ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς προπερισπώμενον τῷ η παραλήγεται, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐρῆμος,*

ὡς ἴδε χῶρον ἐρῆμον [*Il.* 10. 520].

Ἀττικοὶ μέντοι προπαροξύνουσι τὴν λέξιν.

Ἑτοῖμος. οὐδὲν εἰς μος λῆγον ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς τῇ οι διφθόγγῳ παραληγόμενον προπερισπᾶται, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ ἑτοῖμος. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ παρ' Ἀττικοῖς τοῖς νεωτέροις φασὶ προπαροξύνεσθαι. (Hdn. *Mon.* 938. 20–6)

Ἐρῆμος. No properispomenon word of more than two syllables and ending in -*μος* has *η* in the penultimate syllable, except *ἐρῆμος*, as in *ὡς ἴδε χῶρον ἐρῆμον* (*Il.* 10. 520). But Attic speakers make the word proparoxytone.

Ἑτοῖμος. No word of more than two syllables, ending in -*μος*, and with -*οι*- in the penultimate syllable, is properispomenon, except for *ἑτοῖμος*. And they say that even this word is proparoxytone among the later Attic speakers.

(8) *ἔρημος* (*ἀττικῶς, ἐρῆμος δὲ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ*) . . . ([Arcad.] 69. 12–13)

Ἔρημος (in Attic, but *ἐρῆμος* in Homer) . . .

(9) *διό, φησί, τὸ ἀχρεῖος . . . προπαροξύνεσθαι ὀφείλει. ὃ δηλαδὴ καὶ ἐποίουν οἱ Ἀττικοί, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐρῆμον καὶ ἑτοῖμον, τοῖς Ὁμηρικοῖς· καὶ αὐτὰ γὰρ οἱ νεώτεροι Ἀττικοὶ ἀναλόγως ⟨προ⟩παρώξυναν,*[8] *ὥς φησιν Ἡρωδιανός.* (Eust. 217. 44–218. 1)

Therefore, he (Herodian) says, *ἀχρεῖος* ought (by the rules) . . . to be proparoxytone. The speakers of Attic actually did this, as in the case of the Homeric words *ἐρῆμος* and *ἑτοῖμος*. For the later Attic speakers made these too ⟨pro⟩paroxytone according to the rule, as Herodian says.

[Arcadius] in (6) tells us that *ἕτοιμος* is the Attic form, *ἑτοῖμος* the 'general' (i.e. Koine) form. Consistently with this passage, (7) gives the forms *ἐρῆμος* and *ἑτοῖμος* as the 'normal', i.e. Koine, forms, and contrasts *ἔρημος* and *ἕτοιμος*, said to be used by 'Attic speakers' or 'later Attic speakers'. In (8) (and compare the Homeric quotation in (7)) the 'Attic' form *ἔρημος* is

[8] Van der Valk prints the manuscript reading *παρώξυναν*, but as he notes ad loc. this reading makes no sense and it is clear from the context that *προπαρώξυναν* is intended.

contrasted with 'Homer''s' form *ἐρῆμος*. Finally, passage (9) ascribes both *ἔρημος* and *ἕτοιμος* to 'later Attic speakers' while implying that *ἐρῆμος* and *ἑτοῖμος* are the Homeric forms. Again Homer agrees with the Koine against 'Attic' or 'later Attic'.

The 'later Attic' forms *ἔρημος* and *ἕτοιμος* have undergone the accent shift known as 'Vendryes' Law': a properispomenon word ending in a sequence consisting of light plus heavy plus light syllables (e.g. *ἐρῆμος*, *ἑτοῖμος*) tended to become proparoxytone in 'Attic'.[9] Another word whose 'Attic' accentuation is due to Vendryes' Law is *ὁμοῖος*, 'Attic' *ὅμοιος*, mentioned in the following passages:

(10) *τὰ εἰς ΟΙΟΣ ὑπερδισύλλαβα προπερισπῶνται, εἰ ἐπιθετικὰ εἴη ἢ κύρια ὁμοφωνοῦντα τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις· ἀλλοῖος αἰδοῖος ὁμοῖος γελοῖος παντοῖος.* ([Arcad.] 50. 1–3)

Words of more than two syllables in *-οιος* are properispomenon, if they are adjectives or proper names with the same form as adjectives: *ἀλλοῖος αἰδοῖος ὁμοῖος γελοῖος παντοῖος.*

(11) *τὸ μὲν ὁμοῖος ὡς "ἀλλοῖος" ἀναγνωστέον· τὸ γὰρ προπαροξύνειν μεταγενεστέρων ἐστὶν Ἀττικῶν. . . .* (Σ *Il.* 14. 521a (A))

Ὁμοῖος is accented like *ἀλλοῖος*. For the paroxytone accentuation (*ὅμοιος*) is characteristic of later Attic speakers.

In (10) [Arcadius] simply prescribes *ὁμοῖος* with no mention of *ὅμοιος*, suggesting that the Koine form familiar to Herodian was *ὁμοῖος*. The scholion (11) prescribes the same form *ὁμοῖος* for Homer, ascribing *ὅμοιος* to the 'later Attic speakers'.[10] These fragments on *ὁμοῖος* therefore agree with those on *ἐρῆμος* and *ἑτοῖμος* in suggesting that Homer and the Koine agreed with each other against 'later Attic'.

A parallel situation is suggested for *γελοῖος/γέλοιος* by an Aristophanic scholion and a passage in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, both of which may well have a Herodianic basis:[11]

(12) *"γέλοιον" ἀττικῶς, "γελοῖον" δὲ κοινόν. ἡ δὲ σημασία ἡ αὐτή.* (Σ Ar. *Ra.* 6)

Γέλοιον in Attic, *γελοῖον* generally. But the meaning is the same.

[9] See Vendryes (1904: 262–3; 1905–6).

[10] The scholion Σ *Il.* 14. 521b (b(BCE³)T) records exactly the opposite of (11): *τὸ δὲ ὅμοιος προπαροξύνεται· τὸ γὰρ ὁμοῖος μεταγενεστέρων ἐστὶν Ἀττικῶν* ('*ὅμοιος* is proparoxyone. For *ὁμοῖος* is characteristic of later Attic speakers'). One of the two scholia has clearly inverted Herodian's doctrine; this has to be Σ *Il.* 14. 521b, whose version would make *ὁμοῖος*/*ὅμοιος* unique among words displaying variation ascribable to Vendryes' Law in having the form *ὁμοῖος* rather than *ὅμοιος* in 'later Attic'.

[11] Compare passage (13), in particular, with (10) and (11).

(13) *τὰ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ΟΙΟΣ ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἅπαντα προπερισπᾶται· οἷον, παντοῖος, ἀλλοῖος, ἑτεροῖος· οἱ δὲ μεταγενέστεροι τῶν Ἀττικῶν τὸ γελοῖος καὶ ὁμοῖος προπαροξύνουσιν· οὐκ εὖ.* (*EM* 224. 40–4)

Words of more than two syllables in *-οιος* are all properispomenon. Thus, *παντοῖος, ἀλλοῖος, ἑτεροῖος*. But the later Attic speakers make *γελοῖος* and *ὁμοῖος* proparoxytone. That is not good.

The scholion (12) draws a contrast between 'Attic' *γέλοιος* and 'general' (i.e. Koine) *γελοῖος*; passages (10) and (13) also suggest that the Koine accentuation is *γελοῖος*, and (13) ascribes *γέλοιος* specifically to 'later Attic speakers'.[12] The word *γελοῖος/γέλοιος* is not attested in Homer (except in the quadrisyllabic form *γελοίϊον* at *Il.* 2. 215), and we cannot therefore ask whether Homer again agreed with the Koine in the accentuation *γελοῖος*. The available facts on *γελοῖος/γέλοιος* are, however, parallel to those for *ἐρῆμος/ἔρημος, ἑτοῖμος/ἕτοιμος*, and *ὁμοῖος/ὅμοιος*.[13]

We shall see in §3 that the situation is rather different for some other words affected by Vendryes' Law. For the moment, however, we merely note that some instances of accentual variation resulting from Vendryes' Law follow the pattern of agreement between Homer and the Koine against 'later Attic'.[14]

3 Agreement between 'Later Attic' and the Koine against 'Old Attic' or 'Homer': τροπαῖον and ἀχρεῖος

Wackernagel, quoted in §1, mentioned the variation in accent attested for *τροπαῖον/τρόπαιον*. The accentuation *τρόπαιον* results from Vendryes' Law, as did *ἔρημος* from *ἐρῆμος*. We have just seen that for some words affected by Vendryes' Law the proparoxytone accentuation (*ἔρημος*) is characteristic of 'later Attic', while Homer and the Koine agree in having the properispomenon form (*ἐρῆμος*), i.e. in not showing the effects of Vendryes' Law. [Arcadius] suggests, however, that in the case of *τροπαῖον/τρόπαιον* the Koine had the form *τρόπαιον*, the form affected by Vendryes' Law, while 'Attic' had the unaffected form *τροπαῖον*:

(14) *τὰ διὰ τοῦ ΑΙΟΝ μονογενῆ τρισύλλαβα προπαροξύνεται· Ἥραιον (τὸ τέμε-*

[12] Cf. Eust. 205. 44–206. 1, where Herodian's older contemporary Aelius Dionysius is reported to have ascribed *γελοῖος* (and *ὁμοῖος* and *ἑτοῖμος*) to 'old Attic speakers'.

[13] There is an alternative tradition (alluded to in the last sentence of (12)) that *γελοῖος* and *γέλοιος* differed in meaning, but this tradition is not Herodianic: see Lentz (1867–70: i. 137).

[14] For a situation in which Homer and the Koine agreed against 'later Ionic', see Σ *Il.* 18. 266a (T).

νος) ἔλαιον Δίρκαιον Κίρκαιον τρόπαιον (καὶ τροπαῖον ἀττικῶς). ([Arcad.] 138. 21–3)

Trisyllabic nouns in *ΑΙΟΝ* are proparoxytone: *Ἥραιον* ('precinct') *ἔλαιον Δίρκαιον Κίρκαιον τρόπαιον* (and *τροπαῖον* in Attic).

Further information on *τροπαῖον/τρόπαιον* is provided by some passages that may well derive at least in part from Herodian but that one cannot simply take with confidence as further Herodianic fragments. They help, however, to elucidate [Arcadius]' statement in qualifying the 'Attic' speakers who said *τροπαῖον* as speakers of *old* 'Attic':

(15) *πᾶν κτητικὸν οὐδέτερον ἀπὸ θηλυκοῦ γεγονός, τρίτην ἀπὸ τέλους ἔχει τὴν ὀξεῖαν· οἷον, κεφαλή, κεφάλαιον· γυνή, γύναιον· ὅθεν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τροπή, τρόπαιον. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοὶ προπερισπῶσιν*. (*EM* 769. 14–17)

Every neuter possessive noun derived from a feminine has an antepenultimate acute, as *κεφάλαιον* from *κεφαλή*, *γύναιον* from *γυνή*, and hence also *τρόπαιον* from *τροπή*. But the old Attic speakers make *τροπαῖον* properispomenon.

(16) *τροπαῖον ἡ παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς, ἧς ἐστιν Εὔπολις, Κρατῖνος, Ἀριστοφάνης, Θουκυδίδης· τρόπαιον ἡ νέα Ἀτθίς, ἧς ἐστι Μένανδρος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. . . .* (Σ Thuc. 1. 30. 1)

Τροπαῖον in old Attic, to which Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Thucydides belong. *Τρόπαιον* in young Attic, to which Menander and the others belong.[15]

The Thucydidean scholion (16) states explicitly that speakers of 'young Attic' used *τρόπαιον*, the accentuation prescribed by [Arcadius] in (14) that we took there to relate to the Koine. If these conclusions are correct, 'young Attic' here agrees with the Koine against 'old Attic'. The scholion (16) is striking in using the absolute term *ἡ νέα Ἀτθίς* 'young Attic' rather than a form of *νεώτερος* 'younger' or of *μεταγενέστερος* 'later', the comparatives normally used by Herodian to refer to 'later Attic' or its speakers. The use of an absolute term instead of a comparative may or may not be significant, but it goes together here with a fairly precise definition of 'old' and 'new' Attic. The authors said to belong to 'old Attic' wrote in the fifth century BC, Menander who belonged to 'new Attic' in the fourth century. We therefore appear to have a dividing line between 'old' and 'young' Attic of about 400 BC. However, it is important to notice that particularly since the term *ἡ νέα Ἀτθίς* does not occur in any indisputably Herodianic passage,[16] we may well have at least partly non-Herodianic material here.[17]

[15] Cf. Σ Ar. *Thesm.* 697.

[16] The phrase does occur four times in Choeroboscus' discussion of the form *ἤδη* at Choer. *Th.* ii. 86. 7–24, a passage that Lentz takes to be based on Herodian's *Περὶ παθῶν* (see Hdn.

The following passages on another word affected by Vendryes' Law, *ἀχρεῖος*/*ἄχρειος* 'useless', reveal that again the Koine form was the proparoxytone *ἄχρειος*, but [Arcadius] in (17) states that the 'Attic' form is *ἀχρεῖος* while the scholion (18) states that the 'Attic' form is *ἄχρειος*:

(17) . . . *ἄχρειος* (*τὸ κοινόν, ἀχρεῖος δὲ τὸ Ἀττικόν, ὡς ἀστεῖος*) . . . ([Arcad.] 99. 25–100. 1)

Ἄχρειος (in general, but the Attic form is *ἀχρεῖος*, like *ἀστεῖος*) . . .

(18) *ἀχρεῖον* {*ἰδών*}· *Διονύσιος καὶ Τυραννίων τὴν πρώτην ὀξύνουσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, καὶ ἀναλόγως*· . . . *ἡ μέντοι παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἀνάγνωσις* . . . *⟨προ⟩περιεσπάσθη*· . . . (Σ *Il.* 2. 269a[1] (A))

ἀχρεῖον {*ἰδών*}: Dionysius and Tyrannio put an acute on the first syllable, as in Attic and as the rule demands. . . . But the reading for Homer . . . is properispomenon. . . .[18]

Since the sources for other words affected by Vendryes' Law suggest that proparoxytone accentuation in relevant words is characteristic of 'later Attic' while 'old Attic' had the properispomenon form, it would not be surprising if the form *ἄχρειος* similarly belonged to 'later Attic' while *ἀχρεῖος* were the 'old Attic' form. This assumption resolves the apparent inconsistency in the use of the term 'Attic' between (17) and (18): in (17) *Ἀττικόν* refers to 'old Attic' while in (18) *οἱ Ἀττικοί* refers to speakers of 'later Attic'. The use of 'Attic' interchangeably with both of these more precise designations may seem absurd, but we have already seen *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*, *ἀττικόν*, *Ἀττικοί*, and *ἀττικῶς* used in relation to 'later Attic' (passages (5), (6), (7), and (8)) as well as *ἀττικῶς* with reference to 'old Attic' (14). In each of these cases we could identify the 'Attic' as 'later' or 'old' by examining other passages discussing the accentuation of the same words; in the present case such evidence is not available but similar inconsistency in the use of the term 'Attic' needs to be assumed.

Passage (17) tells us that the 'general' (i.e. Koine) accentuation of *ἀχρεῖος*/*ἄχρειος* was *ἄχρειος*. The Koine therefore agreed with 'later Attic' against 'old Attic' in the accentuation of this word just as it did in the case of *τροπαῖον*/*τρόπαιον*. From (18) we learn that according to Herodian, who

παθ. 326. 2–19). I do not take the passage to be based very closely on Herodian, not only because of the phrase *ἡ νέα Ἀτθίς* but because Choeroboscus' assertion that Homer belonged to *ἡ παλαιὰ Ἀτθίς* represents a view slightly different from Herodian's: see Stephan (1889: 32–6).

17 I incline to think that Herodian did not work with a hard-and-fast dividing line between 'old' and 'later' Attic, but this question cannot be discussed here.

18 Cf. the more abbreviated scholion Σ *Il.* 2. 269a[2] (b(BE[3])T[il]). Compare also Eust. 217. 39–218. 1.

disagreed with two earlier grammarians, the Homeric form was ἀχρεῖος. The situation according to Herodian is therefore that for this word Homer and 'old Attic' agreed with one another against 'later Attic' and the Koine.

4 Conclusions

In §2 we examined fragments of Herodian that reveal agreement in accentuation between Homer and the Koine against 'later Attic'. The fact that the Koine and 'later Attic' may disagree in accentuation demonstrates that they are not simply equivalent as far as Herodian's knowledge of their accentuation is concerned.

In §3 we examined fragments revealing agreement between 'later Attic' and the Koine against Homer and/or 'old Attic'. These passages would fit much better than would those of §2 with Wackernagel's view that Herodian was essentially contrasting something old with something new (either traditional accentuation of Homer with Koine or earlier with later Koine).

Since, however, the instances of agreement between Homer and the Koine against 'later Attic' (§2) do not allow an interpretation as simply something old vs. something new, there is no particular reason to assume such an interpretation for the passages in §3 either. We need to assume because of the passages in §2 that Herodian had information on the accentuation of a linguistic variety he called 'later Attic' that was distinct from his 'normal' variety (the Koine). We must also assume that he had information on a variety he thought of as being Homer's, clearly not identical to the Koine even if its accentuation agreed with that of the Koine in these cases: from passages (17)–(18) on ἀχρεῖος/ἄχρειος we see that the accentuation assigned to a word for Homer can be different from that of the same word in the Koine.[19]

We may conclude that Herodian assumed the existence of at least three distinct linguistic varieties: the language of Homer, 'later Attic', and the Koine. A fourth variety, 'old Attic', never disagrees with Homer where a distinction is drawn between 'old' and 'later' Attic, yet Herodian's evidence for 'old Attic' accentuation cannot have been based exclusively on traditional pronunciation of Homer because the word τροπαῖον/τρόπαιον, with its specifically 'old Attic' accentuation τροπαῖον, is not attested in Homer.

It remains to ask quite what 'old' and 'later' Attic meant to Herodian. We know that Herodian made use of several Hellenistic works for information on the accentuation of Attic, including the treatise *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς*

[19] For more cases in which the accentuation assigned to a word for Homer is different from that assigned to the same word, or to words of the same category, in the Koine, see the works of Lehrs, Steinthal, Wackernagel, and West cited in n. 2.

προσῳδίας composed by Trypho in the first century BC,[20] and that Herodian himself was also the author of a *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσῳδίας*.[21] My suspicion is that Herodian took over a distinction between earlier and later Attic from the Hellenistic grammarians, and that these grammarians had access to information about the pronunciation of Athenians and to some sort of folk memory of Athenian accentuations that were no longer in use or perhaps used only by older or more linguistically conservative speakers. Wackernagel's suggestion about the *Tradition der Bühnensprache* of Attic tragedy may very well be relevant. Evidence that the Hellenistic grammarians already distinguished between earlier and later Attic when discussing accents is meagre, but one fragment of Trypho on accentuation is transmitted with the term *οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοί*,[22] which may go back to Trypho himself. Furthermore, Choeroboscus in a discussion of *ἡμέραι/ἥμεραι* 'days' and similar nominative plurals (cf. §2) attributes the proparoxytone accentuation to *οἱ . . . Ἀθηναῖοι . . . καὶ μάλιστα οἱ νεώτεροι* 'the . . . Athenians . . . and especially the later [*or* younger?] ones', adding *ὡς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ περὶ Ἀττικῆς συνηθείας γράψαντες* 'as those who write on Attic usage report' (Choer. *Th.* i. 403. 16–19). Choeroboscus' immediate source is almost certainly Herodian,[23] but the phrase *οἱ περὶ Ἀττικῆς συνηθείας γράψαντες* does not look like a reference by Choeroboscus to Herodian but a reference by Herodian to some predecessors. Velsen (1853: 22) suspected, plausibly enough, that the information reported went back specifically to Trypho's *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσῳδίας*. In any case, we may draw the conclusion that one or more of the Hellenistic grammarians Herodian used made distinctions between earlier and later *Ἀθηναῖοι* or *Ἀττικοί*.[24]

One of Herodian's Hellenistic sources for Attic accentuation, a grammarian named Philemon, is most likely to be the glossographer Philemon who

[20] For Herodian's use of Trypho's *Περὶ Ἀττικῆς προσῳδίας*, see Hdn. *Mon.* 948. 1–2 (cf. Tryph. fr. 7); Σ Ar. *Av.* 876c (cf. Tryph. fr. 7); Hunger (1967: 13–14) (fr. 53). In addition, Herodian used Chairis or Chares (Hdn. *Mon.* 947. 29; Σ Ar. *Av.* 876c; cf. Tryph. fr. 7, with Velsen (1853) ad loc.) and a Philemon (Hunger 1967: 13, frr. 52, 53) for information on Attic accentuation. On Philemon, see below.

[21] See *EM* 804. 20; Σ Ar. *Eq.* 487a; *AP* iv. 181. 32–182. 2 (see Cramer ad loc. and Lentz 1867–70: i, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv); Hunger (1967: 14–15) (fr. 58); Velsen (1853: 10).

[22] 'Amm.' 73 = Tryph. fr. 12. Interestingly, the difference in accentuation between *ἁρπαγή* 'seizing' and *ἁρπάγη* 'hook' ascribed here to the *παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοί* is mentioned at [Arcad.] 116. 16–18 as if it were simply 'normal', suggesting that the distinction was not peculiar to the *παλαιοὶ Ἀττικοί* but also characteristic of the Koine. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the same distinction is found in modern Greek. I do not know what to make of these facts.

[23] In any case [Arcad.] 152. 21–153. 4 (passage (5)) and our passage have a common source, since the examples *εὐπράξιαι τιμώριαι αἴτιαι* occur in the same order in each.

[24] Cf. the use of *φασί* 'they say' in passage (7).

lived around 200 BC and made a collection of Attic glosses (so Hunger 1967: 13);[25] he will in any case be the same Philemon who appears as a source for Trypho's knowledge of Attic accentuation at 'Amm.' 405 (=Tryph. fr. 15).[26] Athenaeus (11, 469 A) refers to the glossographer as *Φιλήμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος* ('Philemon the Athenian'), while Trypho's source at 'Amm.' 405 is qualified as *τὸν ἀγξωνέα* or *ἀγξονέα*, a corrupt designation for which Frellonius conjectured *Αἰξωνέα* ('from the Attic deme Aixone'). Every indication thus suggests that the Philemon used by Herodian lived in Attica; he therefore allows us to connect the 'Attic' accentuation discussed by Hellenistic grammarians and then by Herodian with the speech of Athens or Attica rather than with e.g. Atticizers living in Alexandria or Rome.

The conclusion that Herodian's 'old Attic', 'later Attic', and Koine are genuinely separate linguistic varieties, and that his information on 'old Attic' and 'later Attic' is based on Hellenistic wisdom that recorded some linguistic reality relating to Attica, lends more *Belang* than Wackernagel thought to the contrasts Herodian draws between the Koine and various forms of Attic. In particular, by taking these contrasts seriously we may now add further evidence, and some clarification, to an aspect of Vendryes' description of the accent retraction in words such as *ἐρῆμος/ἔρημος* or *τροπαῖον/τρόπαιον*. Vendryes (1904: 263, 1905–6: 222–3) thought the retraction of the accent was a particular characteristic of later Attic but that it was also responsible for the accentuation of a good number of words in the Koine. We may now list some words for which the retracted form is specifically attested for later Attic but excluded from the Koine (*ἔρημος*, *ἕτοιμος*, *ὅμοιος*) and some others for which it is attested for later Attic and also for the Koine (*τρόπαιον*, *ἄχρειος*). The accentuation of such words should be added to the list of respects in which the Koine combined Attic and non-Attic elements.

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[25] See Wendel (1938).

[26] Wendel (1938), and hesitantly Velsen (1853: 19), identify Trypho's source with the glossographer.

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21

Indo-European *(*s*)*mer-* in Greek and Celtic

Peter Schrijver

1 Greek

The early Greek paradigm of the verbal root **smer-* consists of a transitive present μείρομαι 'receive something as a portion' (ἥμισυ μείρεο τιμῆς 'receive half the honour (as your due)', *Il.* 9. 616), which reflects **smer-ye/o-*, and a variety of forms that can be reduced to a single Proto-Greek perfect. The active singular perfect stem **se-smor-* survives in the Aeolic third-person singular ἔμμορε 'is the due receiver of something' (with genitive, e.g. *Il.* 1. 278: ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς 'is the receiver of common honour'). The zero-grade root is attested in middle forms: Ionic third-person singular middle pluperfect εἵμαρτο 'it was destined' (*Il.* 21. 281) < **he-hmar-* < **se-smr̥-*, and presumably Doric third-person singular middle perfect ἔμβραται· εἵμαρται (Hesych. 2313) 'it is destined' < **he-hmra-* < **se-smr̥-*. The substantivized perfect middle feminine participle, Ionic εἱμαρμένη, carries the meaning 'fate'.

These facts have long been recognized. The archaic perfect morphology has persuaded Indo-Europeanists that the origins of this verb must be sought in Proto-Indo-European (thus recently *LIV*^{2} 570). Support comes from an accompanying set of ablauting nominal forms, such as:

μόρος 'fate, destiny, doom, death, corpse' < **smór-o-*
μοῖρα 'part, portion; lot, destiny; proper destiny, propriety, doom' < **smór-ih*$_2$
μέρος 'part, portion, destiny, share, turn' < **smér-es-*[1]

Yet the other cornerstone of IE reconstruction beside archaic morphology, viz. comparative evidence from other IE languages, would seem to be almost completely lacking. The only reliable counterpart that has been identified so far is Latin *mereō*, *mereor* 'to earn, merit, deserve'.[2] All other

[1] If εὐ-μαρής 'easy, convenient' reflects **-smr̥-és-* (with analogical syllabic *r̥* after the type (Aeolic) κρέτος 'strength', -κρατής < **krét-os*, **-kr̥té:s*), it is an archaic hysterodynamic counterpart of the proterodynamic *s*-stem **smér-os* (Forssman 1966: 135 ff.).

[2] Hittite *marriya-* 'zerstückeln, schmelzen, auflösen' probably does not belong here: see

Latin forms belonging to the etymon, such as *merenda*, *meretrix*, *meritum*, are transparent derivatives of the verb, which, being an atypical *e*-grade *ē*-verb (old statives have zero grade, old iterative-causatives *o*-grade of the root), may well be denominal.[3] As words attested only in Latin and Greek are suspected of having been borrowed (cf. *pirus*, *ἄπιος* 'pear-tree'), the main argument for a PIE origin of the etymon remains Greek morphology. And even if Greek morphology suffices for this purpose, the question remains whether the rich semantic range of the Greek etymon compared with the homogeneity of Latin is a Greek innovation or an inheritance from PIE.

It is the aim of this short contribution to bolster the case for a PIE origin of the etymon and of some of its semantic properties (portion → fate → doom → death, corpse) by producing Celtic evidence that, as far as I can see, has hitherto been overlooked.

2 Irish *ma*(*i*)*rt*

Old and Middle Irish *mart*, a masculine *o*-stem, occurs beside *mairt*, which, on the evidence of the genitive sg. and nominative pl. *marta,* is an *i*-stem. It is a rare word, so that the question which of the two inflexions is original (if not both) cannot be plausibly answered. The meaning can only be grasped approximately. The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (*DIL*) comments: '*A death*, esp. one caused by accident or violence; often *a slaughter, a massacre* . . .; a poetic word, occurring in rhetorics, prophecies, etc.; interpretations given below are conjectural.'

A typical example is found in a poem commemorating the flooding of Líathmuine in *Lebor na hUidre*. The legendary Lí Bán, daughter of King Eochu mac Maireda, was one of the very few persons to survive the flood. Having spent three hundred years in the water in the company of her lap-dog, which had meanwhile changed into an otter, she was fished out by a certain Béoan mac Inli. On that occasion she chanted a long poem on the fate that had befallen her and her family. One of the stanzas goes as follows (*LU* 3007–10):

Tischler (1990: 129–30). *IEW*'s connection (969–70) with **smer-* 'remember' is unsatisfactory for reasons of semantics.

[3] *LIV*²'s reconstruction (570) **smr̥-h*$_1$*yé-* (with secondary *e*-grade) is unsatisfactory as long as it has not been shown that **-h*$_1$*ye-* can yield **-aye-* (rather than **-ye-*) and **-aye-* can yield **-ē-* (rather than **-ā-*).

Mara[4] matan matan mairt
ní fúar ethar ni fúar bairc
is and dolluid ba scél nglé
Lind Muni dar Líathmune.

Morning of the flood (?), morning of *mart*
I found boat nor ship
Then came—a clear story
Lake Muini over Líathmuine.

As the poem mentions the morning just before the flood, *mart* could in theory be understood as *premonition* of death/massacre, as *impending* death. This interpretation receives support from a number of instances where *mart/mairt* is used in prophecies of battles and deaths:

Mairt hi Crinda céin mbess bith hi foichret slūaig Hērend grith '*mart* at (the battle of) Crinda, (famous) as long as the world shall be, in which the hosts of Ireland will reverberate' (*Baile in Scáil*, *ZCP* 13 (1921), 376, l. 20 [Rawl.])

Bebaid Cormac cáin marb dia mairt hi tōeb Cletig, adcōinfet Gōidil 'Fine Cormac will die, dead by his *mart* at Tóeb Cletig, the Irish will lament him' (*Baile in Scáil*, *ZCP* 13 (1921), 376. l. 25 [Rawl.])

Bid mairb dia mairt i toaibh Cletig 'They [sc. Fergus and Enda] will be dead by their *mart* in Tóeb Cletig' (*Baile in Scáil*, *ZCP* 13 (1921), 376 n. 7 [H], a condensed version of this and the previous quotation from Rawl.)

Mairt i Liphimaig arathá, bebaid and in rīgnía '*mart* in the plain of the Liffey is impending, there the king's nephew/champion will die' (*Baile in Scáil*, *ZCP* 13 (1921), 377, l. 4 [Rawl.])

mífocul marmarta, translated in *DIL* as 'a bad word of great death' (=a prognostication of slaughter?) (*O'Davoren's Glossary*, *Archiv für Celtische Lexicographie*, 2 (1904), 628)

Hence I tentatively suggest that *mart*, *mairt* approximately means 'prognosticated or impending death, death fate'.

Irish has what might seem to be a different word *mart*, which means 'cow destined to be slaughtered, victim, slaughtered cow'. This probably represents a highly specialized usage of the first *mart*. Its meaning can be understood as an extension of 'impending death' to 'animal that is for the chop'.

In the version of *Cormac's Glossary* that is found in the Yellow Book of Lecan, *mart* is explained etymologically as follows: *mart quasi morti .i. ōn báss* '*mart*, as if (Latin) *morti*, that is, death'. The Irish word cannot be

[4] The manuscript has *máré*, which does not seem to make sense. I tentatively emend to *mara*, Gsg. of *muir* 'sea'.

explained as a straightforward loanword from Latin *mors*, *mortis* as in that case the attested form should have been **moirt*. The glossator adduced the Latin gloss because of its similarity to the Irish word with a view to constructing its etymology. This background renders the semantic adequacy of the gloss doubtful: the only reliable conclusion one can draw from the entry in *Cormac's Glossary* is that *mart* must have had a meaning sufficiently close to 'death' in order to make a credible comparison with *mors* in the eyes of an early Irish scholar. The similarity of *mart* to the Latin loanwords *martir* 'martyr' and *martre* 'martyrdom' may have influenced his understanding of the origin and meaning of *mart*, too, but neither can account directly for the etymology in the modern sense of the word. What does seem to be possible, however, is that *ma(i)rt* is the result of an *étymologie croisée* of Lat. *mortis* with Irish *marb* 'dead' < **mr̥-wo-* (De Bernardo Stempel 1987: 129), but this proposal leans heavily on the semantic reliability of the gloss in *Cormac's Glossary*. Less probable is that *mart* is a *Rückbildung* of *martrae* (De Bernardo Stempel 1999: 569; what could have been the model?) or that it drew its vocalism from a supposedly reduplicated **mr-mr-t-* (Hamp 1973: 153–4; phonologically difficult: **mr-mr-t-* should have become **mrimrit-*). On these and other proposals, see Irslinger (2002: 299).

LEIA M-21 therefore understandably rejects the opinion that *mart* is ultimately a Latin loanword. It regards the relation between *mart* and *mors* as one of common inheritance of a PIE root **mer-* 'to die'. This interpretation too leans heavily on the supposed meaning 'death' of the Irish form, however, which, as we saw, is unreliable. Moreover, the feature 'prognostication' that appears to be present in many instances of *ma(i)rt* in poetry is then considered a secondary development, which is no more than an arbitrary presupposition. Before committing ourselves to an opinion for or against *LEIA*'s etymology, however, the Brittonic material needs to be addressed.

3 Brittonic **marθ*

As far as I am aware it has not been recognized that Brittonic has a close cognate of Irish *mart*, which occurs as Welsh *marth*, Cornish *marth*, and Breton *marzh*.

Welsh *marth* is a rare and nowadays obsolete word. *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* translates it tentatively as 'sorrow, distress, ?painful wonder or surprise, fright; ?shame, disgrace'. The question arises whether all or any of these rather different glosses are supported by the material. An evaluation

is rendered difficult by the fact that *marth* usually occurs in contexts which allow a number of semantic interpretations.

The twelfth-century poet Gwalchmai ap Meilyr uses our word twice in an elegy on the death of Madawg ap Maredudd:

Llawurydet urydeu yt Madawc ys meu
Marth gofyeu gyfesgar.
(ll. 57–8)

Sad thoughts of Madawg have I
Separation (evokes) memories of *marth*.

Eil marth mawr mor de, eil yrth, eil syrth se.
(l. 87)

This (is yet) another great *marth*, so burning, another shock, another collapse.

Caerwyn Williams, who edited and translated the poem,[5] interpreted *marth* as 'sadness, sorrow', which is possible in principle, but so are many other translations conveying similar feelings, including a close equivalent of its Irish cognate, 'untimely death'.

A rather different context from the formulaic, elegiac usage of *marth* is found in J I, 1073:

Marth y llygoden ny bo namyn vn ffeu idi.

Marth to the mouse that has but one hole.

Although a translation like 'sorrow' cannot be excluded, an interpretation 'premature, impending death' or 'death fate' *vel sim.* has the advantage of being less bland and of allowing a connection with both the Welsh elegiac usage and Irish *mart*.

The earliest Welsh instance of *marth* has a different shade of meaning. It occurs in the Old Welsh elegy on the death of Ywain, which is ascribed to Aneirin and found in Recension A. Here it says:[6]

Marth ym pa vro llad vn mab marro.

(It is a) *marth* in which country Marro's only son has been killed.

An approximate translation of *marth* as 'premature death' or 'sorrow' seems excluded. Editors usually take it to mean '(sorrowful) surprise, wonder'. Both Koch ('I wonder') and Jackson ('I marvel') translate *marth* with a finite verb. What is expressed here is, of course: 'Which country produces such powerful warriors that these were capable of slaying Marro's only son?'

[5] Caerwyn Williams (1994: 151–2 (text), 159–60, 305 (Modern Welsh translations: *tristwch*, *poenus*)).

[6] Williams (1978: i, 19–20); Jackson (1969: 115) (A. 1); Koch (1997: 52–3).

This particular meaning is found in Middle Cornish, too. Lines 2391–2 of *Passio Christi* are part of an argument between two doctors. One of them says:

> er the pyn cousaf cowal
> marth am bues ath lauarow
>
> I contradict you utterly
> I'm astounded [lit. *marth* I have] by your words.

The derivative *marthus* means 'miracle', as in *Passio Christi* 81–2, where Satan addresses Jesus:

> mar sos dev a nef golow
> dysqua lemman marthusow.
>
> If thou art God from shiny heaven
> now show (thy) miracles.

This semantic thread can be picked up in Middle Breton *marz* 'miracle'. An illustrative example is stanza 98 of *Tremenvan an Itron Maria* (Hemon 1981):

> Euel maz pegas quen cruel
> En corff vayllant ayoa santel
> Ez manas hep goap e dou dornn
> Ha nenndoae marz beden arzornn.
>
> When so cruelly he grasped
> At the precious, holy body,
> His hands—this is no joke—dropped off
> —wasn't it a miracle?—at the wrists.

4 Evaluation

As far as the scanty material allows, the Celtic dossier now seems complete. Brittonic and Irish presuppose a noun **marto-* and/or **marti-* with two distinguishable semantic specializations:

(1) 'impending or premature death' (Irish and Welsh), with a specialized development to a *nomen concretum* '(animal) characterized by impending death', whence 'cow that is to be slaughtered', whence 'slaughtered cow' (Irish);
(2) 'unnatural or supernatural action (with potentially fatal consequences)', whence 'wonder, marvel' and 'miracle, marvel' (Old Welsh, Cornish, and Breton).

If we let go of the notion that 'death' was the essential feature of the semantic make-up of the word underlying these Celtic nouns, the gap between both meanings can be bridged. Greek offers a close parallel: *μόρος* spans the semantic distance between 'fate, destiny' and 'doom, death, corpse', where 'death' clearly is a specialized development of the meaning 'fate'. Within a Christian context, the supernatural control exerted by fate becomes equal to 'divine intervention', whence 'miracle', which in turn can give rise to 'feeling of wonder', whence 'surprise, wonder', as happened in so many European languages (Engl. (*to*) *wonder*, (*to*) *marvel*; German *Wunder*, *wundern*, etc.).

Rather than a mere typological semantic parallel, Greek *μόρος* is a cognate of the Celtic forms. On the assumption that its root, **smer-*, contains a mobile *s-*, Celtic **marto-*, **marti-* can be reconstructed as **mar-sto-/-sti-* < **mr-sto-/-sti-*. The reconstruction of **s* is required in order to produce the correct vocalization of syllabic *r̥*. *On stV*-suffixes in Celtic, see Schrijver (1995: 406 ff.).

As Celtic and Greek share root as well as meaning and the root is definitely ascribable to PIE, it is probable that its use in connection with the notion of fate and the role of fate in determining one's point of death goes back to PIE as well.

5 Brittonic and Latin

We have seen that Breton *marzh* adopted the meaning 'miracle' in a Christian sense. In Cornish, it is the derivative *marthus* that carries that meaning. Its plural, *marthegyon* (*Passio Christi* 770; *Resurrectio Domini* 1259), points to a Proto-British reconstruction **marth-üd*, with **-d*. Hence the suffix is not to be confused with that of Breton *marzhus*, Middle Cornish *marthys* 'miraculous', which reflects Latin *-ōsus*. Within Celtic a suffix **-üd* remains unexplained.

In late Latin, *virtūs* 'virtue' was often used with the Christian meaning 'miracle', and it is with this meaning that the word was borrowed into Old Irish (*fiurt*) and Welsh (*gwyrth*); both reflect the nominative. Breton *berzud*, *burzud* (with a common assimilation) is based on the Latin oblique stem, *virtūt-*. This regularly yielded Breton **gwerzud*, which, however, must have adopted the labiodental voiced fricative of French *vertu*. Breton **verzud* was then interpreted as a Breton lenited form, as is usual in the case of such loanwords,[7] and a new unlenited form, **berzud*, was created. As Cornish is closely related to Breton (both languages cannot be meaningfully distinguished until at least the eleventh century AD), probably it originally had

[7] Cf. Breton *beaj* from French *voyage* and see Jackson (1967: 97).

an exact counterpart of *berzud*, viz. **gwïrthüd*, which would have become Middle Cornish **gwyrthus*. By crossing this with the inherited word for 'miracle', *marth*, Middle Cornish *marthus* arose, which ousted **gwyrthus*.[8]

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[8] The idea that *marth*, *marthus*, *marz*(*h*) can be completely explained as Latin loanwords based on *virtus* (e.g. Ernault 1888: 333, who refers to Stokes) cannot be maintained for formal reasons (*ma-* remains unexplained).

22

Χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ (*AVI* 2)

Rudolf Wachter

1 Introduction and Evidence

Between about 560 and 525 BC (i.e. in the Peisistratan era), many Athenian potters and painters produced a particular type of wine-cup, usually called the 'little-master cup' (Beazley 1932). Most of these are 'lip-cups'. Some bear no figured decoration ('plain' cups),[1] many have figured decoration on the lip (Ext.: A, B) and a plain interior (Int.),[2] or a plain lip and inside a figure-decorated tondo, or, rarely, there is figured decoration inside and out. In a closely related type of cup, in which the lip is less clearly marked off from the bowl and painted black, the handle zone is often decorated, mostly with several to many figures, the interior rarely ('band-cups').

On many lip-cups and some band-cups there are meaningful inscriptions,[3] almost exclusively in the handle zone. The majority are potter's signatures (ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίε̄σεν); painter's signatures (ὁ δεῖνα ἔγραφσεν) are extremely rare. The other frequent type of inscription usually begins with χαῖρε καὶ π-. A typical lip-cup is shown in Fig. 22.1.[4] The inscriptions are in such a prominent position—mostly written on both sides of the cup—that Beazley said:

We know the names of some five-and-fifty Attic black-figure artists in all: so that more than half are known from little-master cups and nearly half from little-master

Earlier versions were read at the 'Mittelrheinisches Symposium' (Giessen, 11 Jan. 2002) and the 'Metageitnia' (Neuchâtel, 18 Jan. 2002), in the Archaeological Institute, Heidelberg (30 Jan. 2002), and at the conference 'The New Look of Ancient Greek' at Berkeley (13 Apr. 2002). Although you heard the main points on the last occasion, Anna, I hope you will still like it in your Festschrift. Χαῖρε!

1 Apart from palmettes next to the handles—a very elegant 'nothing'!

2 Mostly a reserved tondo with one or two concentric circles and a central dot.

3 Nonsense or imitation inscriptions are frequent too, also on figure-decorated band-cups.

4 Beazley, *Para.*, 77/1; Wachter (2004: no. 76); the same inscription, no doubt by the same hand, on Vatican G 61, *Para.* 77/2, *CAVI* 7025.

Fig. 22.1. Lip-cup with details of the inscriptions on sides A and B. See n. 4. Switzerland, private. Reproduced by permission of the owner. Photographs © Rudolf Wachter

cups only. What is the reason for this preponderance? Is it not that whereas, in most sorts of vase, inscriptions are an inessential adjunct to the decoration, in the little-master cup, and especially in the lip-cup, they are an integral part of the total design? (Beazley 1932: 194).[5]

But we should go on and ask: Why did the little-masters create this design in the first place? Was the decorative design not secondary and did it not reflect the artists' primary need to produce cups that could exhibit these inscriptions in such a prominent way? And we should further ask: What could have been the motivation for this sudden exuberance of writing? Can we find some criteria for their writing a signature on one cup and a *χαῖρε* address on another? And what about the several versions of the *χαῖρε* formula?

If we want to get a full view of the formula and its variants, Henry Immerwahr's *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions*[6] is an excellent starting point. The *CAVI* entries of the vases here analysed are published (with addenda and corrigenda), and anomalies in the inscriptions discussed, in a separate article (Wachter 2004), in order not to overload the present argument.

The situation is as follows:

- The most frequent variant is *χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ*. It occurs on at least 46 vases by many different painters; only very few contain mistakes. On 3 more there is *χαῖρε σύ, καὶ πίει εὖ*, and on 6 *Σύ, χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ τοι*. Fifty-four are lip-cups and 1 is a band-cup.
- The next most frequent variant is *χαῖρε καὶ πίει τένδε*, where we have to supply a feminine noun, e.g. *κύλικα*. It is attested on 24 vases, 23 lip-cups, and 1 band-cup. On four of them there is *τεδι*, probably just emphatic *τε̄νδί*.[7] Some unusual forms will be discussed below, §4.
- No more than 2 vases (lip-cups) have *χαῖρε καὶ πίει με*. They are 'speaking objects', showing a frequent communicative trick in inscriptions by the Greeks, Romans, Etruscans, etc. On vases it can be observed with many of the potters' and painters' signatures (e.g. *Ἐχσε̄κίᾱς μ' ἐποίε̄σεν εὖ*).
- The three-word variant *χαῖρε καὶ πίει* occurs on 18 vases. Since most of them are very exceptional cases,[8] it cannot have been a standard form,

[5] See also Boardman (1974: 65); Lissarrague (1987: 61).

[6] On *CAVI* see Wachter (forthcoming). A short discussion of the formulae in Immerwahr (1990: 48).

[7] For the lack of nu see Wachter (2004: §4, introd.).

[8] Two vases of this group show full formulae too. There are single examples on a band-cup, an eye-cup, a cup of type A, an oinochoe, an amphora. Three show a *kalos*-inscription as well. One, a band-cup, has irregular *πιεις*. Four show clear mistakes, one of them labels too. Two are uncertain. Only one or two can be called 'normal'.

despite its frequency, and will have been a reduction of the preceding versions.

- There are 2 or 3 vases which show the variant *χαῖρε καὶ πίει σύ*, an emphatic extension of the three-word variant; 1 vase has it the other way round: *σύ, χαῖρε καὶ πίει*. All are lip-cups.
- Finally, 4 or 5 more fragmentary vases, probably all lip-cups, show parts of *χαῖρε καὶ πίει* but cannot be ascribed to one of the above categories, and fragments of another 14 vases, mostly lip-cups, show parts of *χαῖρε καὶ* and thus may also belong here (but see below, §3).

The total number of vases listed here is 120 (only 9 of them do not have a *CAVI* entry). All variants of the formula had been known for a long time, but it was difficult to judge the proportions and the total number. The proportions are important if we want to judge what is normal and what is exceptional, and to try to investigate the function or functions. There are three important questions we have to ask: (1) Who is talking to whom? (2) How are we to interpret *πιει*? (3) What is the meaning of *χαῖρε*?

2 Figured Decoration and Sizes

Before we try to answer these questions we need to have a look at the figured decoration and the sizes of the cups. As for the decoration (mostly in the tondo inside or on the lip outside), it is important to note that the illustrations on the cups frequently have homoerotic connotations.

On three tondo pictures, probably each by a different painter, a man extends one hand under the chin of a youth, which is a widespread gesture of asking a favour, and the other hand is at the youth's genitals, *ὀρχιπεδίζων*.[9] One of these cups has the normal *χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ*, the others, one certainly, one probably, the emphatic *χαῖρε καὶ πίει σύ*.

Many cups show animals, some of which, e.g. cocks or hares, were popular as gifts to *ἐρώμενοι* from their *ἐρασταί*.[10] These animals, even those given as love-gifts, were meant to prepare the boy, mentally and practically, for hunting (killing included) and for fighting.[11] These themes are alluded to on the vast majority of our cups: there are hares (in hunting contexts), goats, a ram, a hind, a deer, fawns, a mule, a wounded stag, a cock, swans, and other birds. (A cup of similar type and the same period shows a frieze

[9] (1) Munich 2132, *CAVI* 5216, now damaged; a cloak and a dead hare hung up may signal the return after the common hunt. Ext. plain. (2) Ex London (Sotheby, 14–15.12.1981, no. 270), *CAVI* 4788, also with cloak and hare hung up. Ext. plain. (3) Copenhagen 13966, *CAVI* 3257.

[10] See Dover (1978: 92); Koch-Harnack (1983).

[11] See Koch-Harnack (1983: 54 ff.).

of swans and hens with *χαίρετε* on one side and *παῖδες* on the other, a direct address to the youngsters.[12]) Often, animals are shown fighting (or facing each other, about to fight), particularly cocks, but also rams, panthers, and centaurs. Fighting and hunting can be combined with lions attacking a bull; a youth and a man pursuing centaurs; a youth attacking a lion or a panther; men fighting a winged lion and a sphinx. Sirens, sphinxes, and centaurs evoke an unreal, imaginative wilderness. Young riders may also be shown. Heroic scenes are almost entirely restricted to the same sphere, with Herakles and the Boar, the Hind, the Lion, and Triton, Bellerophon and the Chimaera, Theseus and the Minotaur. Also, gorgons and harpies do not seem out of place. Deities shown are Artemis or Apollo between lions. Scenes related to non-hunting sports and mythological scenes of other kinds are extremely rare and restricted to very unusual cups.

On a few pieces there are *kalos*-inscriptions as well, praising boys in their teens: three lip-cups, two of which are 'head cups' (with a female head on the lip), bear the identical texts *Στροῖβος καλός* and *χαῖρε καὶ πίει*.[13]

It therefore seems tempting to connect our cups with the homoerotic sphere, and more precisely with homoerotic *courting* on the part of the *ἐραστής*, who by means of the cup promises his *ἐρώμενος* gifts and a (common) adventurous life out in the wilderness. And, of course, the immediate context was the symposium.

The female world is also present, though not at all predominant: one cup shows a satyr pursuing a maenad. The six cups by Sakonides show his stereotyped female heads. There is also a scene with bulls and cows, and one with a cock and hen which may belong.

Of course there are very many more lip-cups with or without inscriptions, whose paintings we might consider in this connection, but first, as far as I can see, the thematic range that we have just encountered is quite typical and near complete, and second, we should not too readily compare those lip-cups with and those without *χαῖρε* inscriptions, since they need not have had the same function. It is true that most of these painted subjects and figures were highly conventional. But that is true of almost everything painted on cups, so it is the *choice* that is relevant. In particular, we should stress the fact that two themes are completely absent from the cups with our types of formula, namely war (arming, departure and other chariot scenes, duels of warriors, etc.) and sex (lovemaking, satyrs masturbating, etc.),

[12] Droop cup. Paris, Louvre CA 2512, *CAVI* 6676. *CV*, France 14, III H e, pl. 93.6–9.

[13] We may also compare: (1) a lip-cup with Dionysus, satyrs, and maenads which bears an echo of our formula, *πῖνε κ(α)ὶ χα(ῖ)ρε : Λύκις καλός*. (2) An oinochoe of the same period with *Νεοκλείδε̄ς καλός* beside a symposiast who is telling his flute-playing companion, *χαῖρε καὶ πί[ε]ι̣*; on the cup that he is holding there is a graffito *Καλ(λ)ία̅ς κα̣(λός)*.

whereas on band-cups—or on the Siana cups (earlier and contemporary) and other larger black-figure cups—they occur quite often. This cannot be explained simply by layout preferences, since, for example, the band (handle zone) of the band-cup is neither higher nor wider nor easier to paint or look at than the lip. And we should not forget that most little-master cups were excellent and no doubt rather expensive ware, even those with little or no figured decoration. There must be a different reason.

As for the size of the cups, and its relation to decoration and type of formula, there are some interesting statistics too:[14]

- Those with the *τένδε* or *τε̄νδί* formula are clearly the smallest, with an average diameter of 16.44 cm. The interior is decorated in only two cases, the lip always (except of course in the one band-cup).
- The cups with *εὖ* are larger. The average is 17.97 cm., a quarter are plain inside and out (16.32 cm.), a quarter have a decorated lip and an undecorated interior (16.50 cm.) or decorated interiors and exteriors (21.36 cm.), half have a decorated interior but a plain exterior (17.88 cm.).
- The cups with potters' signatures (75 lip-cups checked) are even larger with an average of 20.09/21.45 cm.[15] A third bear no figured decoration (18.46/20.12 cm.), a sixth in the interior only (20.27/21.54 cm.), over a third on the lip only (22.05/22.12 cm.), a tenth inside and out (20.40/24.70 cm.).

Conclusions. (1) There is a clear difference between the *τένδε* cups and the *εὖ* cups in both size and decoration. This suggests that we should keep our minds open also to explanations in terms of function and cautiously speak of two different formulae instead of two variants of one formula, as scholars usually do, especially since these are general tendencies observable with several painters (and probably potters). It is true that we do not have *τένδε* cups and *εὖ* cups proven to be by the same painter (even less, potter); but neither does the small rate of attributed cups allow the conclusion that individual artists' predilections are a *sufficient* explanation for the distribution of size, decoration, and formula.[16] (2) It seems reasonable from the above figures to claim that a decorated interior was more of a 'luxury' than a decorated lip. This is understandable in view of the fact that the interior is only visible to the drinker and only if there is no wine in

[14] The full figures in Wachter (2004: introd.).

[15] The second figures exclude the cups by Xenokles, whose individual average is a low 15.47 cm.

[16] This is also important because one may be tempted to explain the paradoxical distribution '*τένδε* formula (17 letters) on smaller, *εὖ* formula (14 letters) on larger cups' simply in terms of individual fashion.

the cup, whereas the exterior 'speaks' at least as much to the others as to the drinker. (3) As for the signed cups, which are larger still (again by an average of around 2 cm.), it seems as if the decoration was less important and an interior decoration a rather unnecessary 'luxury'.[17]

3 Pragmatics: Who is Speaking?

Let us now turn to the formulae and ask the first question: Who is talking to whom? Here we have to consider a similar formula which also contains *χαῖρε καὶ π-* but no reference to drinking: *χαῖρε καὶ πρίō με*, sometimes *ἐμέ*. As this formula occurs exclusively on lip- and band-cups of the same period and kind, it must somehow be related to the others. It is attested on 10–12 cups and means '*χαῖρε*, and buy me!' (or rather '. . . buy *me*!'), with aorist imperative *πρίω*. I would like to call this formula the *merchant's formula*. About its reading and interpretation there had been some discussion before the matter was settled some forty years ago by Immerwahr on the basis of the full material.[18] In this formula it is always the cup that is speaking, as in many potters' and painters' signatures, and it must have been evident to any reader that here too the true speaker was the potter, interested in a successful sale but hiding behind his product.[19]

The case is quite different with our *πίει* formulae. Those which contain an accusative at all regularly have the pronoun of the third person, *τένδε*, the odd cases of *πίει με* being clearly just casual contaminations of *πίει τένδε* with the merchant's formula and with the potters' and painters' signatures that have *με*. This marked difference in the use of the pronoun must also reflect a pragmatic difference between the drinking and the merchant's formulae. In other words, it is clear whom we should *not* imagine as the speaker of the drinking formulae. For if the use of the speaking-object trick is almost completely avoided, this can only mean, first, that we are *not* to understand the potter or painter as the (hidden) speaker, as we have to in

[17] Even here the length of the texts can only have had partial relevance. Xenokles, for example, shows that a signature (of 17–18 letters) could easily be applied on very small cups, and even Tleson's signature (mostly with patronymic, i.e. 22 letters) is found on many cups painted by the Tleson Painter which are smaller than some of the same painter's cups that bear drinking inscriptions.

[18] Immerwahr (1964), following Beazley (1935: 476), who refers to Chr. Blinkenberg (see *CV*, Denmark 3, pl. 117.5, text). Blatter (1973) published a new piece and came to the same conclusion; see also Blatter (1975). On several occasions in *CAVI*, Immerwahr corrects the wrong spelling *πρίου* in Immerwahr (1990: 48 and index, 208).

[19] Particularly revealing is the use of the emphatic pronoun: 'buy *me*—not a cup made by someone else'. In fact, even the spelling *πριομε* may be interpreted with the stressed pronoun: *πρίō 'μέ*.

the similar merchant's formula and many artists' signatures. And second, the very fact that a third-person pronoun is used suggests that here the cup could not assume the part of the speaker. It is true that there are expressions such as ὅδε ὁ ἀνήρ as variants of the first-person pronoun, particularly if the speaker for a moment chooses to step back from his identity and point to himself, objectivizing himself, so to speak. But in our case, where we are dealing with an object, such a sophisticated interpretation makes no sense in view of the banal use of the pronoun με for 'speaking vases' in the other types of inscription.[20] It is much more natural, indeed inevitable, to understand a real, human speaker here, only to *us* it may not be as evident as it was to the Greeks who he was and in which situation he spoke which formula.

In fact, one cup shows both a painter's signature, Σακōνίδēς ἔγραφσεν ἐμ̣[έ], where the vase speaks of itself in the first person, and χαῖρε καὶ πίẹι τ̣ē(ν)δί, where someone else speaks of it in the third. On the above-mentioned oinochoe (see n. 13) the formula χαῖρε καὶ πί̣ẹι̣ is clearly pronounced by a bearded symposiast named Διον(ύ)σιος, who is holding a cup, to another, also bearded, who is playing the diaulos.[21] Therefore, the speaker of the formula with the particular pronoun τένδε was most likely a human who held the cup in his hands (perhaps in one hand, pointing at it with the other) while facing the person to whom he was speaking the formula. And if it was not the painter or potter, then the most obvious person is the one who first possessed the vase when it had left the potter's shop, i.e. the customer.

It is true that, strictly speaking, this argument is only valid for the τένδε formula, as in the εὖ formula there is no accusative and the reader was free to supply what he wanted. But I find it hard to believe that the Greeks, familiar with χαῖρε καὶ πίει τένδε, should have automatically supplied με in the normal formula, χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ. Even in the very frequent artists' signatures without με we should not take it for granted that everyone always understood με, i.e. a 'speaking object'. Whenever there is no such self-reference in a text, the most natural reaction of a human—not only in a barely literate society like Athens in the sixth century BC—is to imagine a human speaking, not the medium bearing the text.[22] This was also the

[20] I cannot therefore agree with Lissarrague (1987: 60): '*khaire kai piei tende*, "réjouis-toi et bois-moi". Le démonstratif *tende* est à la première personne et désigne le vase, émetteur du salut.'

[21] *Pace CV*, Germany 61, pl. 40, text.

[22] It may be different with statues or statuettes, where the custom of speaking-object inscriptions will have started.

reaction of the painter who added χαῖρε καὶ πί[ε]ι̣ to the mouth of the bearded symposiast.[23]

4 The Form πίει

Next we have to examine the main riddle of our formulae, namely the form πίει. The discussion of this form has a long history, which can be summarized as follows. The only interpretation which accepts the form as normal Attic makes it a future form of πῖνειν, viz. πῖῃι, the second-person singular of πῖομαι. The middle voice is the regular future formation of this verb, and the fact that our form is written with an epsilon almost throughout is no problem, since this is the expected spelling in the Attic local alphabet of the time of black-figure vases.[24] On the other hand, neither a form with a short diphthong [ei] nor one with a spurious diphthong—i.e. [ẹ̄] from contraction [ĕ] + [ĕ] or compensatory lengthening of [ĕ]—exists. The suggestion that our form may be the future tense was made as early as 1830 by the art historian Theodor Panofka, who interpreted it as the equivalent of an imperative.[25] Paul Kretschmer, however, denied this possibility, saying that together with χαῖρε we expect an imperative (Kretschmer 1894: 196). He also did away with a few more attempts at interpretation which are indeed quite impossible from a linguistic point of view. On the other hand, he preferred the explanation by Wilhelm Schulze (1892: 388 n. 3) that we have here a combination of the aorist imperative πίε[26] and the Homeric particle εἰ (as in εἰ δ' ἄγε), which Schulze had explained as a full-grade imperative form of the verbal root *i 'to go'. This etymology of εἰ is still accepted now[27]—at least, there are no better explanations. But εἰ is always in

[23] Lissarrague (1987: 59–60), before his statement cited in n. 20, fails to consider that a primarily oral formula occasionally written down is far more plausible than an exclusively 'mute', written formula, added by mistake in front of the mouth of a figure by such a well-informed artist as the Taleides Painter. His distinction between 'le plan de la figuration' and 'la surface du vase en tant que vase, et non plus comme support d'image' cannot save his view, I think.

[24] From *c*.400 BC the spelling πίει was appropriate even in Ionic script, due to a sound change; see Schwyzer (1939: 201 etc.); Threatte (1980–96: i. 368 ff.).

[25] Panofka (1830: 48): '*Χαῖρε καὶ πίει* (2) *εὖ, salut, et buvez bien*', with n. 2: 'On ne s'étonnera pas de trouver la seconde personne du futur au lieu de l'impératif du présent.' Threatte (1980–96: ii. 458) attributes the interpretation to Bergk but does not give a reference.

[26] A rare form in early literature. There is only *Od.* 9. 347, where a monosyllabic form would also suit (see n. 57; Aeolic?), and even πῖν(ε), the normal form in Homer, may be restored (οἶνος is often used without digamma in the *Odyssey*); there was no particular need for aorist.

[27] See Dunkel (1985), who collects similar constructions 'go! + imperative' in other Indo-European languages; for Greek see 63–6 (πίει is not discussed).

the first position, never postponed,[28] and even if *ἄγε can* (rarely) be added after an imperative (e.g. *εἶπ' ἄγε*), this does not automatically mean that, as Schulze claims, 'sic poterat certe *εἶ* quoque verbo suffigi'. Nor is *βάσκ' ἴθι*, a double imperative 'go, go!', a decisive parallel. Schulze's explanation of *πίει* later found its way into the standard grammar by Eduard Schwyzer (1939: 804). Before that, Kretschmer himself had tried to confirm it by means of the Lesbian imperatives *ἄγιτ(ε)* and *ạγ̣ί̣τ̣ω*, which he explained by contraction of *ἄγε*+*ἴτε* and *ἴτω*, respectively (Kretschmer 1917: 256). But these are irrelevant, since it is clearly *ἄγε* that is the particle, and the verb 'to go' the main verb exhibiting the different endings, whereas for Schulze to be right we would need them the other way round, viz. *ἄγε* (~*πίε*) as the main verb and *ἴτε* (~*εἰ*) the particle. The Lesbian forms are therefore no more than possible cases of the addition of *ἄγε* to an imperative, and can neither support the claim that *εἰ* comes from *εἶ* 'go!' nor the view that such an *εἶ* 'go!' hides in our form *πίει*. On the whole, Schulze's explanation of *πίει* is unsatisfactory in itself and insufficiently supported by other evidence.

Schwyzer also discusses, and implicitly rejects, other suggestions which involve extracting some particle from the end of our form. One of them was put forward by Karl Brugmann, who claimed that [i] at the end should be the deictic particle *ί́*. He made the same claim for the forms *ἄγει* (Doric) and *δίδοι* (Pindar). Yet this particle is long and stressed, which does not work for *ἄγει* and *δίδοι*, and moreover it seems to be restricted to pronouns, so that we can hardly accept that it might be repeated, as in the four cups with *πίει τε̄(ν)δί́*. The theory was later modified by Calvert Watkins (1969: 122–3), who in turn rejects the Schulze–Kretschmer theory and prefers an explanation by recent analogy with primary forms. Yet this solution is hardly any safer, since the alleged parallels *ἄγει* and *δίδοι*, with which he too compares our *πίει*, are forms of the present stem, where primary endings are to be expected, while our *πίει* would have to be aorist, where they are not. Moreover, the Doric and Pindaric present forms can be explained in other, more plausible, ways, and indeed differently from each other.[29]

To conclude, we should be equally sceptical about hyper-analytical approaches which try to find particles in verbal forms whenever personal endings seem not to suit, as we should be about analogies with rare and dubious forms. *Ad hoc* explanations of this kind often 'explain' *obscura per obscuriora*. What are we trying to understand here? Is it not simply a

[28] As rightly remarked by Threatte (1980–96: ii. 458).

[29] For *δίδοι* see Strunk (1961) and Wachter (2001: §303); for *ἄγει* Schwyzer (1939: 804, n. 2).

Greek word from Athens a few years before Aeschylus was born and learnt to speak, a word which is attested many times, almost without variation, and has nothing vulgar or even colloquial about it? We have no right to consider it such an exotic thing.

Threatte too takes a sceptical position, but remains undecided (Threatte 1980–96: ii. 458–9). He seems cautiously to prefer the Brugmann–Watkins explanation, sharing Kretschmer's scepticism: '[the] interpretation of the form as the future πίῃι [sc. taken as an imperative] certainly makes good sense in all the examples, but the parallels elsewhere among the dipinti suggest that two imperatives would be preferable as in χαῖρε καὶ πρίō με', and at the end of his discussion he reports Beazley's view that none of the proposed explanations is convincing.[30]

Yet, as we have seen, the merchant's formula with imperative πρίō με (which Kretschmer did not know) should not too readily be taken as an argument for the drinking formulae in view of the clearly different pragmatic contexts (με or ἐμέ as against τένδε or no pronoun). And apart from the merchant's formula, there are hardly any 'parallels elsewhere': there is, if I am not mistaken, only the cup with its exceptional πῖνε κ(α)ὶ χα(ῖ)ρε (see n. 13).

In what follows I shall argue that from a morphological point of view, Panofka's interpretation of πίει as the second-person future indicative is indeed correct. But semantically, unlike Panofka, I shall argue for a proper indicative, not an imperative, meaning.

As for morphology, we have to highlight three small lip-cups with special forms of the verb. First, the two with χαιρεκαιπιαιετνδε (see n. 4 and fig. 22.1), whose πιαι can be explained as our future form with hyphaeresis (i.e. πί̆ᾰι < *πί̆εαι), perhaps because the writer came from one of the many dialect areas where [ĕ] + [ă] was not contracted in the Attic way.[31] Second, a cup which was reported in the nineteenth century to contain πια, certain on A, uncertain on B.[32] Detailed photographs show the readings A: χαιρει̣[: και] πια : τηνδ; B: χαιρει : καιπιη : τηνδε, and the letter forms strongly suggest the same hand as for the two cups with ετνδε. On this third cup, too, the writer has left many unusual features, but few are mere blunders, and some oddities even exclude complete illiteracy;[33] 'semi-literate'

[30] Beazley (1953–4: 201–2, no. 3). Beazley tried to conjecture the form πίει in later poetry. But even if he had been successful in doing so—which I think he was not—this would not yield an explanation of how it had come into existence. Chantraine (1961: 268–9) says 'obscurs'.

[31] e.g. East Greek, as Herodotus with 2nd-person βούλεαι, ὄψεαι, ἔσεαι, etc.

[32] Dresden ZV 85. Kretschmer (1894: 196) (bibl). Not in *CAVI*.

[33] The missing epsilon on A is due to 'A.W.' (below, n. 40). The etas are East Ionic. The

will not be far off. The most important forms on this vase are of course πία(ι) and, on B, πίη(ι) (almost certain),[34] and together with πιαι of the first two cups they are a very strong argument for πιει being the future form.[35]

As for semantics, the key to the understanding of the future form in our formulae is χαῖρε, not πίε̄ι itself, which must be the main reason why this solution has been missed so far. Moreover, in order to understand the combination of an imperative and a future form, we have to adopt a *historical* perspective. For it is quite clear that at the time of our inscriptions the form πίε̄ι must have been widely understood as an encouragement, not as a future indicative. A sentence like 'χαῖρε, and you will drink this', i.e. the τένδε formula, does not have a proper meaning,[36] and the three-word version 'χαῖρε, and you will drink'[37] also seems impossible. Of course, Greek grammar says that—not in Homer, but in classical Attic—the future could have a jussive meaning.[38] But even if we accept the *synchronic* ability of the Athenian symposiasts as early as the mid-sixth century to understand our future form as an encouragement or polite order, for which I see no difficulty, we still lack a *diachronic* explanation of how it had got into our formulae. For if such a jussive meaning had been intended from the start, there would have been enough clear imperative forms of the verb 'to drink' not to have to resort to the future (if at that time it could already have its jussive meaning). This must have been the reason for Kretschmer's and his followers' doubts. Indeed, the most frequent imperative forms, present πῖνε, aorist πῖθι and πίε, are attested on Attic vases, and in fact they are used wherever there is not one of our stereotyped formulae. Πῖνε καὶ σύ is said by a hetaera to her diaulos-playing friend,[39] and the same present form occurs in the formula variant πῖνε κ(α)ὶ χα(ῖ)ρε (see n. 13). On the foot of

superfluous iota of χαιρει is, however, more difficult to explain, and the sequence ετνδε on the first two cups must contain a mistake (perhaps a correction by a colleague: 'Stop using those hetas, we use epsilons here!').

[34] The missing iotas are likely to 'hide' in the second punctuation, as on Paris, Louvre F 98 bis (*CAVI* 6312; with εὖ), also by a semi-literate writer.

[35] Apart from these and clear mistakes (see n. 8) there is one 'proper' form, πιεις, twice in the three-word formula χαιρεκαιπιεις on the band-cup Munich 2186 (*CAVI* 5238), one side of which was lost in the Second World War, but the other is still clearly legible. Threatte (1996: 458) thinks of a mistake for πίει σύ, which is possible; at any rate an aorist subjunctive, πίε̄ις (from thematic ἔπῐον), leads nowhere, since its prospective use makes no sense and a jussive use without a negation is against the grammar. See also n. 55.

[36] The same is true for the two cases with με.

[37] Likewise in the case of the oinochoe (above, with n. 13).

[38] Kühner–Gerth (1898: 176); Schwyzer–Debrunner (1950: 291).

[39] Red-figure cup by Oltos. Madrid 11267. Immerwahr (1990: no. 338) (bibl.). *CAVI* 4903.

a cup from the Athenian Acropolis there is [χ]αῖρε καὶ προ̣όπ(ῑ)θι,[40] and on another vase there is also the thematic counterpart πρόπιε.[41] The form πῑ́ε̄ι, on the other hand, is never attested in such freer contexts of encouraging someone to drink, either on vases or in literature (n. 30).

At this point we should remember that the two variants of the formula which make no sense with a future indicative are not the most frequent ones. The economical three-word version occurs on 18 pieces, many of them miswritten or otherwise exceptional, and that with τε̄́νδε on 24, whereas χαῖρε καὶ πῑ́ε̄ι εὖ is attested on at least 46 vases. So we should first try our future indicative with this normal formula, and here we get: '*Χαῖρε*, and you will drink well'. This is not necessarily nonsensical, and we may claim, from a historical perspective, that the form πῑ́ε̄ι *originally* had had its normal future meaning and gradually lost it to the newly developing jussive one.

5 Χαῖρε

The question now is: What did χαῖρε mean? A few years ago, I examined the early history and the prehistory of this salutation.[42] Its most archaic use is found in prayers in the Homeric epics, where it is addressed to deities and means 'rejoice in this gift that I give you'. Sometimes there is even a complement in the instrumental dative. This is clearly the inherited use of χαῖρε, since in the Rigveda *hárya*, the same imperative form of the same verb, a thematic present in **-ye-/-yo-*, is used in exactly the same way, also with a complement, not infrequently a libation. This religious use of the form, however, is probably just a special case of a wider use in a context of host and guest, where the one gives a present to the other and says 'take it with pleasure', which is also well attested in Homer. The most typical gifts in this kind of situation are food and drink, which best suit the arrival of a guest, but other objects too can be handed over with χαῖρε, these of course rather at the moment of departure. This basic meaning of χαῖρε furnishes, as far as I can see, the only explanation of the unusual fact that this expression of salutation can be used both for 'hello' and for 'goodbye'. In the course of time the complement could be dropped, and the meaning of the wish 'rejoice' acquired a more general character, not

[40] Foot of little-master cup. Athens, NM Acr. i, 1751. *CAVI* 1092. Inscription on the profile (painted, as it seems). For the missing iota ('A.W.') see Wachter (forthcoming: n. 21). Without a dative, προπίνειν means 'to be the first drinker', or 'to drink up'.

[41] Fragmentary bottom of bowl, no decoration preserved. Athens, NM Acr. ii, 1452. *CAVI* 1647. On the bottom, graffito: Θρᾴισ(σ)ε̄ι | πρόπιε 'drink to the Thracian woman!'

[42] Wachter (1998*a*), with a short reference to our formula in n. 16.

least that of a suitable greeting to one's fellows at a symposium.[43] This need not mean, however, that *χαῖρε* soon became inadequate as an expression accompanying the handover of a gift, e.g. at the meeting or parting of friends.

The function of our drinking formulae in all their variants, according to scholars' unanimous opinion, is the immediate encouragement to drink when one symposiast hands the cup of wine over to the next.[44] This is of course a plausible action in the context of a banquet, in particular a 'literary' one, and the handover of a filled cup would suit the original meaning of the word *χαῖρε* very well, as we have just seen.[45] Nevertheless, I do not think that this was the primary function of our formula, especially not of its normal variant. For the future form in this sentence, which we should now translate 'Take (this cup) with pleasure, and you will drink well!', does quite clearly separate the action of accepting from that of drinking. Such a temporal gap, however, makes perfect sense if *χαῖρε* did not primarily mean the handover of a cup filled with wine for the purpose of immediate drinking, but its handover as a present from which it would be good to drink, perhaps right then, but above all in the future, whenever the recipient would use it. I therefore propose that the normal formula originally accompanied the handover of *a cup as a gift*, with the imperative *χαῖρε* as the request to rejoice in the gift, and the future *πίε̄ι* as the confident prediction of prosperity from its use.[46]

6 A Famous Early Allusion

At this point of the argument one cannot help thinking of 'Nestor's cup' from Ischia, which was found in a late eighth-century tomb of a 10- to 14-year-old boy:[47]

[43] See e.g. *Il.* 9. 225. Two classical passages, viz. Σ Pind. *Nem.* 3. 132 and Alexis frr. 116–17 *PCG*, were already cited by Panofka (1830: 48 with nn. 3 and 5); his third passage, Eupolis fr. 6 *PCG*, seems less relevant, as it may have accompanied a libation.

[44] See e.g. Lissarrague (1987: 59): 'c'est une invitation à boire, qui accompagne la transmission de la coupe; le vin circule, comme il se doit, et la parole suit' (on the vase Madrid 11267; see n. 39).

[45] For the literary evidence for *προπίνειν* and circulating the cup see Mau (1901), 613. 65 ff.

[46] Here we should also remember the frequent donations to deities of drinking vessels, especially *φιάλαι*, from which libations were made before the gift was deposited; see e.g. *DNP*, s.v. 'Phiale' (with bibl.). For an example see Wachter (1998*b*). Very many fragments of cups, not least of little-master cups, have been found in the Persian Debris ('Perserschutt') of the Athenian Acropolis.

[47] The tomb dates from *c.*720–710, the cup from *c.*735–720. The inscription was engraved

Νέστορος : ἐ̣[ν τ]ι̣ : εὔποτ[ον] : ποτέριον·
hὸς δ' ἂν τôδε πίēσι : ποτēρί[ο] : αὐτίκα κêνον
hίμερος hαιρέσει : καλλιστε̣[φά]ν̣ō : Ἀφροδίτēς.

We may translate 'Nestor had a cup from which it was good to drink. But whoever will drink from *this* cup here will be seized with the longing of Aphrodite of the beautiful wreath.' Joachim Latacz (1990: 233–5) has plausibly argued that the vase and its inscription belong in the context of the symposium at the transition from orality to the age of writing. But if we ask what the immediate function of the vessel may have been, I think the most obvious possibility is a love-gift to the boy in whose tomb it was found. Here too, the pronoun τοῦδε, as later τένδε, evokes a speaker who holds the cup in his hands while facing the person to whom he speaks and is about to give it.

Let us focus on two forms in our highly archaic metrical inscription. On the one hand, there is the compound εὔποτος, which as an attribute of ποτέριον strikes one as being an early parallel to, indeed almost an indirect testimony of, πίε̄ι εὖ in our formula—if, as I think, the latter primarily referred to the vase as a gift and not to its content.[48] On the other hand, the *future* form hαιρέσει, like our πίε̄ι εὖ, refers to the happiness of the recipient when using the cup in the future. I think that the inscription on 'Nestor's cup' is just a particularly artful variation to the theme of our formula, χαῖρε καὶ πίε̄ι εὖ, as the donor says: 'Drink from this cup, and you will feel well, indeed even better than Nestor when he drank from his heavy and richly adorned cup; for you will instantaneously be seized by the fire of love!' The only thing that we have to supply is the object of that love. This was, no doubt, left open on purpose. For there are indications that this kind of inscription was more widespread at the time than we might think.[49] Normally it will have been the donor who hoped that the recipient would respond to his courting, but it is precisely the use of the future tense which

at some point in between, but not with respect to the funeral. See Bartoněk and Buchner (1995: 129–231, esp. 147); *CEG* 454.

[48] Such a (second) meaning 'prosperous to drink from' of εὔποτος also follows from lines 2–3. It adds to the subtle, humorous sense of the first line (as interpreted and restored by D. L. Page and A. Heubeck; see *DNP* (Nachträge), s.v. 'Nestorbecher', with bibl.), since it nicely contrasts the (first) meaning 'easy to drink from', which—already ironically—alludes to the heaviness of Nestor's cup in myth (*Il.* 11. 632–42).

[49] See *DNP*, s.v. 'Nestorbecher'. In a sentence like this, the masculine forms ὅς and κεῖνον could refer to both sexes (just not exclusively to women), and a generalization of the phrase ἵμερος Ἀφροδίτης to include homoerotic relationships between men and boys was common too (see Dover 1978: 63, with reference to e.g. Theogn. 1304, 1319–20; for women, Sappho fr. 1).

suggests that the cup was not only intended to serve on the spot but should bring its owner happiness in the future, and in particular render him good service in all his future love affairs.[50] The best assumption, therefore, is that it was the boy who had received the cup, perhaps a year or two before his premature death; and in such a case the most likely donor was a man.[51]

For the normal formula χαῖρε καὶ πίει εὖ of our Attic cups, we may infer a very similar function of conveying the power of a 'lucky object' to the cup. Here, too, we may ask for whom the drinking should be 'good'. For the donor? The recipient? A third party in the future? Again, this was no doubt left open on purpose.[52]

7 The 'Drinking Formula' Properly Speaking

The drinking formula with the accusative τένδε, however, is a different matter. There is no doubt that, grammatically, the pronoun was understood to refer to the cup rather than the contents.[53] This is confirmed by the rare cases of με instead of τένδε, which show that the painters and potters understood the same object as for instance in their signatures with με. But we have to stress that the verb πίνειν with a direct object is not at all normal if the vessel to drink from is meant, for which the Greeks used the separative genitive (as on 'Nestor's cup') or, rarely, the instrumental dative. If the accusative is used this means, for example, 'to drink a cupful of something', i.e. the quantity that goes into the vessel in question.[54] Semantically speaking, therefore, the focus is nevertheless on the contents: 'Take this (cup) with pleasure, and empty it!' Here, the verb was no doubt always felt to express an encouragement to drink on the spot.[55] This kind of formula was therefore particularly well suited to the symposium. Yet, if

[50] As we have just seen (in the preceding note), the two lines were perfectly suitable both for male and for female future loves, on whom the recipient might try his cup.

[51] It is not clear to me whether Havelock (1982: 195) thinks of the cup as a *gift* from its 'elderly owner' to the 'boy across the table' or just as something like a teaching aid.

[52] For the version extended by εὖ τοι see Wachter (2004: §3). Even here, the pronoun could be understood in two ways: (1) 'for anyone' (τωι, Attic), or (2) 'for you' (τοι, Homeric and in many dialects except Attic).

[53] Lissarrague, above, n. 20. Others, e.g. Beazley and Magi (1939: 56), were thinking of the contents. But there is no suitable feminine word for 'a drink' in Greek; πόσις meant 'draught' and 'symposium' in the classical language, which make no sense here. I am convinced that any Athenian understood κύλικα.

[54] e.g. *Il.* 8. 232; 4. 345–6 (see LSJ s.v. πίνω, I.1).

[55] Also in the minimal, three-word formula, which for this reason is likely to be a reduction of the τένδε, not the εὖ, formula; see also the above-mentioned oinochoe (n. 13). In view of this, Schwyzer (1939: 800, top) may have been right in deriving πιεις on Munich 2186 (n. 35) from πιει, although the latter, morphologically, was not an imperative.

this is true, we have to argue that the future form in this particular formula is of recent origin.

It is precisely this formula that has come down to us once by literary transmission too, namely in a fragment plausibly attributed to Alcaeus (seventh century BC):[56] *χαῖρε καὶ πῶ τάνδε* (the beginning of a sapphic hendecasyllable). Its form *πῶ* is of special importance. It may, it is true, be an artificial form,[57] but there is no doubt that it is meant to be an imperative, thus exactly what we would expect in this formula if it were also old. We may therefore argue, in view of this Alcaean fragment, that the occurrences of *τένδε* with future *πίε̄ι* on the Attic vases are due to contamination between, first, the normal formula with future + *εὖ* at a time when it was no longer exclusively understood as referring to the cup as a present and the future *could* already have its jussive meaning, and, second, a formula with a genuine imperative + *τήνδε*, which referred to the cupful of wine. In favour of the distinction, historically, between two formulae with two separate functions we may adduce the fact that there is never *εὖ* as well as *τένδε* (or the rare *με*) on one and the same vase; and let us remember that we have already suggested two different functions on the basis of size and decoration of the cups (above, §2). Of course, the formula with imperative + *τήνδε*, which we should continue to call the *drinking formula*, could have been traditional if not archaic as well; symposia where one encouraged the other to drink wine will hardly have been an invention of the time of Alcaeus or even Homer.[58]

8 The 'Cup Formula'

There is an old, literary testimony for the normal formula as well, bridging the century and a half between *εὔποτον* of 'Nestor's cup' and the *εὖ* formula of our vases, namely a couplet by Theognis[59] (533–4):

Χαίρω δ' εὖ πίνων καὶ ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος ἀείδων
χαίρω δ' εὔφθογγον χερσὶ λύρην ὀχέων.

I am very tempted to interpret this distich, with its markedly repeated

[56] Alc. 401(*a*) LP, from *EM* 698. 52.

[57] The epigraphical parallels for *πῶ* (see LSJ suppl., s.v. *πίνω*) are dubious; at any rate the forms *πῖθι* and *πίε* did not fit the metre, nor did *πῶθι*, whose existence we may infer from *σύμπωθι*, Alc. 401(*b*).

[58] In fact, the intended future use of 'Nestor's cup' by the recipient for his own love would have been of this kind.

[59] The date of the Megarian poet is much debated. Today, one usually prefers the late 7th cent. BC to the mid-6th as was the general opinion in antiquity.

χαίρω δ' εὐ-, as a statement answering an (imagined) *χαῖρε καὶ . . . εὖ* encouragement such as: 'Take this cup, and (you will) drink and sing well; take this lyre and (you will) beat it to produce beautiful sound!'

The *πίε̄ι εὖ* formula, which we should now call the *cup formula*, may well have been used in its old way, when a cup was handed over as a present, still at the time of our vases—the time of Ibycus and Anacreon. Indications for this are, first, the homoerotic scenes, the *kalos*-inscriptions, the representations of animals typical as homoerotic love-gifts, of hunting scenes etc. on many lip-cups, themes that make best sense if the cup on which they are represented was itself a gift. Second, on 10 vases with the cup formula there is a punctuation mark after *χαῖρε*, whereas in the drinking formula this kind of punctuation does not occur. This speaks strongly in favour of our explanation. In the cup formula with its—originally—two syntactically different phrases (i.e. imperative + future), such a mark makes sense.[60] In the drinking formula, the parallelism (imperative + jussive future instead of imperative) did not suggest such a separation.[61] A similar phenomenon can be observed in the variant *χαῖρε σύ, καὶ πίε̄ι εὖ*, where the pronoun *σύ* has the same effect of cutting the formula into two parts; it also occurs only in the cup formula, on three vases.

9 Which Function for Which Cup and Formula?

One question remains, however, namely why the cups that bear the *drinking* formula, i.e. those that perfectly suit the custom of the 'circulating cup' at the symposium, should be particularly small, as we have seen they are.[62] Here we are touching on the problem whether or not the cups (and other vases) that we find in tombs in Etruria and Greek cities around the Mediterranean are exactly like those which were used in actual symposia, in Athens or elsewhere. We should not, I think, adopt an agnostic attitude, for the simple reason that the Athenian potters and painters are unlikely to have produced ware for export (not least to fellow Greeks) which was

60 For this kind of syntactically motivated punctuation see Wachter (1999); it is a '1 + 2' case (ibid. 372 ff.). Punctuation was never obligatory.

61 The only apparent exception, Dresden ZV 85 (see above, with nn. 32 ff.), shows punctuation not only after *χαῖρε* but also before *τήνδε*. Although the second punctuation is due to an individual misunderstanding by the painter (see n. 34), it is nevertheless there. But it represents a different principle, namely word punctuation as described by Morpurgo Davies (1987), used, for example, at Teos in Eastern Ionia. The writer of the vase, as pointed out above, is likely to have been an East Ionian, to judge from his vocalic use of eta (not heta) e.g. in the form *τήνδε*.

62 See the locus classicus for *large* circulating cups, Plato, *Symp.* 213 E–214 A.

completely different from items manufactured for local demand.[63] So what may the function of such tiny cups with the drinking formula have been? Was it not perhaps to make young people, who could not cope with a large cup (particularly ἀμυστί), familiar with the customs of drinking? In addition, the constant figured decoration on the lip of these cups would suggest that they were used for young boys, although in this case the main motivation was perhaps not so much the gift of the cup as encouragement to the immediate (first?) drink together with the ἐραστής.

What I am still looking for are testimonies of how adolescents were introduced into the symposium. The gift of an animal (cock, hare) belonged at the beginning of the homoerotic relationship, as vase paintings depicting such handovers show. It is also obvious that the boys took part as waiters and musicians, for which the first attestation is Ganymede,[64] followed by very many Attic vases with homoerotic connotations (not least the hundreds if not thousands of instances of anonymous *ho* παῖς καλός) (Dover 1978: *passim*). Of course, those boys must have had the right to a drink from time to time, and children did drink mixed wine at Athens (Burkert 1985: 237–8). So it would seem plausible that an ἐραστής could give his favourite ἐρώμενος not only hares and cocks and shared hunting trips[65] but also a drinking cup. It is attested that in Crete the young man was given a cup, a bull, and a cloak by his lover and mentor at the end of the initiation process and after a month of hunting, drinking, eating, and so on in the woods.[66] This has been compared with representations of the handover of a cup to a young man by an older man on an electron stater from Ionian Klazomenai (*c.*650–625 BC) and on a Laconian cup (*c.*550 BC).[67]

But the gift of a *small* cup such as the majority of our little-master cups, in particular those which were to be emptied on the spot (i.e. with the drinking formula), adorned with neat paintings playfully referring to a context of future hunting and fighting, would make particularly good sense at an early stage of the homoerotic relationship, e.g. for 12- to 14-year-old boys. We may even argue that the very elaborate use of writing on these cups, almost as a decorative element, may have had some didactic

63 On this sort of question see now Reusser (2002).

64 *Il.* 20. 231–5, and Theogn. 1345–8. See also *Od.* 1. 148 etc., as well as the famous *Παῖς* of the Theban *Κάβιρος*: Wachter (2001: BOI 16 with §475).

65 See also above, n. 9.

66 Ephorus ap. Strabo 10. 483. Burkert (1985: 261), with more testimonies in the notes. *IG* xii/3. 536 ff., esp. 537. See also the beginning of Pind. *Ol.* 7, where a father-in-law gives his young son-in-law a phiale (and compare, for the function of the phiale in the wedding ceremony, Athen. 13, 575 C–D).

67 Furtwängler (1995: esp. 441–3 with figs. 1 and 3); it is not clear whether these are 'cup-formula' or 'drinking-formula' handovers.

purpose as a polite suggestion by the mentor that the youngster should learn to read and write, at a time when this did not yet go without saying. The two fine archaic examples, 'Nestor's cup' and the so-called 'Dipylon jug', an oinochoe with an unfinished hexametrical inscription beginning 'who of the dancers dances in the most elegant way' (*CEG* 432), no doubt a gift to a youth[68] and also referring to a banquet context, would support this view.

In this way we also understand the relations between formula, size, and decoration of the cups examined. A cup whose main function was to be handed over to a boy when filled with wine (drinking formula) could do without painting inside, hardly visible at the handover. A cup, on the other hand, whose main function was to be a present to a boy with a wish for his prosperous future as a symposiast (cup formula) could be larger on average, since it had to go on doing good service while the boy was growing up (and his thirst increased), and could well bear a more elaborate decoration to be admired when the cup was empty (or emptied). The cups with potters' signatures, however, still larger on average and therefore much more difficult to produce and more expensive, will have been mainly for adults. Figured decoration was somewhat less important, and so the thematic range could remain more or less the same; more important, it seems, was the quality of the vessel and the information on who had been its potter.[69]

Here we should briefly return to the merchant's formula which, as we saw, occurs on about ten cups of the same time and type as those with the cup or drinking formulae, which it echoes (*χαῖρε καὶ π . . .*). It must therefore be seen in relation to these other formulae,[70] and since it accompanies the handover of a cup: 'Take with pleasure and—buy me!' (or 'buy *me*!': see n. 19), we may even argue that it would hardly have been invented had not at least one of the others—viz. the cup formula—already referred to a change of ownership. On the other hand, it is very close to the potters' signatures too, not only semantically, since it refers to the potters' trade, but also formally, since quite a few of the signatures also have *με*, i.e. are of the speaking-object type and thus do not go back to a human-speech formula. On the whole, however, the merchant's formula looks rather like a joke.[71]

[68] See e.g. *Il.* 18. 590–606; Wachter (2001: COR 17).

[69] Some large cups with one of our formulae may also have been for adults; see Wachter (2004: n. 28).

[70] Although 2–3 of the 9–12 are band-cups, i.e. a higher percentage than in the cups with the other formulae (the rest are lip-cups).

[71] Nicholas Milner suggests to me that a second meaning may be lurking behind the

As for the history of the little-master lip-cup, we may suppose that its design was created to include precisely our two formulae, which had so far had an almost exclusively oral history. The main type was the cup formula applied on cups of small to medium size, which were to be love-gifts to young participants in the symposium. The second type was the drinking formula, usually applied on even smaller cups to be handed over for the sake of immediate drinking. And the potters' signatures? Although they form the majority of the types of inscription on the lip-cups under consideration and by the mid-sixth century had already had a long tradition, we should not too readily claim that they had been the main motivation for the creation of the new cup design. For if they were so important, why are there no other types of vase, earlier or later, on which they were applied in such a prominent way? I am rather inclined to think that they reflect a secondary adaptation to the new and successful shape and design. Of course, the new design could also be used for larger cups, not meant for boys but perhaps for young adults—for example, when their first cup was broken. It is understandable that on such larger cups the potter considered it more important to write down his name so as to make sure that the young symposiast would remember him and come back to buy cups and larger ware for his own symposia.[72] Not much later, the new fashion of red-figure painting, combined with the tradition of larger and more luxurious black-figure cups, put an end to the little-master cups and their rather exuberant writing.

Finally, I would like to go back to the deep-rooted religious aspect of *χαῖρε*, adding a remark which, I think, also supports our interpretation. People in antiquity, whether in Archaic Greece or in Vedic India, when dedicating something to the gods always expected some recompense. They often even said as much. If our cup formula *χαῖρε καὶ πίε̄ι εὖ*, as I believe, has its roots quite some time back in Greek prehistory, as an oral formula, we may infer from *χαῖρε* that it also included the wish on the part of the donor to get something back from the recipient. This can of course be readily granted. For what lover would not pin his hopes of being loved on the gifts with which he showers his beloved? Even the drinking formula with *τέν̄δε* would make good sense, as a gentle urging by the adult lover that the

obvious one. These cups may have been—rather rude—joke cups designed to make a fool of whoever held them in his hand and, turning to another person, spoke the formula he thought was written on the cup. Imagine what happened if one of the fellow drinkers replied: 'Shouldn't you rather pronounce the formula that is on the cup?'

[72] The painters did not need to be brought to the fore at all, as the decoration of these cups was mostly brief (although often excellent), above all meant to arouse the desire for more luxurious ware.

boy should drink a cupful (his first?) on the spot so that he might perhaps more readily respond to the elder's wooing. And if a little magic could be mixed in too, as is certain in the case of 'Nestor's cup', all the better! Is not the beloved something like a god to the lover—even if Plato (*Symp.* 180 B) considers the adult lover, as an object of affection on the boy's part, to be the more godlike and that desire occurring in this direction pleases god better than the other way round? Reality was most probably less Platonic.

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23

Flowing Riches: Greek ἄφενος and Indo-European Streams

Andreas Willi

Flicking through the etymological dictionaries of Greek can be a sobering experience: 'unklar', 'unerklärt', 'inconnue', and 'obscure' seem to be among Frisk's and Chantraine's favourite lexemes. At first sight, it may look as if there were not much harm in this: if *we* understand what Homer and Plato meant, why should we want to find out what Homer's and Plato's ancestors would have understood, had they read the same texts? However, ignoring etymologies also means ignoring cultural (pre)history and forsaking the historian's goal of looking at past worlds through the eyes of those who were shaping them. Hence, etymologizing—sometimes regarded as the futile pastime of misguided acumen—remains a worthy form of philological work even if it is not crowned by the achievement of absolute certainty. This premiss, I hope, will justify the following reflections on the prehistory of a Greek word that stands at the centre of social classification: ἄφενος 'wealth'.

Although various attempts have been made to elucidate the origin of ἄφενος and the corresponding adjective ἀφνειός 'rich', Frisk (1960–72: i. 195, s.v. ἄφενος) and Chantraine (1968–80: i. 146, s.v. ἄφενος) pronounce a unanimous verdict on its etymology: 'unerklärt', 'inconnue'. Bréal's (1905–6: 382) connection with Skr. *ápnas-* 'possessions, riches', though semantically tempting, is phonologically impossible. It is true that Pindar (fr. 219 Maehler) has a dative ἄφνει for ἀφένει, but to regard ἄφνος as original and to postulate, with Pisani (1940: 515), **apsnos* > ἄφνος is problematic and undermines the exact correspondence with Skr. *ápnas-*. Far more plausibly, ἄφνος is a secondary formation based on the adjective ἀφνειός, and this in turn has been explained as syncopated from *ἀφενε(σ)-ιος. Since ἀφνειός is purely poetic in historical Greek, it must owe its shape to the epic-dactylic tradition, for which a series of short syllables as in *ἀφενε(σ)-ιος

presented an insurmountable metrical obstacle (cf. Ruijgh 1967: 200 n. 506; Szemerényi 1964: 147–8).

A number of problems also arise from an alternative suggestion first made by Pisani (1976: 284) and now presented in detail by Balles (1997). In their view, *ἄφενος* is a relative of Skr. *aghnyá-* 'breeding bull', a lexeme containing the root **g^{u}hen-* 'to strike, kill' and going back to **n̥-g^{u}hn-i̯o-* 'the (animal) which must not be killed' (see Mayrhofer 1992– : i. 46–7, s.v. *ághnyā-*). However, it seems unlikely (1) that **n̥-g^{u}hn-o-* could be a semantic equivalent of a gerundival verbal adjective **n̥-g^{u}hn-i̯o-*, (2) that an *s*-stem abstract noun was built on the basis of this adjectival **n̥-g^{u}hn-o-*, a development for which there are no parallels, and (3) that the root grade of the resulting **n̥-g^{u}hn-es-* '(that which must not be killed) > that which is valuable' was remodelled into **n̥-g^{u}hen-es-* on the analogy of words like *σθένος*.

From a different angle, *ἄφενος* has been connected with the Anatolian word family of Hittite *happina(nt)-* 'rich', *happinahh-* 'to enrich', and *happines-* 'to become rich'. These words are agreed to be related to Latin *ops*, pl. *opes* 'wealth' and to the aforementioned Skr. *ápnas-*. If Latin *opulentus* is dissimilated from **openont-*, Hitt. *happinant-* would have an exact parallel (Szemerényi 1954: 275–81 and 1964: 146–7; cf. Leumann 1977: 336). For *happina(nt)-*, a proto-form **Hopeno(nt)-* can be postulated in any case. No matter if this represents **H_1op°* or **H_3ep°*, Greek *ἀφ-* < **H_2ebh-* (?) does not fit into the group. Thus, the only[1] possibility of saving the Anatolian connection is to assume lexical borrowing into Greek (Szemerényi 1964: 147; cf. Heubeck 1961: 70).

Now, even if a correspondence of Greek *-φ-* with Anatolian *-pp-* (**p*) and the lacking representation of Anatolian *h-* (which is typically rendered by some guttural in historical borrowings, cf. Heubeck 1961: 70) should be acceptable in a loanword, the theory would remain flawed. First, if Hittite *happina-* or its cognate in another Anatolian language equalled Greek *ἄφενος*, the unprecedented change of both stem class and grammatical category (adjective→noun) would call for an explanation. Second, one would also have to consider the socio-historical implications and ask for a plausible context in which the Greeks should have taken over such a basic social term as 'wealth' from a—perhaps Luvian-speaking (Laroche 1963: 73)—neighbouring people. This is not to say that the Anatolian hypothesis is impossible, but before accepting it we must consider alternative ways of explaining *ἄφενος*, preferably starting from Greek itself.[2]

[1] Unless one is willing to separate *happina(nt)-* from *ápnas-* and to follow Benveniste (1962: 13), for whom the labial of *ἀφεν-* is 'issu de **ph* qui se serait déaspiré en hittite'.

[2] The same holds for 'Pelasgian' hypotheses (for *ἄφενος* cf. e.g. Windekens 1952: 74–

Before doing so, one further problem must be pointed out. The oxytone accent of the adjective *ἀφνειός* does not correspond to the normal penultimate or antepenultimate accent in *-ειος* adjectives which are derived from *s*-stem nouns: compare, for example, Homeric *ὀνείδεια ἔπεα*, *Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος*, *τέλειος*, etc. (Risch 1974: 129–30).[3] There is only one lexical group which regularly has the accentuation *-ειός*, but *ἀφνειός* 'rich' does not fit into it: river names such as *Ἀλφειός*, *Πηνειός*, and *Σπερχειός* (cf. Schwyzer 1939: 468). A comparison with the surprising accents of Homeric *θαμειαί* and *ταρφειαί* (B. Mader in *LfgrE* i. 1711, s.v. *ἀφνειός*) does not clarify the issue since these forms belong to the *u*-stem adjectives *θαμύς* and *ταρφύς* and either follow the accentuation of *πυκιναί* (Chantraine 1942: 191–2) or retain the original accent seat seen in Skr. *svādvī́*, *svādvyā́ḥ* because their masculine counterparts had virtually disappeared (Lamberterie 1990: ii. 644–5 and 667). For the time being, we must therefore suspend judgement on the irregular accent of *ἀφνειός*.

Regular sound laws suggest for *ἄφενος* a proto-form **abhen-es-* ~ **H_2bhen-es-* (or **H_2ebhen-es-*). Since a complex *s*-stem suffix **-nes-* seems to occur in Greek words such as *ἔθνος* < **su̯edh-nes-* beside *ἔθος* < **su̯edh-es-* (Chantraine 1933: 420), one would like to posit **H_2ebh-nes-* > *ἄφνος*. However, we have seen that *ἄφνος* is better regarded as a secondary by-form of *ἄφενος*. A suffix form *-ενος* occurs only in appearance in *τέμενος* beside *τέμνω*, for here the root contained a final laryngeal (**temH_2-*: cf. Schwyzer 1939: 255, 362). To postulate, because of this, a root **H_2ebhH_1-* for *ἄφενος* would be a desperate *ultima ratio* without explanatory potential. Moreover, Manessy-Guitton (1972: 108) has shown that 'nous ne pouvons . . . pas postuler l'existence d'un authentique suffixe *-νος-*. Nous n'avons que des noms à finale *-νος* qui sont dus, historiquement, à la sigmatisation par **-e/os-* de bases en **-n-*.'

Unfortunately, a comparison of **H_2(e)bhen-es-* with the structurally similar *ὄφελος* < **H_3bhel-es-* (?) also ends in an etymological cul-de-sac. There is nothing to which a root **H_2bhen-* can be connected. Taking into account Manessy-Guitton's observations, we should therefore rather ask whether **H_2bhen-* is really a *root* and whether **H_2(e)bhen-es-* is not a secondary formation based on a pre-existing *stem*.

5; Szemerényi 1954: 276; Heubeck 1961: 70; and hesitantly Mayrhofer 1964: 184). Further suggestions are reviewed and rejected by Balles (1997: 215–16).

[3] Balles (1997: 220) explains *ἀφνειός* as a derivation from **ἄφνος* 'mit dem possessiven Suffix **-ó-* wie z.B. in ai. *tamasá-*', but this is unparalleled in Greek and the second syllable of *ἀφνειός* is always long in epic poetry. The fact that *-ε(ι)-* is short in Pind. *Ol.* 1. 10 (but not in *Ol.* 7. 1) proves nothing: Pind. *Ol.* 1. 20 also presents *Ἀλφεός* for *Ἀλφειός* (contrast Pind. *Ol.* 7. 15).

At this point, a brief look at a Latin paradigm is suggestive. The old heteroclitic *r/n*-stems *femur*, *iecur*, and *iter* are normalized in two ways (cf. Leumann 1977: 359–60). Either the *r*-stem declension of the nominative-accusative singular is adopted in the oblique cases (*femur*, *femoris*; *iecur*, *iecoris*) or the oblique *n*-stem is enlarged by an element *-er-* before the ending (*iter*, *itin-er-is*; *iocur*, *iocin-er-is*; cf. original *femur*, *femin-is*). Usually this element is thought to be adopted from the *r*-stem nominative (cf. e.g. Leumann 1977: 359). However, one may wonder how plausible it is that a given 'suffix + ending'-unity *-(i)nis* following an invariant root was split up by such an intruder. Given both the rarity of non-heteroclitic neuter *r*-stems (which could have acted as models for the replacement of a genitive in *-is* by one in *-er-is*) *and* the frequency of the neuter *s*-stem class which included various nouns with a complex suffix *-nes-* (cf. Manessy-Guitton 1964), the 'suffix + ending'-unity *-(in)is* may rather have been given up as a whole in favour of the far more frequent but vaguely similar 'suffix + ending'-unity *-(n)eris* of the nouns in **-(n)es-*. Forms like *iocineris* would then have to be analysed as *n*-stem *iocin-* + *s*-stem **-es-* + ending.

Of course, the remodelling of the Latin *r/n*-stems took place only in historical times. In Greek, for instance, the oblique cases of *r/n*-stems like **i̯ekᵘr̥* (> Lat. *iecur*) or **i̯ēkᵘr̥* (> Gk. ἧπαρ) were transformed differently, into *nt*-stems (gen. sg. ἥπατος; cf. Schwyzer 1939: 518, Risch 1974: 61–3). Hence, the main point of the preceding digression is just a heuristic one: **H_2(e)bhen-es-* might have originated in a manner similar to that envisaged here for *iocineris* etc. Through the addition of a common formational suffix to an oblique stem, a complex paradigm could become part of a more productive class. If the above explanation of *iocineris* is accepted, it provides a particularly close typological parallel, but *mutatis mutandis* the same process is also seen when (for example) the *r/n*-stem underlying Homeric ἦμαρ is transformed into an *ā*-stem (ἡμέρα) based on the non-oblique *r*-stem variant.

To sum up, if there ever was a Greek *r/n*-stem belonging to a root **H_2ebh-/abh-*, ἄφενος could be an *s*-stem derivation based on the oblique *n*-stem. In a proterodynamic[4] neuter *r/n*-stem paradigm, the oblique stem would have looked exactly as required for **H_2(e)bhen-es-*:

[4] Thus e.g. Beekes (1995: 187) and Meier-Brügger (2002: 211–12); Schindler (1975: 10) suggests that 'la flexion protérokinétique a été particulière aux thèmes à suffixes complexes en *-r/n*', whereas the stems with simple *r/n*-suffix were originally acrostatic. However, 'nous n'avons conservé nulle part des formes de la structure ***u̯éd-n̥-s*' because these were remodelled by a 'réintroduction d'un degré plein dans la désinence: ***u̯éd-n̥-s* → **u̯éd-n-os*', by a 'passage à la flexion protérokinétique: ***u̯éd-n̥-s* → **u̯ed-én-s*', or by a 'passage à la flexion holokinétique: ***u̯éd-n̥-s* → **u̯ed-n-és*' (p. 7; cf. also Schindler 1994: 397). If this differentiation of simple and complex *r/n*-suffixes is correct, **H_2(e)bh-én-* would be based on

'strong' cases (nom./acc. sg.)	*H_2*ébh-r̥*	>	Gk. (*)ἄφαρ
'weak' cases (e.g. gen. sg.)	*H_2*(e)bh-én-*[5]	>	Gk. (*)ἀφεν-

The formation of the new *s*-stem *H_2*(e)bhen-es-* must belong to a pre-Mycenaean period since the *r/n*-stems already possessed their Greek *t*-extension in Mycenaean (cf. *a-re-pa-te* from ἄλειφαρ, Risch 1974: 62). Indeed, there is nothing to suggest that ἄφενος is a young word. In historical non-poetic Greek, ἄφενος and ἀφνειός are completely ousted by πλοῦτος and πλούσιος (cf. Hemelrijk 1925: 15). Moreover, *H_2*(e)bhen-es-* may even date back to Proto-Graeco-Armenian if the Old Armenian gen. sg. *awnoy* '(of) possession' belongs to a nom. **awin* < **abhenos* (Lindeman 1978–9).

There can only be guesses as to why ἄφενος was built. It is tempting to establish a connection between the neuter *s*-stem nominative and the genitive ending of the consonant stems. One might hypothesize that a partitive genitive *H_2*(e)bh-en-(o)s* was reinterpreted as an accusative when it functioned as a direct object (for instance in the ancestor of a sentence like πολὺ ἄφενος ἔχει 'he has [a lot [of wealth]$_{\mathrm{GEN}}$]$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$'~'he has [much wealth]$_{\mathrm{ACC}}$). But since the stem suffix *-es-* is 'un élargissement, dépourvu de valeur sémantique' (Chantraine 1933: 414), this is a question which concerns the origin of most complex *s*-stems, and thus has no particular bearing on the problem discussed here.

Our reconstruction so far may seem exceedingly hypothetical as there is no Greek noun *ἄφαρ, *ἄφατος n., which would represent the normalized continuation of *H_2*ébh-r̥*, *H_2*(e)bh-én-*. However, there is a (mainly epic) Greek adverb ἄφαρ 'quickly, suddenly, immediately', which 'qualifiziert haupts[ächlich] Verben der . . . Bewegung, ferner Prädikate, die eine Veränderung ausdrücken' (R. Führer in *LfgrE* i. 1695, s.v. ἄφαρ). That adverbial ἄφαρ is a fossilized nominative-accusative of an *r/n*-stem noun is widely acknowledged: 'le dérivé hom. ἀφάρτερος et ion. ἀφαρεί· ταχέως καὶ ἀκόπως EM. montrent qu'il s'agit d'un ancien abstrait "rapidité"' (Benveniste 1935: 15; cf. Chantraine 1968–80: i. 146, s.v. ἄφαρ; Frisk 1960–72: i. 194, s.v. ἄφαρ).

The *n*-stem variant is found as well, in the fossilized adverbial instrumental ἄφνω(ς) 'suddenly'. If the instrumental singular of proterokinetic

a form of the second type, whereas the Greek adverbs ἄφνως and ἀφνός might continue later secondary forms of the first type (on ἄφνως/ἀφνός see further below, p. 328.

[5] The notation *H_2*(e)bh-én-* rather than *H_2*bh-én-* is meant to imply that some levelling may have occurred in the vocalism of the root; *H_2*ebh-én-* would of course not represent a regular or 'original' form in a proterokinetic paradigm.

stems had a zero-grade stem suffix (Schindler ap. Peters 1980: 244 n. 198), ἄφνω(ς) neatly fits into the paradigm of **H₂ébh-r̥*, **H₂(e)bh-én-*. On the other hand, ἀφν- < **H₂ebh-n-* might also represent a stage after the formation of **H₂(e)bh-én-es-*, when the zero grade of the suffix and the full grade of the root had spread through the whole *r/n*-stem paradigm. Such a stage is not only presupposed by the usual Greek declension of original *r/n*-stem nouns where the dental extension is added to a zero-grade suffix (-ατος < **-n̥-t-os*), but also by the fossilized genitive ἀφνός· ἐξαίφνης (Hsch. α 8708 Latte). Incidentally, the existence of **H₂ebh-n-* (ἀφν-) next to **H₂(e)bh-én-* (ἀφεν-) also helps to explain why *ἀφενε(σ)-ιος was adapted to the epic metre by syncope rather than metrical lengthening (cf. pp. 323–4).

Etymologists would have a less dubious reputation if they were not inclined to behave like *il matto* according to Umberto Eco's *Il pendolo di Foucault* (chapter 10):

> Il matto lo riconosci subito. È uno stupido che non conosce i trucchi. Lo stupido la sua tesi cerca di dimostrarla, ha una logica sbilenca ma ce l'ha. Il matto invece non si preoccupa di avere una logica, procede per cortocircuiti. Tutto per lui dimostra tutto. Il matto ha una idea fissa, e tutto quel che trova gli va bene per confermarla.

To argue that ἄφενος 'wealth' and ἄφαρ 'suddenly' are related could be a case in point: sudden wealth remains a dream for most of us. However, a glance at the etymology of πλοῦτος, a synonym of ἄφενος, may help us to remain at least among the *stupidi*.

Chantraine (1968–80: ii. 918, s.v. πλοῦτος) and Frisk (1960–72: ii. 564, s.v. πλοῦτος) agree on the derivation of πλοῦτος: according to the former, πλοῦτος is 'tiré du radical de πλέ(ϝ)ω au sens de "flotter", d'où "se répandre, inonder", d'abord employé pour une moisson abondante'.

To speak of a large quantity of things as a 'flood' is familiar in English, but the metaphor of wealth as a stream of water is far more widespread than that:

- In Sanskrit, one of the *Rig Veda* hymns praises Indra as a stream of wealth: *yó rāyó avánir mahā̆n* 'der ein grosser Strom des Reichtums ist' (*RV* 1. 4. 10, trans. K. F. Geldner; cf. *RV* 8. 32. 13).
- In Hittite, the participle of the root *ars-* 'to flow' appears to have been used metaphorically to mean 'abundant with something' (*KBo* X 47g III 14 *lappinit arsantes* '"crawling" (with *lappina*-plants)', Puhvel 1980: 138; cf. Puhvel 1984– : 171, s.v. *ar(a)s-*, *arsiya-*).
- In Latin, *affluentia* and *abundantia* are used as synonyms of 'wealth'. Cicero, for instance, observes that the Campanians are arrogant because

of 'omnium rerum adfluentia' (*Agr*. 2. 95), and he attacks the Catilinarians who 'patrimonia sua profuderunt' because 'eadem tamen illa quae erat in abundantia libido permanet' (*Cat*. 2. 10).

- In Modern English, both *affluence* and *abundance* continue the Latin tradition, and in Modern German *Überfluss* semantically overlaps with *Reichtum*.

Doubtless, this short list could be extended. Even as it stands, it demonstrates that the Indo-European root **pleu̯-* 'to float, to swim' and various related terms commonly develop affinities with the semantic field of 'wealth' and 'riches'. If we take into account that English *flood* also belongs to the word family of **pleu̯-*, it becomes clear how the additional notion of unexpected speed or suddenness comes into play. Old Irish *lúath*, an adjective based on **pleu̯-/*plou̯-* + **-to-* and thus tantalizingly (though perhaps misleadingly) similar to Greek *πλοῦτος* < **plou-to-*, even means 'quick'. An excess of possessions ('wealth') is thus compared to an excess of water, visualized in the form of a torrential stream or the like ('flood' = [STREAM OF WATER] + [SPEED]).

On the basis of the preceding remarks one may tentatively replace Benveniste's reconstructed meaning 'rapidité' for *ἄφαρ* < **H₂ebh-r̥* by a more concrete one such as 'rapid stream', both for **H₂ebh-r̥* itself and, with a tendency towards metaphorical usage, for the secondary derivation **H₂(e)bhen-es-*. The semantic development leading to adverbial *ἄφαρ* 'suddenly, quickly' can be compared with the German temporal adverb/interjection *schwapp(s)/schwupp(s)* 'suddenly, quickly, in a flash' beside verbal (*über*)*schwappen* 'to splash, to spill'.[6]

It is clear that such an etymology remains speculative if it is not backed up by independent material. In our case, corroborative elements are found both in Greek itself and in other Indo-European languages. Let us first look at some Greek evidence.

The root **sreu̯-* 'to flow, to stream', though not figuring in the above list of terms for 'wealth' and 'flood', belongs to the same lexical field as **pleu̯-*; with **sreu̯-* the movement of water itself is described, with **pleu̯-*, at least originally, that of things moving *on* the water. Thus, **sreu̯-* fits into the imagery of 'wealth' as a 'stream of goods' even better than **pleu̯-*.

In Greek, **sreu̯-* is represented by the verb *ῥέω* and its relatives (*ῥεῦμα*,

[6] Both *schwapp/schwupp* and *schwappen* are probably related to *schweben* 'to hover, to float': Kluge–Seebold (1995: 748–9, s.vv. *schwappen* and *schweben*).

ῥοή, etc.). Among these, there is the rare adverb *ῥυδόν*, commonly translated as 'abundantly' (LSJ, s.v. *ῥυδόν*). *ῥυδόν* occurs once in Homer's *Odyssey*, once in a fragment of Callimachus' *Hecale*, and once in a (probably Laconian) gloss *ῥουδόν· ῥευστικῶς* ('flowingly': Hsch. ρ 453 Schmidt). The gloss does not reveal much, but the two literary attestations deserve our attention.

In the *Odyssey*, the swineherd Eumaeus remembers how he was abducted from his father's palace by a Sidonian slave who, when some Phoenician merchants arrived and seduced her, boasted to them of her own noble descent (*Od.* 15. 425–6, trans. A. T. Murray):

> *ἐκ μὲν Σιδῶνος πολυχάλκου εὔχομαι εἶναι,*
> *κούρη δ' εἴμ' Ἀρύβαντος ἐγὼ ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο.*

Out of Sidon, rich in bronze, I declare that I come, and I am the daughter of Arybas, to whom wealth flowed in streams.

The love for material wealth is plain: not only is she from rich Sidon, and not only is her father *ἀφνειός*—Arybas is *ῥυδὸν ἀφνειός*.

The Callimachean fragment, cited by the *Suda* (ρ 283 Adler, s.v. *ῥύδην* = Callimachus fr. 366 Pf.) and now also found on papyrus (*P. Oxy.* 2376, col. 1, l. 3 = Call. *Hec.* fr. 48. 3 Hollis), contains the words *ῥυδὸν ἀφνύ(ν)ονται*; these are glossed with *ἀντὶ τοῦ ῥύδην καὶ ῥευστικῶς πλουτοῦσιν. ἢ κεχυμένως. ἀντὶ τοῦ πάνυ* (cf. Hsch. α 8709 Latte, *ἀφνύει· ἀφνύνει· ὀλβίζει*). Already before the papyrus was known, Pfeiffer had ascribed the *Suda* quotation to the *Hecale* because 'Odysseae partem de Eumaeo passim Call[imachus] in Hecala imitatus est' (Pfeiffer 1949: 299).

Thus, in the only attestations where a trace of context is left, the adverb *ῥυδόν* qualifies a word from the family of *ἄφενος*. Both the fact that *ἀφνειός* is specified by no other adverb in Homer and the absence of *ῥυδόν* in other contexts (e.g. with real streams, rain, tears, etc.) suggest an old idiomatic connection between *ἄφενος*/*ἀφνειός* and the root **sreu̯-* as represented by *ῥυδόν*. Apart from the phrase *ῥυδὸν ἀφνύ(ν)ονται*, this is confirmed by the Callimachean hapax *ῥυηφενίη* 'affluence' (*Hymn.* 1. 84) and the corresponding adjective *ῥυηφενής* (Dionysius Periegeta 337; Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 152). As mentioned above, Callimachus was probably inspired by the *Odyssey* episode in writing the *Hecale*, but given the new compound *ῥυηφενίη* that hardly diminishes the point: even an Alexandrian scholar-poet could not think of any alternative to strengthen the notion of *ἄφενος* more appropriately. Hence, the concept of 'flowing wealth' was at least as firmly attached to *ἄφενος* as to its synonym *πλοῦτος*. The latter could also be visualized as a stream of water (cf. e.g. *Il.* 2. 670 *θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων*

'Cronion poured out marvellous wealth'),[7] but it was never used to coin a poetic lexeme such as *ῥυσίπλουτος to parallel *ῥυηφενής*.

If *ἄφενος* originated as a literal 'rapid stream, torrent' whose meaning was narrowed down to metaphoric 'affluence' only secondarily,[8] we find a simple explanation for the irregular accent of the adjective *ἀφνειός*. It has already been mentioned that the accentuation *-ειός* is characteristic of river names such as *Σπερχειός*, the 'Rapid' (from *σπέρχω* 'to haste'). With such parallels, it was most natural to adopt the usual river-name accent for an adjective *ἀφνειός* meaning 'rapidly streaming'.

Outside Greek, the reconstruction of a heteroclitic noun *H_2ebh-r̥ 'rapid stream' finds additional support. Although there is no further Indo-European language where *H_2ebh-r̥ itself can be ascertained, there are at least three, and perhaps four, more language families in which other stems are based on a root *H_2ebh- 'river, stream'. Since a full documentation is easily assembled from the relevant dictionaries, a short summary will suffice here:

(1) In Anatolian, *H_2ebh- is represented by Hitt. *hap(a)-* 'river' (gen. sg. *ha-pa-as*, all. sg. *ha-pa-a*), which is either a root noun or a thematic noun *H_2ebh-o- (cf. Rieken 1999: 19). Next to this, there is Luvian *hāpi-* 'river' and, presumably, Palaic *hāpna-* with an *n*-extension. The latter probably corresponds to dat.-loc. sg. *ÍD-ni* in Hittite (*KUB* XVII 8 IV 23), although in theory *ÍD-ni* could also be an *r/n*-stem remnant. Even if Anatolian knew IE *H_2ep- 'water' too (Watkins 1972: 41–3), 'IE *A_1ebh- > PAnat. *hab- must be recognized' in all of these lexemes (Puhvel 1984– : iii. 115, s.v. *hapa-*, after Laroche 1973: 183–4 and others; cf. Melchert 1994: 93, 191, 230).[9]

[7] Cf. also the scholia on *Od.* 15. 426 *ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο* (e.g. Σ V: *ῥύδην τὸν πλοῦτον ἔχοντος, τουτέστι τῷ πλούτῳ χύδην πλουτοῦντος. ἢ ἐπίρροιαν ἔχοντος πλούτου*) and *EM* 706. 8–12, s.vv. *ῥυδόν* (*ῥυδὸν ἀφνειοῖο· . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ περιρρεῖν τὸν πλοῦτον*) and *ῥυηφενία* (*. . . σύγκειται δὲ ἡ λέξις παρὰ τὸ ῥύδην καὶ ἄφενος, τουτέστι τὴν τοῦ πλουσίου* [read *τοῦ πλούτου*?] *ῥύσιν*).

[8] Note also the Homeric participle *ὑπερηφανέοντες* (*Il.* 11. 694), which is probably derived from *ἄφενος* (cf. Leumann 1950: 116–17 n. 83). Although a semantic change *'to be exceedingly rich' > 'to behave wantonly' seems possible, the context of *Il.* 11. 694 speaks against it since *ὑπερηφανέοντες* is said of the *'Επειοί*, who are heavily indebted (*Il.* 11. 688: *πολέσιν γὰρ 'Επειοὶ χρεῖος ὄφειλον*); a development 'to be overflowing, overwhelming, *überbordend*' > 'to be reckless' would be more in place.

[9] A voiced labial is demanded by Sturtevant's rule and perhaps by the Lycian theonym (?) *qebelija-* (Neumann 1974: 109 with n. 2, comparing Hitt. *^{D}Hapaliyas*; cf. Tischler 1983– : 159–60, s.v. *hap(a)-*). Hamp (1972) wants to connect *H_2ep- with Proto-Anatolian *H_2eb- by postulating a possessive suffix *-Hon- (i.e. *H_2ep-Hon- > *hab(o)n-), but this leaves unexplained the voiced labial of Hitt. *hap(a)-* (cf. Mayrhofer 1986: 144).

(2) In Italic, *H_2ebh- underlies the poetic word *amnis*, *-is* f. (later m.) 'river' < *H_2ebh-ni-* (cf. Ernout–Meillet 1959: 28–9, s.v. *amnis*). Since many Latin *i*-stems replace older consonant stems (cf. e.g. *ponti-*, *nocti-*, Leumann 1977: 343), *amnis* points to an original *n*-stem *H_2ebh-n-*. Although *H_2ep-ni-* would also yield *amnis*, the reconstruction with *H_2ebh-* is virtually certain because of the parallelism with the Celtic formations.[10]

(3) In Celtic, *H_2ebh-* appears for instance in OIr. *ab* f. 'river'. This *n*-stem is soon replaced by *abann* f., which corresponds to the Old British river name *Abona* (modern *Avon*) and Welsh *afon* f. 'river' (Vendryès 1959–: A-4, s.v. *ab*). The flexion of OIr. *ab* contains an interesting peculiarity in the genitive *abae*: while masculine and feminine nasal stems regularly have a genitive singular with *o*-grade suffix (*-on-os*), *abae* points to *-en-s*, which is characteristic of neuter nouns (de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 104–6, after Thurneysen 1946: 213). Since the heteroclitic flexion survives in Old Irish only with *arbor* 'grain, corn' < *H_2er(H)-u̯-r̥*, gen. *arbe* < *H_2r̥(H)-u̯-en-s*, whereas other heteroclitic stems appear only as split or unified paradigms (de Bernardo Stempel 1999: 133, after Lambert 1978), it is quite likely that *abae* is not, properly speaking, the genitive of *ab* f., but of our neuter *r/n*-stem *H_2ebh-r̥*. It might even be that *H_2ebh-r̥* itself is continued in Celtic: the superlative prefix OIr. *abar-* 'very'/Welsh *afr-*, whose etymology is doubtful (Vendryes 1959– : A-6–7, s.v. *abar-*), would be a regular continuation of *H_2ebh-r̥* and the semantic link could be sought along the lines of Greek *ῥυδόν*, which a glossator paraphrased with *πάνυ* (cf. above, p. 330, and for the adverbialization pp. 327–8 on *ἄφαρ*).

(4) Germanic, too, may belong to the language groups continuing *H_2ebh-*. The intensifying Old Icelandic prefix *afar-* resembles Old Irish *abar-* (Lehmann 1986: 1, s.v. *abrs*) and the Gothic adjective *abrs*, which corresponds to Greek *ἰσχυρός* 'strong, violent, raging' (said of hunger), could go back to thematized *H_2ebh-r-os* 'like a rapid/raging stream'.[11]

[10] Latin *amnis* has long been among the lexical elements supporting the thesis of an Italo-Celtic subgroup of Indo-European (cf. Schmidt 1992: 35). The hesitant suggestion of Rosén (1988: 118–26) to see in *amnis* (also) a compound *am-nH_2-i-* ('swimming = flowing around', cf. Paul. *Fest*. 15. 24 Lindsay 'amnis proprie dicitur a circumnando') is gratuitous.

[11] Pokorny (1959: 1, s.v. *ab-*) derives Lat. *amnis* and OIr. *ab* from *ab-* (not: *abh-*) and adds that 'die westdeutschen Fl[uss-]N[amen] auf *-apa*, nhd. *-affa*, gehen wohl teils auf sonst verlorengegangenes westgerm. *ap-* (idg. *ab-*), teils auf ven.-ill. *ap-* (idg. *ap-*) zurück'. However, to reconstruct *ab-* is less plausible a priori because of the rarity of Proto-Indo-European *b* (cf. Mayrhofer 1986: 99–100) and *-apa* is better explained as a substrate element (cf. Porzig 1954: 207; Lehmann 1986: 13, s.v. *ahva*: 'probably of Celtic origin').

The preceding summary highlights the prominent role of secondary *n*-stems (or *n*-stem derivations, like Pal. *hāpna-*) in the system of Proto-Indo-European **H₂ebh-* 'river, stream'. It may therefore be noted that the reconstruction of an *r/n*-stem noun **H₂ebh-r̥* is no *condicio sine qua non* for the explanation of ἄφενος given here; the Greek noun might also be based on a simple *n*-stem **H₂(e)bh-en-*. To postulate an *r/n*-stem just has the advantage of explaining adverbial ἄφαρ too. Moreover, as the double name '*r/n*-stem' aptly expresses, 'pure' *n*-stems and the *n*-part of the 'mixed' *r/n*-stems probably belong together anyway; perhaps the original distinction was one between *n*-stem singulative nouns and *r*-stem collective nouns (Lehmann 1993: 246). In the case of our lexeme, this would mean that **H₂ebh-r̥* referred to a collective concept of '(the) streaming(s), rapids', whereas **H₂(e)bh-en-* designated one particular '(rapid) stream', a 'river'.

Finally, there is one more point to support a reconstruction **H₂ebh-r̥* 'rapid stream'. Like ἄφενος, Greek ἀφρός 'foam' is 'nicht sicher erklärt'.[12] The comparison with Armenian *p'rp'owrk'* 'foam' (Meillet 1931; Solta 1960: 434–5) is at best 'vraisemblable' or 'verlockend, aber nicht strikt zu beweisen' (Frisk 1960–72: i. 197, s.v. ἀφρός, and Chantraine 1968–80: i. 148, s.v. ἀφρός; Clackson 1994: 181 is doubtful). In order to accept the isogloss one must be prepared (1) to regard the Greek ἀ- as a 'prothetic' vowel not arising from a laryngeal and not represented in Armenian, (2) to see in Greek -φ- the continuation of **ph*, and (3) to believe in some kind of expressive reduplication of **phr-* in Armenian. It may be easier to understand ἀφρός as a thematization of **H₂ebh-r̥*, designating a phenomenon typically observed on river rapids. Similar thematizations of *r/n*-stems are found elsewhere (cf. Schwyzer 1939: 481; Risch 1974: 68): Greek ὕδρος from ὕδωρ, for instance, was the name of a water snake and of a vessel used to carry water (Myc. *u-do-ro*, cf. Aura Jorro 1985–93: ii. 385, s.v. *u-do-ro*, with bibliography).

To derive ἄφενος and ἀφνειός from an Indo-European lexeme for flowing water in two respects exemplifies the claim that etymologies can inform our knowledge of cultural prehistory.

First, the suggested etymology of ἄφενος places the word family in a whole series of metaphorical images for 'wealth' which complement each other. When we recognize how systematically an 'excess of water' is used as an

[12] The same holds for the name Ἀφροδίτη, but this is probably an independent loanword (cf. most recently West 2000, against the folk etymology in Hes. *Theog.* 195–8 and Plato, *Crat.* 406 C–D).

image for 'prosperity' in various Indo-European languages, we may venture the hypothesis that this is not an independent development in all of them, but that Proto-Indo-European already possessed a similar ancestor image (cf. Wachter 1998 on 'Ersatzbildungen zwecks Rettung des sprachlichen Bildes für immaterielle Konzepte'). Although we definitely enter the sphere of speculation here, this might even confirm the localization of the Indo-European homeland in the arid steppe environment of the Pontic–Caspian region (Mallory 1989: 262), where floods could be more of a benefice than a plague.

Second, if the above explanation of ἄφενος is correct, the connection with Hittite *happina*(*nt*)- falls away and the basis of the Greek word is inherited rather than borrowed. The prosperity of prehistoric Anatolia may have been greater than that of prehistoric Greece, but the Greek lexicon to describe social hierarchies does not testify to a wave of linguistic orientalizing. If there ever was such a thing, the evidence must be sought elsewhere. No doubt that too would be a fascinating task, but it is not one to be attempted without hubris in the Festschrift for a scholar and teacher who knows more about Greek and Anatolian than anyone else.

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PART THREE

ANATOLIAN

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24

Some Problems in Anatolian Phonology and Etymology

†*Gillian R. Hart*

1 The Phonological Problem

There are several Hittite words which appear to have cognates in Cuneiform Luwian and sometimes other Anatolian languages as well, which are written with syllabic signs of the *š*-series in Hittite and the *d*- or *t*-series in Luwian. Such apparent correspondences are found both in initial and internal position. They are not regular in the sense that inherited **s* normally yields *s* both in Hittite and Luwian, and inherited dental plosives likewise appear as dental plosives in both languages. Another source of ⟨*s*⟩ in Hittite is found in the assibilation of initial **di* and **dy* to *ši*. This change, like the parallel one of **ti* > *zi* [*tsi*], is special to Hittite itself.

2 Approaches to the Problem

Some scholars either reject the correspondences altogether, or explain the differences as having a morphological basis. Others have been impressed by the good semantic and morphological matches, and have tried to find solutions for the phonological problems, but none of the proposed explanations has, as yet, proved entirely convincing.

J. Puhvel (1975 and 1979), encouraged by the Anatolian outcomes of PIE **dyēus/diw-* in Hittite *ši-i-uš* 'god', *ši-i-wa-az* 'day' but Luwian *Ti-wa-az*, Palaic *Ti-ya-az* 'sun-god', tried a combination of **dy-* or **dhy-*. Unfortunately, as has often been pointed out, **y* in such combinations does not otherwise disappear. The resulting root etymologies were also semantically tenuous. But Puhvel's idea that a correspondence of ⟨*š*⟩ and ⟨*d/t*⟩ might reflect a palatalized consonant was a positive advance. Following a similar line of thought F. Josephson suggested tentatively that these correspondences

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might go back to a palatal laryngeal **hy* (1979: 100–1). In a wide-ranging discussion of palatalization and assibilation in Anatolian languages, Josephson proposed that inherited palatal and velar plosives were kept distinct in Anatolian, and that there might also have been distinctively palatal laryngeals which were susceptible to palatalization and assibilation, even before /*a*/ and /*u*/. A serious drawback of this theory is that where etymological connections in other Indo-European languages have been proposed, the assumed cognates begin with vowels of **o*- rather than **e*-quality, which would be difficult to reconcile with an original palatal laryngeal.

H. C. Melchert suggested that inherited **s* might change to /*d*/ in the Luwian branch of Anatolian (1994: 274–5), but this remains inconclusive, as conditions for it are not clear.

In this paper I propose to re-examine the evidence to see if any common solution can be found.

3 The Material

Hittite *šākuwa* nominative-accusative neuter plural with possible singular stem *šakui*- 'eye(s)':[1] Luwian *da-a-u-wa* nominative-accusative neuter plural; *da-a-u-i-iš* nominative singular, common gender. These words, which inflect as neuter root nouns in the plural, have in Luwian singular forms with nominative in *-iš*.[2] The *i*-stem forms found in Hittite texts mainly conceal the root under the logographic spelling IGI$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ with a plural determinative, although the endings look singular:

Nom. sg. IGI$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$-*iš* KUB XXXIV 85: 7
Acc. sg. IGI$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$-*in* KUB XXXIII 113 i 11, 12; KUB IX 34 iii 34; KUB XXXVI 14 (6)
Loc. sg. IGI$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$-*i* KUB XXXIII 98 iii 19.

The form *ša-ku-iš-ši-it* 'its eyes' KUB XVII 28 i 15 appears from its agreement with the plural *adanta* to be a neuter plural nominative, though not of the usual type. Rieken (1999: 61) suggests that it could be an old neuter dual. If so, the form, which refers to the 'eyes' of a needle, may have survived in this transferred sense while it was normally supplanted in the literal sense by the plural *šākuwa*. Starke argued that the logographic examples in Hittite texts with *i*-stem case endings concealed Luwian forms of the nominative and accusative singular, because they conformed to the pattern known as

[1] For the most recent discussion of the authenticity of the stem *šakui*- as Hittite see *CHD*, vol. Š/1. 67.

[2] Rieken (1999: 59–61) has a thorough discussion of the morphological problems with references to earlier literature.

'*i*-Motion', very common in Luwian but not in Hittite. There is a slight difference between the Luwian and Hittite examples, however, in that in Hittite texts even those words with endings which are formally singular have the plural determinative ḪI.A, whereas in the Luwian texts this is found only with plural endings of the noun. These details are strange, but may be important for the question of etymology.

There are two competing etymologies for the Hittite word, both of which go back to a time before the possibility of a connection between the Hittite and Luwian words was contemplated. Of these, Melchert prefers the PIE root **sek^{w}-* 'follow, accompany', which in Germanic languages has developed the secondary meaning 'see'.

The semantic difficulties should not be underestimated. Either Germanic and Anatolian shared a common innovation against the rest of the Indo-European languages, or the meaning 'seeing' was original and the languages other than Anatolian and Germanic had in common taken a path of development from 'see' to 'track with the eyes, follow, go along with'. Neither of these alternatives seems particularly attractive, despite Philip Baldi's attempt (1974) to revive the second.

The Hittite word would in Melchert's view be from a thematic adjective **sók^{w}o-* 'seeing'. The single writing of ⟨*ku*⟩ in Hittite was attributed not to lenition after a long accented vowel, since the inherited vowel would have been short, but to an automatic voicing of the voiceless labiovelar in internal position, for which there are some parallels. For these compare Melchert (1994: 61, 96). The alternative etymology also requires this change, but in that case only if the inherited vowel had been short, which is uncertain.

This second etymology connects the Hittite word with the PIE word for 'eye', **$h_3$ek^{w}-*. Apart from the initial segment this is a much better fit. The meanings are identical. The morphological correspondence could hardly be better. The Indo-European word for 'eye' is represented not only by root nouns in various languages, especially in the second elements of compounds, but also by *i*-stems which are sometimes confined to specific cases.[3] In Old Church Slavonic the *i*-stem occurs only in the dual paradigm, although in Lithuanian it has been generalized throughout the declension.[4]

[3] In Greek there are compound nouns both with -*ωπ*- and with -*οπ*-, e.g. *εὐώπιδα* (acc. sg. fem.), *Αἰθίοψ*. The simple root noun is rare, but compare the neut. pl. *τὰ ὦπα* at Plato, *Crat.* 409 c. The Sanskrit neuter *i*-stem *ákṣi* is defective, making its oblique cases from a stem with suffix -*n*-, as in gen. sg. *akṣṇás*. Of particular interest is the nom.-acc. dual *akṣī́*, which finds parallels both in Avesta *aši*, with *š* on the analogy of *uši* 'two ears', and also in Lithuanian *aki*, Old Slavonic *oči* beside nom. sg. *oko*. There is also the isolated Greek dual *ὄσσε* from **ok^{w}ī* with the added dual ending -*e*.

[4] For further details see *IEW* 775–7.

The comparative evidence suggests that the *i*-stem may have originated in the dual. It could be that Hittite has preserved some traces of this situation, although the dual itself has disappeared. The existence of *i*-stem forms in several other ancient Indo-European languages makes it more likely that the Hittite examples are also inherited, rather than the result of Luwian *i*-Motion, of which the origins are in any case still not completely understood.[5]

The initial ⟨*š*⟩ of the Hittite word has sometimes been explained by assuming an '*s*-mobile' before the laryngeal. This goes back to a proposal by Hoenigswald (1952) but the lack of a prothetic vowel before initial **sh*- is difficult. Even if it can be defended,[6] it would work only if the Hittite–Luwian correspondence were rejected.

Hittite *šankuwai*- 'nail' (of finger or toe). For the declension cf. Weitenberg (1979) and *CHD*, vol. Š/1. 180–1. The Hittite word has often been compared with Lat. *unguis* 'nail'. J. Kuryłowicz noted that the correspondence was like that in the word for 'eyes' (1958: 226). Apart from the initial *š*- the comparison is excellent. It may be noted that Hittite goes with Italic and Celtic in having a form of the root with no vowel between the nasal and the final consonant (*h_3ng^wh-) rather than the full grade *h_3nog^wh- which appears in most other branches.[7] These variants no doubt reflect an old holokinetic paradigm. It is also notable that *i*-stems or extensions of an *i*-suffix occur in association with the zero grade of the root in Italic and Celtic as well as in Hittite. It has been traditional to reconstruct the root as **nogh*(*w*), **n̥gh*(*w*) but in the light of more recent research a root-final labiovelar *-g^wh seems more likely.[8]

The single possible Luwian cognate for Hittite *šankuwai* (neuter plural) is *ta-am-mu-u-ga* (neuter plural) in KUB XXXII 8+5 iii 17.

The context is:

16´ *iš-ša-ra*(*-aš-ša*)*-an-za-ti-it-ta*
17´ *pa-a-ta-aš-ša-an-za ta-am-mu-u-ga la-a-at-ta*
18´ *za-an-da du-ú-pa-im-mi-in iš-ša-ri-in*
19´ *za-an-da du-ú-pa-im-mi-in* EME-*in*

He/she has taken away nails of his/her hand(s) and foot/feet, (and) therewith the stricken hand, therewith the stricken tongue.

5 For a detailed account of this phenomenon see Starke (1990: 59–90).
6 Kimball (1999: 381–2) suggests that the prothesis may have happened only before *sh_2.
7 A detailed discussion of the variants may be found in Szemerényi (1964: 239 ff.).
8 On Germanic preconsonantal treatment of PIE *g^wh see Lass (1994: 20–1). On the Celtic problems see McCone (1996: 38 ff.).

The interpretation 'nails' was made by Starke, and is perfectly convincing (1990: 47).

There is a similar Hittite passage at KUB IV 47 i 13–14:

> GÙB-*la-aš-ša* ŠU.MEŠ *-aš* GÌR.MEŠ-*aš-ša ša-an-ku-wa-i da-a-i*
> He trims the nails of the left hands and (of the) feet.

The phonological development is complex. In the absence of counter-examples it may be assumed that before a nasal *$*g^wh$* became /*gw*/, exactly as in Lat. *ninguit* 'it snows', beside *nix*, *nivis* 'snow'. Next came assimilation of the nasal of the root to the following *gw*, giving pre-Luwian **tamgwa*. For a not dissimilar kind of change compare Tocharian A *makw*, B *mekwa* 'nail'. The final stage must have been a metathesis of /*gw*/ > *ug*, perhaps like that found in the occasional Hittite spelling *e-uk-zi* for usual *e-ku-zi* 'drinks'.

The recognition of Luwian *tammūga* as corresponding to Hittite *šankuwai* adds another member to the group of words showing initial ⟨*š*⟩ in Hittite but ⟨*t*⟩ or ⟨*d*⟩ in Luwian as well as matching words of the same meaning in other Indo-European languages with probable initial $*h_3$.

Hittite *še-*(*e*)*-ḫur* and Luwian *du-ú-ur* 'urine'

The identification of these words is attractive. F. Starke (1990: 568–70) made out a strong case in its favour because of inflexional morphology, meaning, and appearance in similar contexts, but found the phonological difficulties insuperable. As well as the difference between the initial consonants, there is the disappearance of intervocalic ⟨*ḫ*⟩ in Luwian, and the fate of the ⟨*ē*⟩ of Hittite, completely absent in Luwian. But loss of the internal single laryngeal in Luwian is not without parallels. Melchert accepts the possibility, and cites also cases where a laryngeal is lost before /*w*/ (1994: 258).

The vowel of the first syllable in Hittite *šēḫur* has various possible sources. Before a laryngeal it could go back to a diphthong just as easily as to a long vowel **ē*. Lenition of the laryngeal after the long accented vowel at the Proto-Anatolian stage would have given single *-ḫ-* in pre-Hittite and pre-Luwian. The vocalism of the Luwian word need not be as problematical as Starke supposed in view of Luwian *ú-ut-ti-iš* 'you drink' (KUB XXXV 133 ii 25), where the root vowel has been assimilated after the change of $*g^w$ to Luwian /*w*/. For the interpretation of the form compare the comments of Melchert, *CLL* 241.

This leaves the initial consonant correspondence. Unlike *šākuwa* and *šankuwaiš*, the words for 'urine' have no obvious etymological connections

outside Anatolian.[9] The proposed connection of *šēḫur* with the verb *šaḫ* 'block up, obstruct, fill, stuff', is untenable. It is clear from the examples in the *CHD*, vol. Š/1. 1–2, that the verb has nothing to do with causing impurity. Nor is there any serious reason to doubt that the basic meaning of the word *šēḫur* was 'urine'.

A connection with Greek *οὖρον* 'urine' might be possible, but for the syllabic augment in past tenses of the verb *οὐρέω* in Attic, normally an indication of initial **Ϝ*. Ionic, however, does not have an augment in this verb. The standard etymology from a root **wers/wors* 'to rain' implies an unusual, though not unique, treatment of Attic intervocalic *-ρσ-* as *-ρ-* with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, rather than the normal *-ρρ-* seen in *θαρρεῖν* 'be confident' etc.[10]

Since the traditional etymology is uncertain, an alternative solution may be sought.

In view of the preceding discussion, one might look for an initial *h_3. If the following ⟨*ē*⟩ of the Hittite word went back to an *i*-diphthong, this could only have been **oi*. Thus one may posit a form *h_3oih_2wr as ancestral to the Anatolian words. In Greek the word for 'urine' is a thematic neuter, but apart from the extra suffix it looks like a good match for the Anatolian words. Both the laryngeals would be lost, leaving a form **oyurom*. By the regular loss of intervocalic **y* the form *οὖρον* would result. The verb *οὐρέω* would then be an ordinary denominative in **-eyō* rather than the model for a back-formed noun.[11]

The next two Hittite words beginning with *š* do not appear to have counterparts in Luwian, but elsewhere have possible cognates which could point to initial *h_3.

Hittite *šarḫuwant-* 'insides, belly, womb, embryo' was compared by J. Schindler (1969: 159) with Greek *ὀρύα* 'sausage'. The comparison seems unobjectionable.

Hittite *šuwaiš* 'bird', found only once in a vocabulary fragment 902/z i 15, which seems to correspond with MUŠEN-*eš* in HT 42 obv. 2 and 4, may be related to a widespread group of words for 'bird' in other Indo-European languages, where there are several difficult problems of both phonology and morphology. In a long article devoted to the words for 'bird' and 'egg'

9 For earlier suggestions about *šēḫur* alone cf. Rieken (1999: 340–3).

10 The question is discussed by Lejeune (1972: 138 with n. 5).

11 First proposed by Wackernagel (1888: 129) and often repeated since; cf. Chantraine (1968–80: 839).

in Indo-European Schindler (1969) was impressed by the resemblance of the Hittite form to Vedic nom. sg.*véḥ* and *víḥ*, gen. sg. *véḥ*, nom. pl. *váyaḥ*, and posited an original paradigm with nom. sg. **hwois*, gen. sg. **hweis*. The Vedic paradigm also contained examples of the root form **hwi-*, as in the Vedic instr. pl. *víbhiḥ* 'with birds'. The alternative nom. sg. *víḥ* could be explained as remodelled according to the regular *i*-stem pattern seen in *agniḥ* 'fire' with gen. sg. *agneḥ.*

In languages other than Indo-Iranian, Albanian, and Anatolian forms of the root occur in which there is a vowel before the **w*. This suggests an initial laryngeal, but it is not entirely clear whether *h_2 or *h_3 should be posited. Greek presents conflicting evidence with οἰωνός 'bird of prey, ominous bird' as against αἰετός 'eagle'. Schindler had doubts about οἰωνός on account of difficulty in analysing the second element -ωνός, but this hardly affects the identification of the first part with the word for 'bird'. Italic *avis* would point to *h_2 if it had a full grade **hewi-s*, but a zero grade might be expected to produce a form with no initial vowel, as in Vedic.

According to Schrijver's rules (1991: 15–31) a laryngeal before an initial consonant would disappear, so that *avis* would have a full grade of the root. This would be contrary to Schindler's reconstruction of the word as a root-noun **hwoi-s/hwei-/hwi-*. Schrijver prefers to start from **h₂ewi-*, but also mentions a suggestion by Peters that a form like Vedic *víḥ* could have had its initial laryngeal vocalized in order to avoid a short monosyllable. If that were the case, any laryngeal might be expected to give /*a*/ in Latin. If the laryngeal was *h_2, the connection with Hittite *šuwaiš* would fail in any case since initial *h_2 in Anatolian regularly becomes ⟨ḫ⟩.

Latin *avis* might seem to indicate initial *h_2, but this is not the only possibility. G. Meiser (1998: 84–5) describes conditions in which Italic **o* > *a* at a time when laryngeals were still preserved even after consonants. The change took place after /*m*/, /*w*/, all labiovelar plosives, and perhaps /*l*/, when the vowel stood in an open syllable, but was inhibited when the syllable was closed, even by a laryngeal. Possibly an initial *h_3 could have produced the same result as the other consonants mentioned. In that case an original *h_3*owis* would have developed to *avis*, while *h_2*owis* 'sheep' came through into Latin as *ovi*s. All this, however, is quite uncertain.

The problem of the Greek forms remains so far unresolved. It is notable that Greek did not preserve the Indo-European word for 'bird' as such but replaced it by a derivative of the Indo-European word for 'eagle'. This necessitated the creation or adoption of a new word for 'eagle'. It is worth asking why the original simple word for 'bird' was abandoned. Did it suffer a fatal collision with the word for 'sheep'? If so, a proto-Greek **owis* in both

meanings would have been intolerable, but if 'bird' had been **awis* (as in Latin) the problem would not have arisen. As for *αἰετός*, it might be a word for 'eagle' which Greek borrowed from some other language with which it had come into contact whereas *οἰωνός* preserved the word for 'bird' in its regular Greek form.

There seems therefore to be no strong reason for preferring a reconstruction with *h_2 to one with *h_3 in the word for 'bird'. The evidence on either side is not abundant, but it is perhaps easier to account for a change of **o* > *a* in Latin than for one of **a* > *o* in Greek.[12]

It is therefore possible that the Hittite word belongs to the group under discussion, although it is found only in this one form.

MUNUS*alḫuešra*- and *alḫuitra*-

This title of a priestess of Huwassana of Hupesna is found in Hittite texts, but mainly in the 'Luwian' variant. Its origin is unknown, but it is included here for the sake of completeness.[13]

The case of the verbal root represented in Hittite by *ḫuiš*-, in Cuneiform Luwian by *ḫuid*- 'live', is complex. As with the previous word the correspondence ⟨*š*⟩ : ⟨*d*⟩ is in internal position.

Many of the difficulties involved in reconciling the Hittite and Luwian forms stem from the generally held conviction that the Hittite verb must be derived from the Indo-European root *h_2*wes*, which had the basic meaning 'stay the night, dwell' but not 'live, survive' as in Hittite and Luwian. I believe that the attractions of this etymology are superficial, the difficulties deep-seated, although there has been no lack of attempts to remove them. The root vocalism is a problem for both languages. In Hittite the spellings in the older texts are with ⟨*i*⟩, which is replaced by ⟨*e*⟩ in late texts or late copies of Old Hittite documents. Luwian also has ⟨*i*⟩, although the expected outcome of short **e* in that language is ⟨*a*⟩. A special rule has therefore been proposed whereby (in both languages) short **e* became ⟨*i*⟩ between /*w*/ and a dental obstruent.

There are some (few) Old Hittite spellings of the root as *ḫuš*- in derived forms such as the causative *ḫušnu*- beside the usual *ḫuišnu*-, and the verb *ḫuišwe*- 'be alive'. It may be no accident that all the examples of the spelling *ḫuš*- occur in forms where the following syllable contains ⟨*u*⟩ or ⟨*w*⟩. It seems possible that in rapid pronunciation of such forms the /*i*/ in the unaccented

[12] For other arguments in favour of *h_3 see Lindeman (1997: 73).

[13] See the discussions in *CLL* 10; *HED* i. 33–4; *HW*² i. 57.

root syllable might have been suppressed by a failure to unround the lips before the following labial vowel or glide. If there had been a genuine ablaut variation /*ḫwes*/ : /*ḫus*/ in Old Hittite it would be surprising to find it eliminated in later stages in favour of the full grade of the root, since this would have been inherited only in the simple verb itself.[14] The absence of a weak stem *ḫut-* in Luwian would also be remarkable.

It is difficult to dissociate the noun *ḫu-i-ta-ar* 'animal, game' from the verbal root seen in Cuneiform Luwian *ḫuid-* 'live'. This word has been recognized as an early loan from Luwian into Hittite both because of its root-final consonant and because /*dn*/ is not assimilated to /*nn*/ in the oblique cases.[15]

There are also several occurrences of the word for 'animal' and its derivatives in Hieroglyphic Luwian from different sites and periods. The examples given in Hawkins (2000) are:

(BESTIA)*HWI-tara/i* MARAŞ 1 §11 (end of ninth century)
("ANIMAL.BESTIA")*HWI-*sa_5*+ ra/i* BOHÇA §5 (second half of eighth century)
⌜(BESTIA)⌝*HWI-*sa_5*+ ra/i* BULGARMADEN §7 (second half of eighth century)
(BESTIA)*HWI-sà+ ra/i-sa* ALEPPO 2 §5 (late tenth or early ninth century)

Derived forms

(BESTIA)*HWI-sá-na-ma-ia* ASSUR a §10 (late eighth century)
BESTIA-*sa-na-mi-zi* TELL TAYINAT 2 line 2 fragment 3 (before 738; probably eighth century)
HWI-tà-ni-ia-za ŞIRZI §4 (early to mid-ninth century)

It thus emerges that there is variation not only between Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian, but even between different times and places within the Hieroglyphic area. These variations between spellings with *t*- and *s*-signs must surely be phonological in character (*pace* Starke 1990: 563–4), and render even less plausible any attempt to trace the root-final consonant either to inherited **s* or to a dental plosive.

4 Discussion

The correspondences discussed above form a coherent pattern. This appears similar to that of the Ancient Greek dialects, where the outcomes of palatalized consonants varied between -σσ-, -ττ- from the voiceless groups

[14] For the forms cf. Oettinger (1979: 91, 116) and *HED* iii. 332 ff.

[15] Starke (1990: 560–4). Cf. Rieken (1999: 304–6).

**-ky-*, **-khy-*, and -ζ-, -δδ-, from the voiced groups **-dy-*, **-gy-* as well as for some cases of initial **y*.[16]

These Greek developments result from palatalization, but it is difficult to explain the Anatolian facts in such a way. The evidence from outside Anatolian would seem to point to *h_3, but this laryngeal had precisely the wrong characteristics (lip-rounding and voicing) to undergo palatalization. Of the fate of initial *h_3 in Hittite there are conflicting views. Eichner believes that it was lost, but Melchert and Kimball have maintained that it was preserved in initial position, although it could not be distinguished in writing from the outcome of *h_2. The critical evidence is in Lycian, which preserves the outcome of *h_2 both initially and internally, but not those of *h_3.[17]

If *h_3 did survive in Hittite there is no sign there of lip-rounding effects: *$\breve{h}_3$ does not become ⟨*ḫu*⟩. This need not imply that the feature often ascribed to *h_3 had never existed. Possibly before **o* a change took place which resulted in the suppression of the labial element, as in Lat. *colo* < **k*^{w}*elō* or *coquit* < **pek*^{w}*eti* (with previous change of **pek*^{w}- to **k*^{w}*ek*^{w}-> *k*^{w}*ok*^{w}-).

If the normal outcome of initial *h_3 in Hittite was ⟨*ḫ*⟩ initially, while in other positions it was lost, special conditions must be sought in order to explain the anomalous development which resulted in Hittite ⟨*š*⟩, Luwian ⟨*d*⟩.

It so happens that in all the examples where *h_3 appears to give this bizarre result the enviroment contains a nearby /*u*/ or /*w*/. Possibly the presence of such sounds exercised a dissimilatory effect on a neighbouring *h_3, if this had been phonetically something like [γ^w] . It is impossible to be certain exactly what happened here, but in order to arrive at the eventual result, something like a change of [γ^w] > [γ^y] might be postulated. An intermediate stage of development might have been an affricate [dž] which was subsequently simplified in Hittite to [ž] but in Luwian to [d], which would sooner or later have become [t] by the devoicing of initial voiced stops. Hieroglyphic Luwian shows by the spelling variations in the word for 'animal' that it is not simply a descendant of Cuneiform Luwian, but a distinct member of the Luwian subgroup.

The variations within Luwian make it clear that the words for 'life' and 'animal' cannot go back either to a root ending in inherited **s* or to one ending in an inherited dental plosive. To regard the Hittite and Luwian words either as unrelated or as having different root-enlargements does

[16] A full account of these changes can be found in Lejeune (1972: 100–16).

[17] On the Lycian details see Melchert (1994: 305) with references; on Hittite see Kimball (1999: 384–7).

not help, for if there can be variation within Luwian, and even within Hieroglyphic Luwian, it should be no surprise that Hittite and Cuneiform Luwian diverge.

Since the final consonant of the root *ḫuiš/ḫuid* was not IE **s*, identification with the root **hwes* 'spend the night, stay, dwell' can no longer be maintained. Since the set of correspondences here is apparently the same as that found in several other words which have cognates with initial *h_3, it seems reasonable to start from the hypothesis that the same set of correspondences can also go back to an inherited *h_3 in internal position.

The numerous derivatives from this root have a /*w*/ suffix, which suggests that they may be based on the adjective *ḫuišu-* 'raw' (of meat), 'fresh' (of vegetables), but must originally have meant 'alive', a meaning in which it has been replaced by *ḫuišwant-* and in Luwian by *ḫuidwališ*. The root vowel was not short **e*, but, in view of the rare plene-spellings with ⟨*i*⟩ in the root of the simple verb, most probably **ei/i*.

It remains to ask if there was an Indo-European root meaning 'live' which terminated in *-*eih*$_3$, and was often found with a suffix /*w*/. Indo-Europeanists will recognize the root *$g^w eih_3/g^w ih_3$ 'live' as an almost ideal match, even down to the fact that it forms a thematic present stem in -*we*/*wo* (Lat. *vīvo*, Skt. *jīvati*) and an adjective with the same suffix (Lat. *vīvus*, Skt. *jīvas*). Only the initial ⟨*ḫu*⟩ stands in the way of this identification. But how did *g^w come to appear as Anatolian ⟨*ḫu*⟩?

If the original shape of the root was *$g^w(e)i\gamma^w$, the root-initial and root-final consonants were already very similar. In this kind of situation complete assimilation may readily occur. For example, IE *$penk^we$ '5' gave Lat. *quīnque*; Lat. *bibit* 'drinks' also shows assimilation of the first consonant to the second, as compared with Skt. *pibati* < *$piph_3eti$. In the case of Anatolian, the assimilation of *$g^w \ldots \gamma^w$ must have preceded the assumed dissimilation of the root-final consonant from [γ^w] to [γ^y]. Dissimilation following assimilation is not unknown: for example, Modern French *cinq* '5' had its initial consonant, Lat. /*qu*/ in *quinque*, dissimilated to /*k*/ in Late Latin from the second /*qu*/ of *quinque* (Pope 1934: 318).

It is important to note that the secondary *γ^w produced by assimilation had a different result in Anatolian from original h_3, which lost its labial element at some stage when inherited **o* was still a rounded vowel. It was only the [γ^w] of secondary origin which yielded ⟨*ḫu*⟩. The rounding of **e* > **o* after *h_3 is usually taken to have occurred in Proto-Indo-European itself, but at that stage the initial consonant in the root in question was still the plosive *g^w, which had no such effect. The chronology of the changes described above may be summarized as follows:

(1) $^*h_3e$ and $^*h_3a > {}^*h_3o$ in Proto-Indo-European.
(2) Assimilation of $^*g^w \ldots \gamma^w$ to $^*\gamma^w \ldots \gamma^w$ within Proto-Anatolian.
(3) Dissimilation of the second $^*\gamma^w$ to $^*\gamma^y$ in the neighbourhood of /*u*/ or /*w*/ before the end of Proto-Anatolian.
(4) Loss of the labial element of $^*h_3$ before /*o*/. This change must have happened later than (3) or it would have prevented it.

The morphological consequences of the proposed etymology of the verb *ḫuiš-* are:

The adjective *ḫuišu-* is closely related to Lat. *vīvus*, Skt. *jīvas* etc. although these have acquired an additional thematic vowel suffix.

The verb *ḫuišwe-* 'be alive' (which is most probably thematic)[18] corresponds well with the thematic present stems of Lat. *vīvit* and Skt. *jīvati*. The proposed connection of the Hittite verb *ḫuiš-* with the Indo-European root $^*g^weih_3$ is not original. It was made by Johannes Friedrich in 1922, but he later withdrew it when greater knowledge of the Hittite consonantal system and the identification of Hittite ⟨*ḫ*⟩ with one or more of the hypothetical Indo-European laryngeals seemed to rule out the possibility of deriving Hittite ⟨*ḫu*⟩ from PIE $^*g^w$ (Friedrich 1922: 159).

It now appears that Friedrich's first thoughts may after all have been correct. As for the root $^*h_2wes$, it may indeed be represented in Hittite by the verb *ḫušk-* 'wait', but there is no obvious connection between this verb and *ḫuiš-* 'live'.

The many difficulties involved in deriving *ḫuiš* from $^*h_2wes$ which have been discussed above have if anything been increased by the discoveries in Hieroglyphic Luwian, discoveries to which Anna Morpurgo Davies has herself made such notable contributions.

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[18] For verbs with the suffix *-we-* see Oettinger (1979: 330–6; for this verb see 331). It is doubtful if the stem *ḫuišwai-* is genuinely old: for KBo III 63 as a later copy of an Old Hittite text see Oettinger (1979: 331 with n. 151).

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25

The Stag-God of the Countryside and Related Problems

J. D. Hawkins

To Anna, to commemorate a forty-year struggle with the Hieroglyphs

The Hittite Hieroglyphic signs registered by Laroche in *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites* (1960), nos. 461–3, form an entangled nexus of problems. Fortunately the steady accumulation of new examples permits here as elsewhere gradual progress in our understanding. My attempt in this article to sort out these signs and their usages does lead to some revisions, alterations, and additions to Laroche's *HH* nos. 461–3, which are presented at the end (§6). This is a small offering to Anna Morpurgo Davies in gratitude for our many years of profitable collaboration on these inscriptions. Unlike most of my papers, this one will not have been scrutinized by her before publication, so I can only hope that she does not find too many points requiring revision.

1 The Empire Period Deity CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.L.463-*ti*

The Hieroglyphic Empire period sign L.463 has become much better understood since Laroche registered it, thanks to an increase in clarifying attestations. In the god's name in the EMİRGAZİ altars text written CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.L.463-*ti*, L.463 was recognized as an epithet of the Stag-God by E. Masson (1979: 43–4), though equated with the wrong Cun. correspondence. Since then the nature of the writing and its correct Cun. correspondence have been amply established. It is now clear that when the Stag-God's name occurs, as it does frequently, as the second element of a personal name, the first element is regularly written behind the tall antler sign CERVUS$_3$ in the angle between it and its phonetic complement -*ti*, and the same arrangement of the signs is visible in the writing of the god's name with epithet (Hawkins, ap. Herbordt forthcoming: VIII.3.2, excursus 2). Thus the EMİRGAZİ god's name which may be understood as

(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti* L.463 'Stag-God of L.463', is now exactly paralleled by CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.REX-*ti*, to be understood as (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti* REX, '(Stag-God =)Tutelary Deity of the King' (Herbordt forthcoming: no. 497). See Fig. 25.1(*a*)–(*b*).

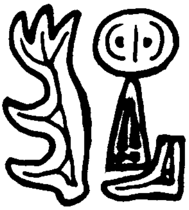
(*a*) (*b*) 

FIG. 25.1. (*a*) 'Stag-God of L.463'; (*b*) 'Stag-God of the King'

It is thus clear that in Laroche's L.463, the DEUS sign should be removed, leaving the entry only as the sign form .

The new EMİRGAZİ fragment published by Sedat Alp (1973: 11–13, fig. 1(*a*)–(*c*)) gave a context, albeit fragmentary, which recurred at YALBURT on a pair of blocks, and thereby permitted their juxtaposition:

1. EMİRGAZİ frag.

CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.L.463-*ti wa/i-sà-ti*
wa/i-mi-i(*a*)-´ VITELLUS.L.485 L.463. L.398 [. . .

2. YALBURT blocks 16 + 10

(16) [(DEUS)] CERVUS$_3$ (+10) *wa/i-sà-ti*
a-wa/i-mi HEROS L.463.L.398 VITELLUS.L.285 MAGNUS REX

See Fig 25.2; and Hawkins (1992: 260–1, 263; 1995: 78–9).

In these two attestations the sign L.463, besides appearing as the god's epithet, recurs together with L.398, and though this pair is obscure (perhaps a title rather than a verb, see now Hawkins forthcoming), it is noteworthy that the YALBURT attestation of L.463 faces in the opposite direction to that of the EMİRGAZİ fragment, i.e. with its horizontal projection pointing towards rather than away from the beginning of the line. We may distinguish the form thus oriented as L.463(2). It occurs in this form also on the inscription BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG) as an epithet of the goddess Sauska (see Fig. 25.3(*a*) below), and it was this attestation that permitted Dr Ilse Wegner to equate Hier. L.463(1–2) with Cun. LÍL (see Hawkins 1995: 33–4), thus identifying it as a logogram reading Hitt. *gimra*-,

(*a*)

(*b*)

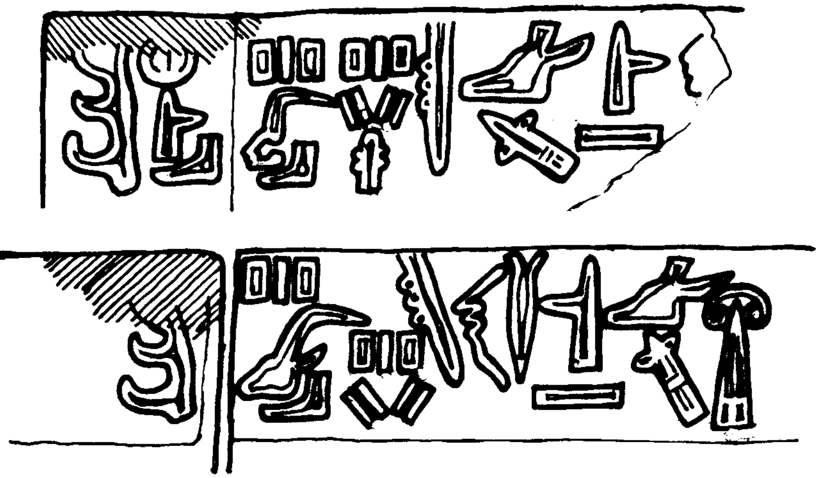


Fig. 25.2. (*a*) EMİRGAZİ frag.; (*b*) YALBURT, blocks 16+10

Luw. *imra-* 'field, country(side)'. This identification gives us the reading of CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.L.463-*ti* as *imrassi- Kurunti*(*ya*)- 'Stag-God of the Country(side)' (for CERVUS$_3$-*ti* read *Kurunti*(*ya*), see Hawkins 1995: 62 n. 251 and ap. Herbordt forthcoming: viii.3.2 excursus 2).

The other occurrences of L.463 remain to be elucidated: besides the obscure L.463. L.398 noted above, also the EMİRGAZİ altars word *á*-CERVUS$_3$.L.463(1)-*zi/a* (altars §§2, 30; see Fig. 25.3(*b*)), which indicate object(s), acc. sing. N or plur. MF, placed on Mount Sarpa ('Table Mountain') in the course of establishing the cult of the Stag-God of the Country there.

(*a*) (*b*)

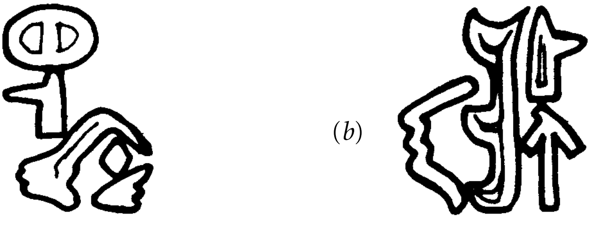


Fig. 25.3. (*a*) (DEUS)L.463(2) *sà-US-ka*; (*b*) *á*-CERVUS$_3$-L.463(1)-*zi/a*

2 The Late Period Deity *i*-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$

These EMİRGAZİ Empire period attestations of the Stag-God of the Country may be connected with a Late group apparently presenting the same

deity: see *CHLI* i/1–2. 37 (xviii), 357, 524, where it is transcribed *i-pá*$^{?}$ (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$. This group was in the process of becoming clearer as *CHLI* i made its ten-year journey through the press, though the key evidence, that of the later ANCOZ fragments (7, 10, also 5), only became available very late, just in time to be included and for last-minute cross-references to be inserted. It was too late to alter the text to present the evidence in the most logical way, so the opportunity to do this here is now taken.

In collecting the examples, I had assumed that the second sign of the Stag-God's epithet was L.462, transcribed then with increasing reservations *pá*$^{?}$, but I was basing this only on the attestations ŞIRZI and MARAŞ 1 (cit. 8, 9 below), which do resemble L.462, and ANCOZ 1 (cit. 4), which now together with the new ANCOZ attestations (cit. 3, 5, 6, 7) raises doubts on the identification. This indeed is the problem which must be addressed here. In anticipation of my conclusion that this sign is a Late form of Empire L.463, I transcribe it here in the following citations as L.463(3). The relation of L.463(1–3) to L.461–2 will be examined subsequently.

ATTESTATIONS OF L.463(3)

3. ANCOZ 7, §§4, 9 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

§4. | *za-zi-i-pa-wa/i* URBS-*mi-i-zi-*´ DEUS-*na-si-i* DOMUS.PONERE$^{?}$-*ti-zi* | *za-a-zi-ha u*$^{?}$*-x*(-)PRAE-*ia-zi* REL-*i-sa i*-L.463(3)+*ra/i-sa-na* (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ia á-ta*$_5$ (DEUS)AVIS (DEUS)SOL-*ti* (DEUS)*i-ku*+*ra/i* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku ARHA tà-i* . . .

§9. *ni-pa* | *za* MENSA | REL-*sa i*-L.463(3)+*ra/i* (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$ *á-ta*$_5$ (DEUS) AVIS (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ha* ["]MALUS"-*ta-tara/i-ti* PRAE-*ha tà-i*

These cities, habitations (?) of the gods, and these . . . (he) who shall take away from the Stag-God of the Country, ATA Kubaba, the Sun, the god Ikura, the god Tasku . . .

or who shall take . . . this table from (?) the Stag-God of the Country, ATA Kubaba and Tasku with malice . . .

Notes

§4. Sequence of gods, Stag-God, Kubaba, Sun, Ikura, Tasku, recurs with variations throughout the Commagenian inscriptions; cf. especially the next citation.

§9. PRAE-*ha*: apparently preverb, where *ARHA* would be expected.

4. ANCOZ 1, ll. 1–2 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

l. 1 *a-wa/i za-ia* (ARGENTUM.DARE) *ti-na-tá* (LIBARE)*sa*$_5$+*ra/i-la-i-ti i*-L.463(3) (DEUS) CERVUS$_3$ (FEMINA) *á-ta*$_5$ (DEUS)*ku*+AVIS-[*pa*]-*pa* ||

l. 2. | ⌜(DEUS) SOL⌝ | (DEUS) ⌜*i*⌝-*ku*+*ra/i* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ia-ha* 1 GAZELLA(ANIMAL)-*sa* CORNU(-)*ku-wa/i-ha*? *á-pa-si-ti-ta*

and they will offer these tithes . . . the Stag-God of the Country, ATA Kubaba (. . .?)

the Sun, Ikura, and to the god Tasku one gazelle . . .

Notes

That the god sequence runs on from ll. 1–2 seems probable but is not certain, since l. 1 might have continued round the corner of the block to the lost next side—note the traces of writing there at the bottom of l. 2. The last two words in the citation of l. 2 are unknown and unintelligible.

5. ANCOZ 5, §1

§1 . . .]-*za*? [*i*-L.463(3)]+*ra/i*[. . .?]-*sá* (DEUS)CERVUS$_2$-*ti*-[*sa*] (FEMINA)*á-ta*$_5$-*sa* (DEUS)AVIS-*sa* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-sá* (MONS)*hu*+*ra/i-tu-la-sa-ha* MONS(-)*wa/i-ti-sa-´ ARHA* | (“MANUS”)*pa*+*ra/i-nu-wa/i-tu*

. . . the Stag-God [of the Country(?)], ATA Kubaba, Tasku, and Mount Hurtula, let them ARHA PARANUWA.

Notes

When I saw and photographed ANCOZ 5 in Adıyaman Museum in 1990, it was still partially covered with dirt and I did not have the opportunity to clean it. Subsequently Massimo Poetto did clean and photograph it and kindly sent me photographs and his transliteration. His publication of this is to appear in the *Gedenkschrift E. Neu* (*Hethitica*, forthcoming), which will supersede my *CHLI* edition. I am most grateful for his permission to quote this passage here.

[*i*-L.463(3)]+*ra/i*[. . . ?]-*sá*: it seems likely in this god-sequence context that the epithet of the Stag-God was represented by these traces.

On l. 2 (§§3, 4) it is now clear from Poetto's photographs that the verb *sakatalisa*(*n*)*ta* occurs twice (3 plur. pret.), each time determined by a sign which is very similar to if not identical with the form of L.463(3) in all these contexts, i.e. : §3, subjects Hattusili and Suppiluliuma, object ‘the mountain’; §4, subjects H.'s and S.'s servants. The verb *sakatalisa*- without the determinative is found on BOYBEYPINARI 2, §§4, 7. The context here and there seems to identify it as a favourable action.

6. ANCOZ 10, ll. 1–2 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

l. 1 . . . AVI]S$^{?}$ (DEUS)SOL (DEUS)*i-ku+ra/i-na* (DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ha* | *ARHA* (L.69)*la-la-ti*

l. 2 . . .] 1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)
(DEUS)*ta-sà-ku-ia* 1 GAZELLA (ANIMAL)
hu+ra/i-tu-la-wa/i-tá MONS(-)*wa/i-ti* REL-*i-sa i*-L.463(3) [(DEUS)]CERVUS$_3$ x [. . .

. . .] shall take away [the Stag-God$^{?}$, Kubab]a$^{?}$, Ikura, and Tasku . . .
. . .]one gazelle,
for Tasku one gazelle.
And (he) who on Mount Hurtula the Stag-God of the Country [. . .

Notes

As noted in my edition, it seems likely in the context that the god sequence was headed, as elsewhere in the Commagenian inscriptions, by the Stag-God of the Country and Kubaba, whose name may be represented by a trace of AVIS.

7. ANCOZ 3, l. 2 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

. . .]x-*wa/i*[. . .] | *za*-[. . .] (MONS)*hu*[+*ra/i-tu-la* . . .] MONS(-)[. . .] *i*-L.463(3) *tara/i-pa-mi*[. . .] | *a*-[. . .] FRONS-*la/i/u*[. . .] *za*[. . .

Notes

The interest which can be gleaned from this fragment attaches to the association of an *i*-L.463(3) *tarpami* with 'this Mount Hu[rtula]', and the connection with *i*-L.463(3) PES$_2$.PES-*pa-mi-*, following cit.

8. ŞIRZI §§1–6 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

§1. [*z*]*a-wa/i* [*i*]-L.463(3) PES$_2$.PES-*pa*-[*mi*]-*na* L.417-*ti*-CERVUS$_3$-*ia-sa* . . . (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ia-sá* BONUS-*mi-sa* SERVUS-*ta$_4$-sa* | *i-zi-i-tà*

§2. | *wa/i-ta* | *á-mi-i-na* DOMINUS-*ni-na i*-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ia-na* ("LIGNUM")*ha-zi-wa/i+ra/i-ti* | *u-sa-nu-sa-ha*

§3. *i*-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ia-sa* MONS-*ti-zi* "DOMUS+SCALA["]-*ha-ti-i* | PRAE-*na* | *a-ru-wa/i+ra/i-tu*

§4. *wa/i-tu* | L.356-*sà*(-)*mì-wa/i-sa* | *HWI-ta-ni-ia-za* | *sù-pu-na pi-pa-sa-tu*

§5. | *za-pa-wa/i i*-L.463(3) PES$_2$.PES-*pa-mi-na* | REL-*sá* | *ARHA li*-L.375-*ti*

§6. | *á-pa-ti-pa-wa/i+ra/i-ta* | *i*-L.463(3)-*sá* | (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti-sá* | (L.464) *ha+ra/i-ma* PES$_2$.PES-*pi-tu*

This TARPAMI of the Country . . . ti-Runtiya, the Stag-God's dear servant, made.
I kept blessing my lord the Stag-God of the Country with ritual(s),
may the mountains of the Stag-God of the Country bow down (?) before . . .,

may they keep giving to him the wild beasts' milk (??) to suck(?).
This TARPAMI of the Country (he) who shall . . . away,
for him may the Stag-God of the Country HARAMA TARPI it/them.

Notes

The points of relevance to our enquiry are the prominence of *i*-L.463(3) (DEUS) CERVUS$_3$ (read nom. *Runti*(*ya*)s, acc. *Runtiyan*, gen. *Runtiyas*), and his association with the construction of an *i*-L.463(3) PES$_2$.PES-*mi*- (= *tarpami*-, see commentary in *CHLI* i/1, ad loc., and JISR EL HADID frag. 3, l. 3 ("PES$_2$.PES") *tara/i-pa-ma-za*, dat. plur.?).

9. MARAŞ 1, §§6, 11 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

§6. | *wa/i-mu-ta* | LIS+*la/i/u-si-sá* (DEUS) [. . .]-*ti-i-sa* *i*-L.463(3)-*si-ha-´* (DEUS)*ru-ti-ia-sá-´* | ("IUDEX")*tara/i-wa/i-na-za-ta-´*

. . .

§11. *i*-L.463(3)-*si-pa-wa/i-mu*$^{-i}$ DEUS CERVUS$_3$-*ti-ia-sá* REL-*za*⟨⟨-*wa/i*⟩⟩ | (BESTIA) *HWI-tara/i* | *pi-pa-sa-ta*

Me the [Sun(?)]-God of the Lawsuit and the Stag-God of the Country made ruler . . .

. . .

The wild animals which the Stag-God of the Country used to give to me . . .

Notes

The probability of restoring (DEUS)[SOL]-*ti-i-sa* (*Tiwatis*) is argued in my edition. Note the writing of the nominative *Runtiyas* as against the *Runtis* of cit. 5 §1, and cit. 8 §6.

10. BULGARMADEN, §7 (sign-form of L.463(3):)

| "L.463(3)"-*i-sa-pa-wa/i* (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti-ia-sá-ti-i* | (BONUS) *wa/i-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-ti-i* | *á-mi-i* | DOMINUS-*ni-i* (BESTIA)*HWI-sa*$_5$+*ra/i-´* | *pa* (+*ra/i*?)-*ti-i* | *u-ta-ti-na-ha*

And by the favour of the Stag-God of the Country I UTATINA-ed the wild animals there (?) for my lord.

Notes

It was in my *CHLI* commentary to this section that I collected the examples of this epithet of the Stag-God. However, the ANCOZ fragments only became available when my text was already in press, and I was only able to insert brief cross-references. This is now rectified here.

SUMMARY OF ATTESTATIONS

cit. 3	*i*-L.463(3) + *ra/i-sa-na*	(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ia*	(dat. sing.)
	i-L.463(3) + *ra/i*	(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$	(dat. sing.?)
cit. 4	*i*-L.463(3)	(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$	(dat. sing.?)
cit. 5	[*i*-L.463(3)] + *ra/i*-[. . .?]-*sá*	(DEUS)CERVUS$_2$-*ti*-[*sa*]	(nom. sing.)
cit. 6	*i*-L.463(3)	[(DEUS)]CERVUS$_3$	(not nom. sing.)
cit. 7	*i*-L.463(3)	*tarpami*[. . .]	(?)
cit. 8	*i*-L.463(3)	PES$_2$.PES-*pamin*	(acc. sing. MF)
	i-L.463(3)-*sá* (gen. sing.?)	(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti-sá*	(nom. sing.)
	i-L.463(3)	(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ia-na*	(acc. sing. MF)
	i-L.463(3)	(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ia-sa*	(gen. sing.)
cit. 9	*i*-L.463(3)-*si* (gen. sing.)	(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$/*ru-ti-ia-sá*	(nom. sing. MF)
cit. 10	"L.463(3)"-*i-sa*	(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti-ia-sá-ti-i*	(gen. adj.)

RECOGNITION OF THE DEITY

In the ANCOZ inscriptions in which the majority of the attestations occur, the deity *i*-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$ heads a group of Commagenian gods which normally follow with ATA Kubaba, the Sun, Ikura, and Tasku, or with Mount Hurtula, and they receive offerings, specifically gazelles. In the occurrences of the deity outside Commagene, in Malatya (ŞIRZI), Gurgum (MARAŞ 1), and Tuwana (BULGARMADEN), he appears in each case associated with the wild animals. His character as the specific Stag-God 'of the Country' seems adequately clear, and this links him to the Empire L.463 (=Cun. LÍL) (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti* also recognized as this deity.

FUNCTION OF THE SIGN L.463(3)

If Empire L.463/LÍL/*imrassi*-(DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti* is the same as Late *i*-L.463(3) (DEUS)CERVUS$_3$-*ti*(*ya*)-, how may we understand the function of the sign L.463(3)? That it is a Late form of Empire L.463(2) is suggested by its appearance, an elongated triangle with a projection towards the beginning of the line. An examination of its usage shows peculiarities. Cit. 10 (BULGARMADEN) seems explicitly to mark it as a logogram (but cf. my not very convincing attempt to reconcile this with the other writings, *CHLI* i/2. 524); and as determinative of the verb (L.463(3)) *sakatalisa*- (see cit. 5, notes) it can only be a logogram. In the other examples, however, where it stands as second sign in the word, it should be a syllabogram. There we find *i*-L.463(3) either alone (cit. 4, 6, 7, 8 §§1, 2, 3, 5), or +*ra/i* (cit. 3 §9), or with case-ending alone (cit. 8 §6, -*sá*, gen. sing.?; 9, -*si* gen. sing., twice), or most significantly +*ra/i-sa-na* (cit. 3 §4, clearly dat. sing. of gen. adj., which should represent *imrasan*). In this last example L.463(3) could simply be given a value *ma*$_x$, but this does not easily fit with the more numerous examples without +*ra/i* and/or case-endings, i.e. *i-ma*$_x$ hardly seems

a likely abbreviation for *imrasi-*. Perhaps an explanation may be found in the proposed derivation of Late L.463(3) from the Empire logogram L.463 (= *imra*(*ssi*)-): thus the writing *i*-L.463(3) might be understood as *i-IMRA-*, to which +*ra/i* and/or case-endings might be added as phonetic complements, while *i-* might have originated as a preposed phonetic indicator parallel to the postposed ones found in the Empire period, e.g. VIR.*zi/a* = *ziti-*. The BULGARMADEN writing remains difficult to explain: perhaps "*IMRA*"(*i*)-*sa* = *imras*, gen. sing.? The use of a logogram *IMRA* to determine the verb *sakatalisa-* is not readily understood.

3 The Late Sign L.462 (+*ra/i*)

As noted above, this sign is similar in appearance to L.463(3) but may be different and should be considered separately in an attempt to decide the question. The regular form of L.462 ( ) differs somewhat from the ANCOZ examples of L.463(3))), though the ŞIRZI and MARAŞ 1 forms of L.463(3) are much closer to L.462 (,).

In reassessing the examples of L.462 collected in *CHLI* i/1. 36–7, it is appropriate to take them in a different order here (the original numbering is included in brackets). A provisional transliteration of L.462 as ma_x will be seen as appropriate.

Note that cit. 11–23 are all +*ra/i*, only cit. 24–6 lack it.

ATTESTATIONS POSITIVELY POINTING TO ma_x

11. (viii) (DEUS) ma_x+ *ra/i-wa/i-zi-i* (KULULU 2, §6), identified with Cun. DINGIR^MEŠ *mar-wa-a-in-zi* (see *CHLI* i/2. 489–90).

12. (vi) ("DELERE") ma_x+ *ra/i-nu-wa/i-* (TELL AHMAR 6, §21), new attestation confirming Melchert's proposal to recognize a full phonetic writing of the verb on KARKAMIŠ A28*g* (see *CHLI* i/1. 154), and at the same time his ma_x value for the sign L.462 by association of this verb with Hitt. *me/irnu-*, *marnu-* (?) 'make disappear' (for which see *CHD*, s.v.) is further supported by this comparison.

13. (vii) (DEUS.BONUS) *ku*-ma_x+ *ra/i-ma-* (TELL AHMAR 1, §2), identified as a Late appearance of the grain-god *Kumarbi* (Hawkins 1981: 166–7).

14. (iii) ("LOQUI") ma_x+ *ra/i-ta* 'commands (?)' ((nom.)/acc. plur. N), identified by Melchert with Hier. ("LOQUI") *ma-ra* + *a-ti-*, same meaning (sing. MF). To my objection that the sing. of plur. ("LOQUI") ma_x+

ra/i-ta is "LOQUI"-*tà-zà* (KAYSERİ, §20, see *CHLI* i/1. 37, 143; i/2. 475), Melchert points out (pers. comm., 23 July 2002) that both *marati-* (MF, *i*-mutation) and *marata(n)(za)* (N) could represent the singular of *marata*.

ATTESTATIONS WHERE ma_x READING PRODUCES IDENTIFIABLE STEMS

15. (x) ("ANNUS") ma_x+ *ra/i(-i)* following ("ANNUS") *u-si*, = Phoen. *zbḥ ymm* 'annual sacrifice' (KARATEPE, 57), compared by Melchert with Hitt. *wetti* (MU) *me(a)ni*, for which see now *CHD*, s.v. *meya(n)ni-*; Rieken (2001).

16. (xi) (L.255) ma_x+ *ra/i-ia-ní-*, = Phoen. *mlṣm* (KARATEPE, 57), possibly = Cun. *mariannu* 'chariot-warrior' (*CHLI* i/1. 60); or alternatively associate with stem *mari-* < *madi-*, Hitt. *mad-* 'resist' (Schwemer 1996: 30–5).

17. (i) (L.349) *sà*-ma_x+ *ra/i-ka-wa/i-ni-*(URBS) (KARKAMIŠ A1*a*, §§3, 37), ethnicon, epithet of Storm-God, compared by Melchert with Cun. toponym (Empire) *Ismerikka* (*CHLI* i/1. 89).

ATTESTATIONS WHERE ma_x READING DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE TO UNDERSTANDING

18. (v) (LOQUI) ma_x+ *ra/i-li-i-li-i-sa-*, '?' (JISR EL HADID frag. 2, l. 3); how associated with cit. 14?

19. (iv) ma_x+ *ra/i-ta-mi-*, '?' (KULULU 1, §12); associated with cit. 14?

20. (xii) ma_x+ *ra/i-wa-i-li-*, beneficial vegetation, 'barley'? (SULTANHAN, §§6, 15), see *CHLI* i/2. 468.

21. (ix) (DEUS) ma_x+ *ra/i*-ta_5, a name of the Stag-God (MALATYA 5). This might be expected to connect with the Stag-God's epithet *i*-L.463(3) (+*ra/i*) 'of the Country', but it is not clear how.

22. (ii) [...] ma_x+ *ra/i-s[à...]*x-*sa-pa-wa/i-na* (URBS) city name + particles (TELL AHMAR frag. 2).

23. Add also (*a*) PNN $^{\mathrm{I}}ma_x$+ *ra/i-sà-ta-* (KULULU lead strip 2, §1.2); ^{I}*á*-ma_x+ *ra/i*-MAGNUS + *ra/i-* (KULULU lead frag. 1, i. 2, ii. 2).

(*b*) *ka*-ma_x+ *ra/i(-ra+a)-* (ASSUR letter *f+g*, §§28, 31—omitted from consideration *CHLI* i/1. 36–7); and as PN ^{I}*ka*-ma_x+ *ra/i-*, CEKKE, §17e.

ATTESTATIONS OF L.462 WITHOUT+*ra/i*

24. (xiv) (L.462) *mu-wa/i-i-ta-* 'seed (?)' (KARKAMIŠ A11*b*+*c*, §28, cf. §29), (xv) (L.462) *mu-wa/i-si-*, '?' (KARKAMIŠ A27*c* l. 1), and (xvi) REX.L.462, 'potent (?) king' (MALATYA 5 etc.) all appear to be logograms.

25. (xiii) ("CASTRUM") *tara/i-pa-ma$_x$-za-ha*, '?', (ÇALAPVERDİ 1, §2; also 2, §3), obscure form but supports *ma$_x$* reading, so Melchert comparing ("PES$_2$.PES") *tara/i-pa-ma-za* (see above, cit. 8, notes).

26. (xvii) L.462–*ti-i*, obscure form (KULULU 2, §3), cf. L.462–*i-ti* (ÇİFTLİK, §12), and see *CHLI* i/2. 489, 450.

4 The Origin of the Late Sign L.462: Empire L.461

We have seen reason to consider that L.463(3) is the Late form of the Empire logogram L.463 on the grounds both of sign-form and context, though L.463(3) seems to have shifted its character from logogram to a type of syllabogram.

The sign L.462, on the other hand, appears to be descended from Empire L.461. The main reason for so thinking is that in the logogram EXERCITUS (L.269), the Empire form consists of two signs, *zi/a*+L.461, while the Late form is *zi*+L.462, see Fig. 25.4. (The Empire examples of EXERCITUS have been much increased recently—besides BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §3, see below, Fig. 25.5—especially by the Nişantepe archive of seal-impressions, for which see Herbordt forthcoming: nos. 192–3, 194, 195–8, also 494–6. Late attestations since Laroche have been increased by PORSUK, §5; KÖRKÜN, §6; ÇİNEKÖY, §4; and TELL AHMAR 6, §§2, 7, 17, 23, 26, 28.)

Empire Late

FIG. 25.4. L.269 (EXERCITUS)

Outside the logogram EXERCITUS, Empire L.461 occurs as follows.

(1) In the EMİRGAZİ altars text, §10, the word L.461-*tá*, in a context suggesting identification with Late (LOQUI) *ma$_x$*+*ra/i-ta* (above, cit. 14; see Hawkins 1975: 129, where the absence of +*ra/i* was noted as a difficulty; cf. Hawkins 1995: 94). The context is the infringement of the monument:

Empire L.461-*tá* object of *arha tupi-* 'erase'; Late *ma*$_x$+*ra/i-ta*, in most attestations the object of *arha* MALLEUS 'erase'.

(2) In the divine name *á* (FEMINA).DEUS.L.461 (EMİRGAZİ altars, §§26, 29, 37), which has been recognized by Forlanini (1987: 78–9) as a writing of the name of the Stag-God's consort Ala (recognition omitted by oversight in Hawkins 1995: 88, 98). The writing, however, remains problematic: Forlanini suggests that *á* represents the initial of the deity's name, FEMINA her female gender, and L.461 the logogram for the name itself. While this is quite probable, it is difficult to tie in with the other L.461 attestations.

(3) In personal names in the Nişantepe archive, twice as the second element, *ma*$_x$+*ra/i-* (Herbordt forthcoming: nos. 573 and 693), and in the even more obscure name, ibid., nos. 698–700, with which may be compared Kennedy (1959: nos. 45–7). I can suggest no readings for any of these attestations. But an Ashmolean seal (Kennedy 1958: no. 23) may read *ki-ma*$_x$+*ra/i-i*(*a*), which could render a name *Gimriya*, unparalleled but not implausible, perhaps derived from Hitt. *gimra-*.

The postulated descent of Late L.462 with its presumed reading *ma*$_x$+ *ra/i-* from Empire L.461 does not assist in the reading of the latter, where attestations (2) and (3) may be logograms and (1) lacks the +*ra/i-*.

We should note that L.461 and L.463 (1–2), the Empire originals of Late L.462 and L.463(3) respectively, are separate signs. Usefully they may be seen in juxtaposition on BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §3, in the pair (DEUS)TONITRUS EXERCITUS (DEUS) L.463 *sà-US-ka*, Storm-God of the Army, Sauska of the Countryside, see Fig. 25.5.

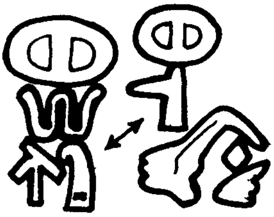


Fig. 25.5. Empire-period juxtaposition of the signs L.462 and L.463(2) (from BOĞAZKÖY 21, §3)

5 Summary

Empire:	L.461		logogram? syllabogram?	L.463 (2, 1)		logogram = Cun. LÍL
Late:	L.462		logogram also ma_x+ *ra/i*-	L.463(3)		logogram also *IMRA/MARA* (+*ra/i*-)

Empire L.463(1–2) is found as a logogram, = Cun. LÍL, Luw. *imra*-, standing as the epithet of the deities Sauska and the Stag-God 'of the Countryside'; also combined with L.398 in a pair of parallel but obscure clauses, YALBURT block 10 §2 // EMİRGAZİ fragment, §2, perhaps here as a title.

Late L.463(3), a sign resembling L.463(2) occurs in the writing of the epithet of the Stag-God 'of the Countryside', especially in Commagene, where it seems to be a type of syllabogram, written with/without +*ra/i*- and/or case-endings. The explanation best fitting all attestations may be that it functions as a syllabogram of the type CVCV, like most such with the second syllable -*RA*. This could be derived from the Empire logogram *IMRA*, and a transcription *MARA*$^{(+ra/i\text{-})}$ seems appropriate in all cases.

Empire L.461 occurs as the second sign in the composite logogram EXERCITUS 'army'. It is found independently as a logogram (?) in the writing of the name of the goddess Ala; as a logogram (?) alone and with +*ra/i* in personal names; and without +*ra/i* in a word L.461-*tá*, perhaps an Empire writing of Late (LOQUI) L.462 + *ra/i-ta*.

Late L.462, apparently descended from Empire L.461 since it too is found as the second sign of the logogram EXERCITUS, is used as a syllabogram +*ra/i* in a number of words where it seems to correspond to Cun. *mar*, or where a reading *mar*(*a*) yields a recognizable word. It also appears without +*ra/i* apparently as a logogram, but possibly once or twice as a syllabogram.

Late L.462 and L.463(3), though of different Empire origins, seem to be converging in usage, both tending towards a reading *mara*(+*ra/i*). The most common attestations of L.463(3), those from Commagene (ANCOZ), show a sign-form differing somewhat from L.462 and closer to its Empire forerunner; but occurrences on ŞIRZI (Malatya) and MARAŞ 1 (Maraş) show forms much closer to if not indistinguishable from L.462, apparently a further convergence, in this case of sign-forms.

6 Conclusion

The entries in Laroche, *HH* nos. 461–3, may be revised as follows.

461
variants:
1. Divine name
   EMİRGAZİ altars, §§26, 29, 37: *á* (FEMINA).DEUS.461, *Ala*
2. Second element of logogram EXERCITUS (L.269)
3. Seals: *SBo* ii. 122; *Newell* 394; *Kennedy* (1959: nos. 45–47; 1958: no. 23)
   Nişantepe, nos. 573, 693, 698–700

462
variants: , ,
(As listed above, cit. 11–26)

463 (1) (2) (3)
(1–2) Empire
(1) EMİRGAZİ altars, §§26, 29, [35], 37, fragment, §1:
CERVUS$_3$.DEUS.463(1)-*ti* 'Stag-God of the Country'.
altars, §§2, 30: *á*-CERVUS$_3$.463(1)-*zi/a*, '?'
fragment, §2: 463(1).398, title?
(2) YALBURT, block 10: 463(2), 398, title?
BOĞAZKÖY 21 (SÜDBURG), §3: (DEUS)463(2) *sà-US-ka* 'Sauska of the Country'
(3) Late
variants: (ŞIRZI) , (MARAŞ 1)
(As listed above, cit. 3–10)

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26

A Luwian Dedication

H. Craig Melchert

We owe to Anna Morpurgo Davies an entire series of ground-breaking analyses of various aspects of Luwian grammar, encompassing phonology, morphology, and syntax. Admiration for these accomplishments is heightened among those of us who know just how difficult it has been merely to collect for H(ieroglyphic) Luwian all the relevant data needed to draw valid generalizations, much less to offer convincing solutions to the many problems raised. Thanks to the magnificent recently published corpus of Iron Age inscriptions by David Hawkins (2000), we now have greatly enhanced opportunities to use the two forms of Luwian in complementary fashion to elucidate both. I hope that both our honorand and others will find the following a persuasive example of this technique.

C(uneiform) Luwian attests two verbal stems *ūppa-* and *upa-*. One would expect the first to be cognate with Hittite *ūppa/i-* 'to bring', and the only two examples with enough context to determine a meaning are compatible with this assumption:

(1)	*anta-wa-aš-ta*	*walluna⟨š⟩šan*	*wāni*	*uppanta*[1]
	in-QUOT.-them-PART.	of lifting	woman (DAT.)	they brought

They brought them (*šarriyani*-objects) in to the midwife.

(2)	[*tumm*[?]]*andahinza*ḪI.A	*anda*	*šaltinninimin*	*uppanda*[2]
	ears (?)	in	s.	they brought

They brought in *šaltinnimi* (as) the ears (?).[3]

The examples *ūppadda* at KUB 25. 39 iv 28, *uppa* at KBo 17. 36+ iv 14, and the *i*-stem form *ūpp*[*i*]*t*[*t*]*a* at KBo 29. 35, 10 that may also belong here can contribute nothing towards determining the meaning of the stem.

[1] KUB 35. 88 iv 12. All CLuwian passages may be conveniently found in the excellent corpus of Starke (1985).

[2] KUB 35. 107 iii 21.

[3] The restoration is not assured, but the context is that of turning a pot into the image of a human face by putting various objects into or on it to stand for various parts such as eyes, nose, and so forth.

However, the sense 'bring' seems confirmed by the following example of the derived stem *ūppanna-*:

(3) DUMU.LÚ.ÙLU^{LU}*-ni* *ŠUM-ŠU* *ḫalzāi* *ḫuidumar-ša* *ūppannandu*[4]
to the human his name calls life let them bring

To the human (one calls out his name) let them bring life!

As noted by Starke (1990: 520 n. 1921), Melchert (1993*a*: 242), and others, the stem *upa-* is at least synchronically distinct from *ūppa-*. The clear examples of *upa-* call for a sense 'grant, furnish' or the like:

(4) ^{URU}*Ḫattušaya* *apparantin* *arin* *annarumāḫi* *ḫūitwalāḫi-ša-ḫa*
to Hattusa future time vigour vitality -and
upa[5]
grant (IMV.)

Grant to Hattusa during the future vigour and vitality!

(5) *upatta-pa-wa-du* *šarriyanin* 2-*šu* 9-*u*[(*n*)*za*][6]
furnished-CONJ.-QUOT.-to her s. twice nine

She furnished to her eighteen *šarriyani*.

As per Starke, only one instance of *upa-* seems to call for a meaning 'bring':

(6) [M]UN-*ša-pa* *ālāti uwā*[(*niya*)*ti*] *upamman*[7]
salt-CONJ. from steep rock face ——ed

While salt (is) ——ed from the steep rock face.

However, the parallelism with the preceding 'water (is) led from the river' still holds if one translates 'while salt is furnished from/by the steep rock face'. That *ú-pa-am-ma-an* is an error for *ūppa-* 'to bring' is very unlikely, given that the latter is always spelt (*u*)*-up-pa-*, with the other *u*-sign.

One must agree with Starke (1990: 520) that CLuwian *upa-* with single *-p-* matches Lycian *ube-* 'to dedicate' (also Carian *wbt* 'dedicated' per Melchert, 1993*b*: 77 ff.). The basic sense 'to grant, give (permanently)' is also reflected in the derivative *upatit-* 'land-grant, demesne' (borrowed into Hittite as an *i*-stem *ubati-*, as per Starke 1990: 195 ff.). It is clear that one does not 'bring' land, and we must abandon any attempt to derive *upa-* 'to grant,

[4] KBo 13. 260 iii 18. The inserted instruction 'one calls out his name' is in Hittite.

[5] KUB 35. 133 ii 30. The sense of the parallel *upa* in the preceding ii 28 must be the same.

[6] KUB 35. 88 iii 11.

[7] KUB 35. 54 iii 18. In the translation of *ālāti uwāniyati* I follow Watkins (1986: 59–60) against Starke (1990: 374 n. 1346).

furnish, dedicate' from the same preform as *ūppa/i-* 'to bring'.[8] Note that in accordance with their meanings the verb *ūppa-* may take the directional preverb *anta* 'in(to)', while *upa-* naturally does not.

The fact that HLuwian orthography does not distinguish voicing or gemination in stops creates problems in sorting out the various forms of *u-pa-* in that dialect. Indeed, Hawkins (2000: 260) suggests that all examples should be combined into a single verb, declaring that one cannot distinguish consistently 'to bring' from 'to dedicate' and raising the possibility that two originally distinct verbs may have fallen together. In fact, however, the situation is not so grave. The contexts and co-occurrence with preverbs (or lack thereof) do permit us to distinguish (CAPERE)*u-pa-* 'to bring' (=CLuwian *ūppa-*) from (PES)*u-pa-* 'to furnish, dedicate' (=CLuwian *upa-*). Unsurprisingly, one or two examples of HLuwian *upa-* without determinative are difficult to assign to one or the other, but this fact does not affect the validity of the contrast.

The meaning 'to bring' for (CAPERE)*upa-* is assured by examples where it is accompanied by a directional preverb marking movement:

(7) (I devastated those countries,)
**a-wa/i-ta* (SCALPRUM.CAPERE$_2$)*u-pa-ní-zi* *a-tá* |
CONJ.-QUOT.-PART. spoils in
('CAPERE')*u-pa-ha*[9]
I brought

and I brought in the *spoils*.

The phrase *upaninzi upaha* is obviously a *figura etymologica*, the noun referring to 'spoils' or 'trophies' that are brought from the conquered countries (cf. Hawkins 2000: 106). The same phrase recurs with a different directional preverb:

(8) (I destroyed the city Alatahana,)
**a-wa/i-tú* | *pa+ra/i-i-ha-´* | (SCALPRUM.CAPERE$_2$)*u-pa-ní-na* |
CONJ.-QUOT.-to him forth-and spoils
(CAPERE$_2$)*u-pa-ha*[10]
I brought

and I brought forth the *spoils* to him.

[8] The latter verb is a univerbation of the preverb **au-* plus the stem *pi-* (Melchert 1994: 149, 265), which is in turn an earlier univerbation of **pe+(a)i-* (Melchert 1989: 42 ff.).

[9] KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §13. All HLuwian texts cited may now be found in Hawkins (2000).

[10] KARKAMIŠ A1a, §10. Cf. also ibid. §7. Hawkins (2000: 88) translates 'brought before him', but /pari:/ (=CLuwian *parī*) is a preverb 'forth' indicating the removal of the spoils from the city, *not* a postposition *parran* 'before' indicating their placement in front of the deity.

In KARKAMIŠ A2+3, §7 the grain-god and wine-god are the object of the verb, which is construed with a locative and two preverbs, one indicating movement towards and the other movement from: REGIO-*ni-i a-tá . . . ARHA* (CAPERE$_2$) *u-pa-ta* 'he [Tarhunza] brought away . . . into the country'.[11] Finally, İSKENDERUN, §4 refers to bringing measures of grain *into* a granary: *a-ta* ('CAPERE') *u-pa-ha* 'I brought in(to it)'. In sum, all instances of (CAPERE) *upa-* refer to the *movement* of objects, thus confirming a meaning 'to bring'.[12]

On the other hand, (PES) *upa-* never co-occurs with a directional preverb indicating motion. Hawkins (2000: *passim*) translates this verb variously as 'to bring, present, produce', but a meaning 'to dedicate, furnish, give' is appropriate for all examples, and some exclude a sense 'to bring' implying movement. In SULTANHAN, §2 Sarwatiwara first describes his having set up an image of Tarhunza of the Vineyard (*ta-nu-wa/i-ha*), then *refers back* to this act in §4:

(9)	I *a-wa/i-na* I	*u-pa-ha*	*HWI-i*
	CONJ.-QUOT.-him	I dedicated	when

When I dedicated him . . .

Likewise in SULTANHAN, §10 Sarwatiwara refers again to 'When I set him up . . .' and then says in §12: I **a-wa/i-na* I *á-pi-i* I . . . ('PES') *u-pa-ha* 'I rededicated him . . .'. In this text the verbs *tanuwa-* and (PES) *upa-* refer to the same act. A meaning 'to bring' is thus excluded for the latter, whereas 'to dedicate' is fine, since it refers to a different aspect of the action from the physical one expressed by *tanuwa-*.

'I dedicated (to)' also fits the context of KIRÇOĞLU, §2, where a statue has been presented to a goddess (cf. Hawkins 2000: 384 'I produced'). A sense 'shall present' suffices for (PES) *u-pa-i* in IZGIN 2, §8, where someone is to present his name and image (VAS-*tara/i-i-na*) 'before his lord'. Obvi-

[11] *Contra* Hawkins (2000: 110), sentence-initial *wa/i-ta-´* must be read as /a-wa-ta/ with the local particle /-ta/, which is conditioned by the presence of the overt locative REGIO-*ni-i*. The cited absence of the particle in KARKAMIŠ A11a, §9 is irrelevant, since the end of the sentence is missing in that instance, and we have no reason to assume that even the verb is the same, much less the entire predicate. A transitive verb cannot take a clitic pronoun as subject (see further on this point below). In any case the context makes it clear that Tarhunza of Carchemish is the subject.

[12] I concede that in the example in İSKENDERUN, §3, where the object of the verb is ('*255') *ka-ru-na-na* 'granary', it is far from obvious that any movement is present. However, as emphasized by Hawkins (2000: 260), all we know for sure about the word *karuna-* is that it is a storage place for grain that may be 'filled'. We have no assurance that everything covered by this term necessarily referred to a building or fixed object. In the face of the other consistent and overwhelming evidence for a transitive motion verb I remain confident of a sense 'to bring'.

ously, 'to bring' would also work for these two cases, but absolutely nothing requires such a meaning ('shall bring' for the second, as per Hawkins 2000: 316, is quite unnecessary).

In the following passage the meaning seems to be rather 'to furnish':

(10) (I placed them for his tithe,)

(PES)*u-pa-tá-pa-wa/i-tà-´*	^{I}*á-za-mi-i-sá*	PURUS.FONS.*MI*
furnished-but-QUOT.-them	Azami	Suppiluliuma
IUDEX-*ni-sa*	SERVUS-*ta/i*$_5$*–sa*[13]	
ruler (GEN.)	servant	

but Azami, servant of the ruler Suppiluliuma, furnished them.

The speaker, Panamuwati, wife of Suppiluliuma, indicates that she placed the votive objects (a throne and table) on behalf of her husband, but they were furnished by his servant, Azami.

A final example shows again that the meaning of (PES)*upa-* cannot be 'to bring', which necessarily implies movement:

(11)

*274-*ya-pa-wa/i*	FEMINA.MANUS-*zi/a-ha*		SERVUS-*sa*
demesne-CONJ.-QUOT.	women children	-and	slavery
('PES')*u-pa-ta*$_x$[14]			
surrendered			

The land-holdings, the women (and) children they surrendered into slavery.

The first object, which as per Hawkins (2000: 456) must be standing for *upatit-*, a word referring to a land-grant or 'desmesne', excludes 'brought' in the sense of physically moving something. This sentence, then, can hardly refer to *removal* of said objects by forces of Wasusarma. It must describe rather their surrender into slavery by the people of Parzuta in the face of the attack by Wasusarma's troops and chariotry.[15] All instances of (PES)*upa-* are compatible with a core meaning of 'voluntarily to transfer permanent possession of', hence 'to dedicate, present, grant, furnish'.[16] We may thus

[13] BOYBEYPINARI 1, §4.

[14] TOPADA, §15.

[15] In TOPADA, §25, the same action is referred to again in virtually the same words, but the verb is *ARHA u-pa-ta*$_x$. The meaning is precisely the same. NB: the preverb here does not mark direction of physical movement, but merely underscores the permanent alienation of the objects (cf. German *hin-geben*).

[16] The instance *u-pa-ha* in TOPADA, §5 without determinative remains unclear. Hawkins (2000: 455) finds it significant that the next sentence contains the verb *tuwa-* 'to place' (recalling the pairing of *tuwa-* and (PES)*upa-* in BOYBEYPINARI above). But this supposed linkage is a mirage, because §5 in TOPADA contains *no direct object*. So neither of our transitive verbs *upa-* seems appropriate. I can only venture the mere guess that, just as Hittite *unna-* and *penna-* can sometimes mean 'to drive' with suppression of the understood object 'horses', *upa-* 'to bring' is used here with ellipsis of the word for 'troops, infantry': 'I brought (my troops) with my royal horse (=chariotry)'.

confidently equate it with CLuwian *upa-*, which shows a similar range of usage.

If we assume that Anatolian **ū̆b*(*V*)- 'to present' directly reflects a PIE root, we are forced to seek one with a shape **eub*(*h*)-. Since no suitable etymon is available, we are led to hypothesize that our stem also contains the same preverb **au-* as seen in *ūppa-*. We thus need a root of the form **b*(*h*)*VC-*, where the second consonant is subject to loss in Anatolian (at least in Luwian and Lycian). Before we pursue this line of speculation further, however, we should first see whether we can find any independent support within Anatolian for a *base* verb of the shape *pV-* with the desired sense of 'to present, dedicate' or the like.

I believe that HLuwian supplies just such a verb in the form of (PES$_2$)*pa-*(*za*)-, whose syntax and meaning have up to now presented problems of their own. Hawkins (2000: 548 *et alibi*) tries to take (PES$_2$)*pa-*(*za*)- as an intransitive motion verb, but most examples clearly must be transitive, and all may be so interpreted. The clearest instance is KARKAMIŠ A12, §§11–12:

(12)	**a-wa/i-tú-*[*ta*]	('*350')*á-sa-ha+ra/i-mi-sà* |	(PES$_2$)*pa-za-ha* |	
	CONJ.-QUOT.-to him-PART.	blood sacrifices	I —— ed	
	('*273')*wa/i+ra/i-pi-ha-wa/i-tú*	('SCUTUM')*hara/i-li*	*-ha* |	
	skill/craft -and-QUOT.-to him	shield	-and	
	(ARGENTUM.DARE)*pi-ya-*[*ta*]*ra/i-*[. . .] |	(PES$_2$)*pa-za-ha*		
	gift	I —— ed		

I used to —— to him [the deity] blood sacrifices. I also used to —— to him (my) craft, (my) shield, and gift(s).

Contra Hawkins (2000: 114) and Starke (1990: 556–7), the noun *asharmisa* cannot be animate nominative singular, but must be nom.-acc. plural neuter and thus *the object* of the verb. This is proven by the corresponding singular [ ]*á-sa-ha+ra/i-*[*mi*]*-sà-za* (/asharmisan-za/) (KARKAMIŠ A29h, frag. 3, 1): see in further detail Melchert (forthcoming). It should also be clear that the context, especially the last object (ARGENTUM.DARE)*pi-yatar-*, points to a meaning not far from that of our verb (PES)*upa-*: 'I gave, allocated, assigned'.[17]

A transitive verb with a similar sense is likewise demanded by the example of the base verb in ASSUR letter e, §24:

[17] For cognates confirming the existence of a noun *piyatar* 'gift' see Schürr (1999), but the HLuwian word represents the presumed verbal abstract itself, not a derivative thereof, as assumed by Schürr (1999: 27), wrongly following Hawkins in supposing that the verb is intransitive.

(13) (Furthermore, send a good KWILAYANA- and SULUMASA-,)

a-wa/i |	FLUMEN.DOMINUS-*ya*	(‘PES$_2$’)*pa-tu*
CONJ.-QUOT.	river-lord (DAT.)	let them allocate/assign

and let them allocate/assign (them) to the river-lord.

That *patu* is transitive is proven by the absence of any clitic pronoun. Whereas discourse-conditioned omission of *direct object* pronouns is commonplace in the ASSUR letters, Luwian, like Hittite, *requires subject* clitic pronouns with intransitive motion verbs. These belong to the class of so-called ‘unaccusatives’: see Garrett (1996) for the facts of Hittite, which I have confirmed for both forms of Luwian (cf. for the real verb ‘to go’ TOPADA, §13: *wa/i-sa* . . . (‘PES$_2$’)*i+ ra/i* ‘he . . . went’).

The verb (PES$_2$)*pa*(*za*)- is also indisputably transitive in its special usage in tomb inscriptions, such as KARKAMIŠ A5b, §§1–2:

(14)

EGO-*mu*[18]	*nu-nu+ ra/i-sá*	(DIES)*ha-li*	(PES$_2$)*pa-za-ha*
I-REFLEXIVE	Nunuri	days	I —— ed
ara/i-zi-pa-mu-ta		*ha-si-ha*	
times-CONJ.-REFLEXIVE-PART.		I —— ed	

I, Nunuri, received my allocation of days. My times I lived to the full.

Hawkins (2000: 185) follows Meriggi in translating the first sentence as ‘I passed my days’ and offers the guess ‘I *recalled* my times’ for the second. There is no supporting evidence for either interpretation, and both sentiments seem oddly colourless for a tomb inscription. Given the other evidence for *pa*(*za*)- as ‘to allocate’, I propose that with the reflexive pronoun the sense becomes rather ‘to receive an allocation’. The deceased is declaring that he received his full and fair allotment of days of life. He then reinforces this by declaring that he in fact satiated himself in living. I agree with Hawkins that the verb *hasi*(*ya*)- has nothing to do with the verb ‘to give birth, procreate’. It is rather a straightforward denominative from the attested HLuwian noun (LINGERE)*hasa*- ‘satiety, abundance’. The active verb would have meant ‘to satiate’, but once again the reflexive turns this into ‘satiated myself, was satiated’, i.e. ‘enjoyed to the full’. The two clauses now form together a coherent and suitable sentiment in the context. Unsurprisingly, the second clause also occurs repeatedly by itself in epitaphs (see the references in Hawkins 2000: 181).[19]

I assume the same meaning for SHEIZAR, §2, where the deceased boasts

[18] EGO-*mu* is not, as per Hawkins (2000: 185), an unusual writing for /amu/, but rather the subject /amu/ *plus* clitic /-mu/ functioning as a reflexive, as in the very next clause and elsewhere.

[19] Expressions of having led a full and happy life are not common in Greek and Latin

that on account of her justice she received an allotment of a hundred years: | CENTUM-*ni* | ANNUS-*si-na* | (PES$_2$)*pa-za-ha$_x$*. Whether the omission of the reflexive pronoun is an error or a permitted ellipsis in what was surely a virtual cliché may remain open. That the meaning was 'received an allotment of' would have been transparent in the context.[20]

The attested meanings 'to allocate' and 'to receive an allocation' argue that our HLuwian verb *pa-* is a reflex of PIE **bhag-* 'to apportion, allocate'.[21] The testimony of third singular (PES) *upai* points to an active *hi*-verb. This accords well with the 'simple' thematic present attested in Sanskrit *bhájati* 'apportions', medial *bhájate* 'receives a portion'. In Anatolian addition of the directional preverb **au-* underscored apportioning something *to* some particular individual, whence the attested meaning 'to present, dedicate, furnish'.[22]

The proposed derivation certainly does further complicate the already vexing question of the conditions under which medial voiced dorsal stops are lost in Luwian and Lycian (see for a discussion of the issue Kimball 1994 and Melchert 1994: 254 ff.). The problem becomes especially acute if one accepts (as I now do, *contra* Melchert 2002: 137 ff.) the interpretation of HLuwian INFRA (*katta**) *aka-* as 'subjugate' or the like (Hawkins 1995: 28) and its derivation from PIE *(*h$_1$*)*aĝ-* (Poetto 1998: 111 n. 21). However, it is important to note that we have *no* evidence for the inflectional type of HLuwian *aka-*. Acceptance of the root derivation just cited thus does not require us to assume that the verb reflects a thematic stem *(*h$_1$*)*áĝe/o-*. If the Lycian animate noun *aχa-* is related, which seems likely whatever its precise meaning, then the Luwian verb could easily be denominative

sepulchral inscriptions, but note the one example cited by Lattimore (1942: 212): *ἐνθάδε κεῖμε Ἄμανθος, τρυφῆς πάσης ὁ μετασχών, | ἰσοθέως ζήσας πουλὺν ἐτῶν ἄριθμον* 'Here I, A., lie, having enjoyed every luxury, having lived like a god for a plentiful number of years.' I thank B. Vine for the reference to Lattimore's work.

[20] A transitive reading 'assigned' or the like is also quite possible for ('PES$_2$')*pa-zi/a-ta$_x$* in TOPADA, §23. *Contra* Hawkins (2000: 458), I take CRUS.CRUS not as an otherwise unattested participle, but as the noun (CRUS.CRUS)*niyasha-* 'procession' (of soldiers) (cf. KARKAMIŠ A11b + c, §16 and see Hawkins 2000: 106). The TOPADA text would refer to the assigning/allotting of a military column accompanied by chariotry.

[21] I cannot accept the arguments of Gōtō (1987: 222) that the original meaning of the root **bhag-* was 'to receive a share of'. For recent additional arguments in favour of the traditional 'to apportion, give a share' see Meier-Brügger (1994), following Neumann and Schlerath (2001) with reference to St. Zimmer. I am indebted to M. Meier-Brügger for these references.

[22] As suggested by Monika Hartmann for the comparable Hittite verbs *unna-* and *peda-* (per pers. comm. of Norbert Oettinger), addition of the preverb **au-* reinforces the 'end-terminative' sense of *upa-* 'to dedicate, furnish'. This accounts for the absence of an 'iterative' form in *-za-* vs. *pa*(*za*)-, just as the Hittite verbs cited never show the suffix *-ške-*.

from a similar noun, thus a virtual *(h_1)*áĝeh*$_2$- vs. a putative **bháge*-. I cannot pursue this complex problem here. I assert only that my proposed derivation of HLuwian *pa*(*za*)- and of pan-Luwian *upa*- seems compatible with what we currently know of Luwian historical phonology.

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27

Das Wort für ‘Jahr’ und hieroglyphen-luwisch _yari-_ ‘sich ausdehnen’

Norbert Oettinger

Über die Struktur des in dt. _Jahr_, engl. _year_ fortgesetzten indogermanischen Wortes gibt es verschiedene Meinungen; während z.B. Pokorny (1959: 296–7) thematisches _*yēro-_, _yōro-_, _yəro-_ ‘Jahr, Sommer’ ansetzt, spricht Frisk (1970: 1151) vom ‘beibehaltenen r-Stamm’ in jungavest. _yārə_ ‘Jahr’. Die Ansicht, dem Wort liege—vorlaryngalistisch ausgedrückt—eine Wurzel _*y-ē-_, _*y-ō-_ ‘gehen’ zugrunde, die aus _*ei-_ ‘gehen’ erweitert sei, entbehrt laut Frisk ‘jeder sachlichen Begründung’.

Ein Fortschritt beim Wort für das ‘Jahr’ hat sich durch die Entdeckung der verehrten Jubilarin[1] ergeben,[2] dass keilschrift-luwisch (k.-l.) _āra/i-_ ebenso wie seine gleichlautende hieroglyphen-luwische (h.-l.) Entsprechung ‘Zeit’ bedeutet und etymologisch zu gr. ὥρα ‘Jahreszeit, Jahr, Tageszeit, Stunde’ und got. _jēr_ ‘Jahr’ gehört. Im Anschluss an sie konnte dann Melchert (1989: 41 Anm. 28) vor dem Hintergrund der luwischen Lautentwicklungen (1) uridg. *_eh_$_1$ > luw. _ā_[3] und (2) uridg. *_ē_ > luw. _ī_[4] wahrscheinlich machen, dass _āra/i-_ aus uridg. *_yéh_$_1$_rV_ (V = Vokal) stammt. Gr. ὥρα führt er dementsprechend auf *_yoh_$_1$_reh_$_2$_-_ zurück.

Nun lässt sich im Griechischen anlautender Spiritus asper nicht auf bloßes _*y-_, sondern nur auf _*Hy-_ zurückführen;[5] vgl. z.B. gr. ἅγιος ‘heilig’ zur Wurzel _*Hyaĝ-_, deren Laryngal sich in ai. _ījé_ ‘hat für sich geopfert’ < urindoir. _*Hi-Hiǰ°_ zeigt, das uridg. _*He-Hiĝ°_ ersetzt hat. Daher ist

[1] Ad multos annos!

[2] Zur Wortbedeutung von h.-l. _āra/i-_ s. Hawkins (1975: 137) und von k.-l. _āra/i-_ Morpurgo Davies (1987: 218 Anm. 31), zur Etymologie Morpurgo Davies bei Hawkins (1989: 195 Anm. 16) und unabhängig Starke (1990: 116–17 Anm. 339a). Vgl. Poetto (1998: 470–1).

[3] In intervokalischer Position war der Laryngal natürlich ohne Ersatzdehnung geschwunden.

[4] Zu *_ē_ > luw. _ī_ vgl. Morpurgo Davies und Hawkins (1987: 274 mit Lit.) und zum Phänomen der ‘Brechung’ dieses luwischen ī Oettinger (2003: 141–5).

[5] Vgl. generell die Diskussion bei García Ramón (1993 mit Lit.).

m.E. für gr. ὥρα genauer **Hyoh₁reh₂*- anzusetzen, noch genauer vielleicht *h_1*yoh*$_1$*reh*$_2$- mit dem ersten Laryngal, was weiter unten begründet werden wird.

Im Hieroglyphen-Luwischen ist ein Verbalstamm *yari-* belegt[6] mit den Formen Prs.Sg.3. /*yariti*/, Prt.Sg.3. /*yar*(*i*)*yata*/ und Pl.3. /*yarinta*/.

Der erste Beleg hat den Inhalt: 'Und der Weinstock wird wachsen und Schößlinge verbreiten (*yariti*)' in SULTANHAN §§23–4; vgl. Morpurgo Davies und Hawkins (1987: 275); Hawkins (2000: 466 bzw. 470 mit Lit.) und Melchert (1988. 32–3 mit Anm. 7). Der dritte Beleg, TELL AHMAR 5 §9, handelt davon, dass eine Gottheit (vermutlich hinsichtlich ihres Besitzes) über den Fluss hinaus 'ausgedehnt' wird; vgl. Hawkins (2000: 232–3). Das Determinativ LONGUS bestätigt die Bedeutung 'ausdehnen, verbreiten'.

Es sei nun vorgeschlagen, dieses Verbum *yari-* (*yariya-*) etymologisch an h.-l. *āra/i-* 'Zeit', gr. ὥρα und das uridg. Wort für 'Jahr' anzuschließen. Was den Anlaut betrifft, so waren **y* und **Hy* im Anlaut vor *e* und *i* wahrscheinlich bereits im Uranatolischen geschwunden; vgl. Melchert (1994: 75 mit Lit.) sowie eben auch unser *āra/i-*. Daher kommt für das Verbum nur *o*-Stufe der Wurzel in Frage, und wir können versuchsweise h.-l. *yariti* 'dehnt (sich) aus' aus einem Denominativum **yāryi-ti* herleiten, das aus *h_1*yoh*$_1$*rye-ti* 'hat mit Ausdehnung/Erstreckung zu tun' stammt und wie heth. *us*(*sa*)*niye*-[7] 'verkaufen' zu **wos-no-* 'Kaufpreis' mit Ausstoßung des Themavokals gebildet ist.[8] Ein k.-l. Beispiel ist luw.-heth. *tapassiye-* 'erhitzen, aufregen (?)', falls es vom Glossenkeilwort *tapassa-* (ein Krankheitszustand)[9] abgeleitet ist. Dieser Typ von Denominativum ist nicht erst im Anatolischen entstanden, denn vg. lat. *servus* : *serviō* 'bin Sklave', ἄγγελος : ἀγγέλλω 'melde', ai. *vithuryáti* 'wankt' : *vithurá-* 'taumelnd' bei Rix (1994: 71). Würde hingegen die 3. Person Pl. Prt. nicht—wie belegt—/*yarinta*/, sondern /**yarainta*/ lauten, so läge 3.Sg. *h_1*yoh*$_1$*re-yé-ti* vor, eine ererbte Bildeweise, die auch im altindischen Typ *devayáti* 'verehrt die Götter' (zum Nomen *devá-*) fortgesetzt ist.[10]

Dies weist für das Wort für 'Jahr' auf eine Grundbedeutung 'Ausdehnung, Erstreckung'. Formal lässt sich jav. *yārə* 'Jahr' nun aus uridg. *h_1*yéh*$_1$*-r̥* n. herleiten; der jav. Gen.Sg. *yā̊* < **yaH-an-s* (siehe Humbach 1961: 110–11; Hoffmann und Forssman 1996: 153) weist auf Gen. * *h_1*yéh*$_1$*-n̥-s*. Zum

[6] Siehe Hawkins (2000: 103 ff., 232–3, 370 bzw. 373, 466 bzw. 470).
[7] Lautlich /*ussniye-*/ gemäß der bei Melchert (1994: 150–1) dargestellten Gemination.
[8] Zu diesem Typ vgl. Oettinger (2002: 355 §246).
[9] Beleg bei Tischler (1991: 123).
[10] Zu diesem ererbten Typ im Luwischen s. Melchert (1997: 134–6).

Ansatz der e-Stufe der Wurzel vgl. morphologisch av. _zafarə_ 'Maul', _aiiarə_ 'Tag' usw.

Aus dieser unserer Rekonstruktion _*h$_1$yéh$_1$-r/n-_ (n.) 'Ausdehnung, Jahr' ergibt sich eine Wurzel _*h$_1$yéh$_1$-_ 'sich ausdehnen'. Sie erinnert strukturell an erweiterte Wurzeln wie _*mn-eh$_2$-_ '(ge)denken' von _*men-_ 'denken' und kann daher versuchsweise als _*h$_1$y-éh$_1$-_ analysiert werden. Dadurch wird Anschluss an die Allerweltswurzel _*h$_1$ei-_ 'gehen' möglich. Es ergeben sich somit zwei Erweiterungen dieser Wurzel:

(A) _*h$_1$y-eh$_2$-_ 'dahinziehen'; hierzu ai. _yā-ti_ 'zieht dahin', lit. _jóju_ 'reite', lat. _iānus_ 'Torbogen'; vgl. Kümmel bei Rix (2001: 309–10 mit Lit.).[11]

(B) _*h$_1$y-eh$_1$-_ 'sich ausdehnen'; hierzu uridg. _*h$_1$yéh$_1$-r/n-_ (n.) 'Ausdehnung, Jahr', _*h$_1$yóh$_1$-r-eh$_2$-_ dass. und h.-l. Denominativ _yari-_ 'sich ausdehnen'.

Als strukturelle Parallele zu diesem _*h$_1$yéh$_1$-r/n-_ (n.) 'Ausdehnung, Jahr' bietet sich uridg. _*weh$_1$-r̥_ 'Wasser' an,[12] das Watkins (1987_a_: 402–3; 1987_b_: 424) diskutiert hat.

Das Benennungsmotiv unseres deutschen, englischen und indogermanischen Wortes für 'Jahr' ist also seine lange Zeiterstreckung.[13]

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[11] Eine Verbindung des Wortes für 'Jahr' mit _*h$_1$yeh$_2$-_ 'dahinziehen' ist aus lautlichen Gründen unwahrscheinlich, wie schon Kümmel bei Rix (2001: 310 Anm. 0) zu recht feststellt.

[12] Diesen Hinweis verdanke ich Craig Melchert.

[13] Zu einem anderen Benennungsmotiv von Wörtern für 'Jahr' im indogermanischen Bereich, nämlich '*das sich im Kreis Drehende', s. Katz (1994).

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28

Dal nome comune al nome divino, proprio e locale: il caso di *tasku-* in anatolico

Massimo Poetto

Il teonimo *Tasku* è attestato in alcune delle iscrizioni geroglifiche di ANCOZ, del gruppo della Commagene, principalmente nell'àmbito di enumerazioni di divinità (il dio Cervo, Kubaba, il dio Sole, A/Ikura), e precisamente come ^{DINGIR}*tá-*s_3*-ku-*s_2, nom. (5 r. 1 §1); ^{DINGIR}*tá-*s_3*-ku-ia*, dat. (1 r. 2 §3 e 10 r. 2 §4)/^{DINGIR}*tá-*s_3*-ku*, dat. adesinenziale (7 B/D §§4/9); ^{DINGIR}*tá-*s_3*-ku*, acc. (in ^{DINGIR}*tá-*s_3*-ku-ha*, con /-n/ trascurato davanti a *-ha* '-que', 10 r. 1 §1).[1]

La sua rispondenza al termine comune $^{\mathrm{(UZU)}}$*tasku-* (anim.), che designa un componente anatomico, risulta immediata. Quest'ultimo vocabolo compare in due rituali magici eteo-luvi del milieu kizzuwatneo, KUB 9. 4 I e nel parallelo KUB 9. 34 II—come *ta-as-ku-uš*, nom. sg. (9. 4 I 12, 29/9. 34 II 30, con UZU); gen. sg. *ta-as-ku-wa-*[*aš*] (9. 4 I 28); dat. sg. *ta-as-ku-i* (9. 4 I 12)/^{UZU}*ta-as-ku-wa-ia*[2] (9. 34 II 30)—in cui una serie di parti del corpo d'un montone viene disposta, a scopo terapeutico, sui corrispettivi organi d'un paziente. L'area d'individuazione del nostro elemento appare circoscritta alla regione pelvica, data la collocazione tra $^{\mathrm{(UZU)}}$*hupparat*(*t*)*i-*[3] 'bacino' (preceduto da ^{UZU}ÚR$^{\mathrm{(HI.A)}}$ 'genitali') e *hapus-* 'pene' da un lato (9. 4 I 10–11, 13/9. 34 II 28–9, 31), e tra *tapuwas*(*ant*)- 'costola' e *hupparratti-* 'bacino' (seguito da *hapus*(*ant*)- 'pene') dall'altro (9. 4 I 27, 29–31).[4]

[1] Vd. Hawkins (2000: rispettivamente 350, 346–7 e 360, 356–7). Di ANCOZ 5 (A) è in corso di stampa una mia revisione nella *Gedenkschrift E. Neu*.

[2] Ritenuta forma di testo recenziore che 'auf fehlerhaften Überlieferung beruht' (Tischler 1993: 255, a cui si conforma Katz 1998: 66–7).

[3] Luvismo, con Starke (1990: 323 n. 1136).

[4] Cf. da ultimo le edizioni di Beckman (1990: 36 rr. 11–14/28–32) e Hutter (1988: 32); inoltre Zinko (1999: 560); Friedrich–Kammenhuber–Hoffmann (2000: 260a), con la atipica traduzione 'Bein' di *hapus*(*ant*)- (certo condizionata da GÌR-*i-* 'Fuß' e *harganau*(*want*)- 'Sohle' delle righe successive), ripresa in Friedrich–Kammenhuber–Hoffmann (2001: 303b).

Ciò ha dapprima indotto Alp (1957: 25–6) a proporne (con cautela) il valore 'Hode (?)'. L'accoglienza è stata ampia—cosí ad es. Kronasser (1966: 252), Hutter (1988: 33), Tischler (1993: 255; 2001: 172), Zinko (1999: 560)—ma non piena: se Wegner (1981: 113), Weitenberg (1984: 270–1 §§722, 726) e Beckman (1990: 45 §§2, 6) si limitavano a lasciare la voce intradotta,[5] dichiarato è il rifiuto di Friedrich–Kammenhuber–Hoffmann (2000: 260a—vd. supra, n. 4)—'der *t.*-Körperteil (nicht "Hoden")'—anticipato dall'analogo, benché meno categorico, giudizio di Hoffner (1996: 248): 'Two terms have been claimed as referring to the testicle: *arki-* and *tašku-*, but the latter is less certain than the former and may designate the scrotum.'

Quantunque non risultino infrequenti in vari idiomi due (o piú) denominazioni del 'testicolo' (basti il lat. *testi*(*culu*)*s* vs. *coleus*, etc.), la prospettiva semantica 'scroto' ha il vantaggio di offrire una nuova accezione all'interno del patrimonio lessicale eteo.[6]

Inoltre, non sembra irrilevante che *tasku-* ricorra, come s'è visto, sempre al singolare, mentre $^{(\mathrm{UZU})}$*arki-*, nelle liste di elementi anatomici in cui è inserito (KBo 17. 61 vo 15, KUB 10. 62 V 7), mostra—e pour cause—il plurale (nom. *arkiês*, acc. [^{UZU}*a*]*rkius*).[7]

In aggiunta a queste considerazioni, anche la comparazione concorre a suffragare siffatta valenza: in quanto 'borsa/sacco (racchiudente le ghiandole sessuali maschili)' (cf. in tal senso, i.a., gr. *πηρίν/ς*, francese ant. *bource*, romeno *boarsă* e *pungă*, ted. *Hodensack*), *tasku-* (tema in *-u-*) è direttamente raffrontabile con l'alto ted. ant. *tasca* '*Tasche*, (Brot)beutel, Quersack', ecc.[8] (cf. ital. *tasca* '1. borsa, sacca, bisaccia [letter.]; 2. tasca (d'indumenti)', ecc.).[9]

Il quadro si completa con i riflessi nel settore antroponimico e toponomastico.

Con attinenza all'andronimia, il lessema in causa è stato da tempo

[5] Peraltro a p. 471 n. 728 Weitenberg esprimeva anche decise riserve sull'anzidetta interpretazione: '"Hode" . . . ist überaus fraglich'.

[6] Come osservato a sua volta da Katz (1998: 66).

[7] Vd., con rinvii, Friedrich–Kammenhuber (1979: 307); Puhvel (1984: 142); Güterbock–Hoffner (1986: 378a). Un sg. *ar-k*[*i-i*]*a-as* fa comprensibilmente la sua comparsa nel vocabolario KBo 26. 34 ro I col. 2: 2 (Laroche 1983–4: 600, con l'equiparazione all'accad. *išku*).

[8] Dichiarato d'origine oscura in Kluge–Seebold (1989: 722a [eid. 2002: 906b(–907a)]) e Pfeifer (1989: 1784^{b}[–1785^{a}]).

[9] Altrimenti Katz (1998, approvato da Neumann 1999: 17 n. 7), che per ragioni etimologiche giunge ad assegnare alla parola il significato ultimo di 'badger' (attraverso l'odore di muschio prodotto dalla secrezione di particolari ghiandole poste sotto la coda dell'animale stesso) associandola al ted. *Dachs*, ecc. (cf. inoltre la ripresa in 2002: 297b–298), ma già rettamente rifiutando la connessione di Szemerényi (1993: 205–6 nr. 37) al lat. *testiculus* (via **testu-culus*, dissimilato da **tescuculus*).

enucleato[10] dai derivati *Taskuwanni* e *Taskuili* in cuneiforme a fianco del geroglifico (su glittica) *Tasku*(*wa*)*li*.[11] Una faccia d'un sigillo biconvesso (inedito, in possesso privato) palesa ora[12] anche la mera base *Tasku* (*ta*[=*92.1*]-*s*-*ku* [in grafia sinistrorsa], contrassegnata dal titolo 'coppiere' [sovrastato da un 'triangolo']),[13] la quale ritorna, dal côté geografico, nel poleonimo *ta*-s_3-*ku*-*s*-*n*^{URU}—dativo dell'aggettivo genitivale in -(*a*)*sa/i*— di KULULU striscia 1*b* I col. 7.[14]

Se si riconosce la validità di tali argomentazioni, diviene evidente l'impiego metaforico, verosimilmente attraverso quello metonimico, di questo organo—'struttura sacciforme'→'contenuto'[15]→sede della 'mascolinità/virilità', onde in assoluto 'vigoria, potenza, forza, coraggio' e sim.— in applicazione a teonimi, idionimi e toponimi.[16]

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[10] Vd., con rinvii, Poetto (1980: 7 nr. 5 con nn. 27–8) e l'ensemble prodotto da Tischler (1993: 256); in piú, Neumann (1999: 17[–18] nr. 3).

[11] Continuato in *Δάσκυλος*, su cui cf. di recente Bloch (1997).

[12] Per cortese informazione del Prof. J. David Hawkins.

[13] Sul rovescio è il gineconimo *182a*-*mi*-*a/i*(*a*), i.e. /Kum(m)iya/ 'Pura' (accompagnato da una figura stante, volta a sinistra di profilo, e caratterizzato dalla combinazione 'triangolo'.MUNUS, indicante appunto 'donna').

[14] Meriggi e Poetto (1982: 98[b], 101 §6); Hawkins (1987: 137 ad §6. 41, 142 = 2000: 509). Non ha invece correlazione ^{URU}*Taskuriya* (vd. del Monte e Tischler 1978: 410; del Monte 1992: 164), in quanto conforme al gerogl. $^{\text{(KI)}}$*ta*-s_3-*160* + *r*, i.e. /tasku(wa)ra/i-/, 'Land/Erde' (Poetto 1999: 479).

[15] Paralleli in Buck (1949: 256–7. nr. 4. 49).

[16] Con la peculiarità, riguardo a ^{DINGIR}*Tasku*, di non presentare il (summenzionato) suffisso luvoide d'appartenenza *-assa/i-* esibito—in cuneiforme—dagli altri nomi divini(zzati) tratti da parti corporee: per es. ^{DINGIR}*K/Ginuwassa-*/*Kis*(*s*)*arassa-*/*Sakuwassa-*/*Lalassi-* 'deità del ginocchio/della mano/dell'occhio/della lingua' (vd. l'elenco in Puhvel 1984: 470 [sub ^{DINGIR}*Istanzassa/i-* 'god of soul'] e Starke 1990: 130 §75).

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PART FOUR

WESTERN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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29

The Word-Order Pattern *magna cum laude* in Latin and Sabellian

James Clackson

1 Introduction

In Latin phrases of the type *magna cum laude* 'with great praise' the adposition, here *cum*, splits the two elements of a nominal phrase, here *magna* and *laude*. In Oscan and Umbrian the same word-order pattern occurs, and many scholars have commented on the similarity. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 216), for example, directly compare the Latin order with the following Umbrian phrases (from the Iguvine Tables, as are all Umbrian citations in this paper):

IIb 27, 28 **testre. e uze**
right-LOC in shoulder-LOC
on the right shoulder
(Lat. *dextro in umero*)

and

Ib 1 **vuku-kum. iuviu**
grove-ABL-at of-Jupiter-ABL
at the grove of Jupiter
(Lat. *lucum ad Iouium*)

In this paper I wish to investigate this word-order pattern in Latin and Sabellian, and ascertain what connection there is, if any, between the development of the construction in the different language branches. In what follows I shall use the term 'interposition' to refer to the placement of adpositions in the middle of a nominal group.

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2 The Genesis of Adpositions

Recent research has contributed greatly to our understanding of the development of adpositions and preverbs in the IE languages. The Anatolian languages appear to show successive stages in the progressive grammaticalization of nominal forms along a grammaticalization 'cline', as identified in Hopper and Traugott (1993: 106–7):

relational noun > secondary adposition > primary adposition > affix

According to Hopper and Traugott, nouns which have a meaning which relates one entity to another in terms of location or direction, such as 'top', 'side', or 'foot', are prone to grammaticalization, first to adpositions which define concrete relationships (secondary adpositions) and then to a limited set of adpositions which can have grammatical as well as concrete meanings, before finally becoming cliticized and attached to the noun they govern. The different stages of this process are broadly observable in the Anatolian languages. In Old Hittite the elements which later function as prepositions still have some features of relational nouns: they take genitive complements and personal pronouns attach to them as enclitic possessives. In Middle Hittite and Luwian the same elements are construed with case-forms of nouns and also closely associated with verbal phrases, and in Lycian we find them regularly used as prepositions. However, Wilhelm (2001: 68–9) has modified the picture presented by Hopper and Traugott by drawing attention to the difficulty of separating out some of these stages. The Old Hittite word *katta*, for example, cannot be adequately classed as a noun, adverb, preposition, or preverb, since it has some features of all of these. Wilhelm describes such words as belonging to a 'squish', i.e. a fuzzy set of entities which run into each other along a line:

noun > postposition > adverb > preverb

Although Wilhelm sees the 'adpositional squish' along linear lines, it might be preferable to view the Old Hittite examples in terms of a branching line, with two separate end-points, adposition and preverb:

> preverb
noun → adverb
> adposition

In conclusion, in Old Hittite we appear to be at the beginning of a grammaticalization path: forms which appear once to have been relational nouns are assuming roles that merge into those of preverbs and adpositions. In

the later Anatolian languages the same forms have reached the end-points of inseparable preverbs and postpositions.

We may also trace the history of prepositions and preverbs in Greek (see in particular Horrocks 1981 and Morpurgo Davies 1983). In Homer 'preverbs' still have some autonomous position in the sentence and function like adverbs. Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between preverbs and adpositions; cf. e.g. *Il.* 24. 397:

Μυρμιδόνων	*δ'*	*ἔξ*	*εἶμι*
Myrmidons-GEN	PTC	P	I-shall-go

I shall go from the Myrmidons.

In this passage it is not certain whether the *ἐξ* should be interpreted as a preverb or a postposition (see the discussion of Wackernagel 1920–4: ii. 192, and Delbrück 1893: 656–7 for a list of comparable examples from Homer). In Mycenaean Greek univerbation of preverb and verb appears to have taken place already and Mycenaean regularly has prepostions.[1] Similar patterns can also be seen in the history of the Indo-Aryan languages (see Delbrück 1893: 654–5 and Andersen 1979). In the language of the Rig Veda preverbs/adpositions have free position in the sentence, sometimes attached to the verb, sometimes to a head noun, and frequently occupying the first place in the sentence, but in the later language they develop to postpositions and inseparable preverbs.

Homeric Greek and Vedic Sanskrit consequently appear to preserve stages of the language analogous to that found in Middle Hittite and Luwian. If adpositions appear to be recent creations in early Indo-European languages, then one might assume that, projecting backwards into Proto-Indo-European, we should reach a stage without any adpositions. But this assumption is called into question by the existence of some shared forms in IE languages which appear to go back directly to embryonic adpositional phrases. The clearest example of this process is the correspondence set of Sanskrit *parut* 'last year', Greek *πέρυσι* 'last year', Armenian *herow* 'last year', MHG *vert* 'last year', etc., which all derive from a phrase of particle and the reduced locative of the word for 'year' **per-uti* 'before (this) year'. Other fossilized 'prepositional' phrases include Greek *μέχρι* 'as far as', Armenian *merj* 'near' < **me*(*s*)-*ĝ*^{h}*sri* 'in the hand' and Greek *ἔνδον* 'inside', Hittite *andan* 'inside' < *(*h*$_1$)*en-dom* 'in the house', although this equation is made uncertain by the existence of Hittite *anda* and Latin *endo* (see the recent discussion of these and other examples by Forssman 2000). More

[1] Three possible examples of postpositions in Mycenaean are discussed by Morpurgo Davies (1983: 268).

problematic is the reconstruction of original nominal phrases where the local particle follows the noun, as in the Vedic locative forms *jmán* 'on the ground' < **dhĝhm-en* or *héman* 'in winter' < **ĝ^h^eim-en* (see Vanséveren 2000 on these forms).

The local particles **per*, **me*, and **(h_1)en* in these reconstructed syntagms appear to be well on their way to becoming true adpositions already in the parent language. Indeed, they are further along the grammaticalization cline than the local adverbs in Old Hittite, which still show nominal features, and they call into question the theory that all adpositions are post-IE developments. One way to reconcile the Old Hittite data with the reconstruction of quasi-adpositional phrases is to reconstruct succeeding waves of grammaticalization. The scenario has been proposed by Wilhelm (2001) in his analysis of the development of adpositions in Italic and Baltic, to account for the co-occurrence of postpositions (Umbrian **kum, e** etc., Lithuanian *-pi*) and prepositions (Umbrian **pre,** Lithuanian *į*, etc.). The Old Hittite situation may be parallel. In order to explain the derivations of some of the Old Hittite local adverbs from quasi-adpositional phrases, we must posit an earlier phase of grammaticalization. Thus *andan*, if from a phrase **(h_1)en-dom*, could have been a renewal of **(h_1)en* 'in', which also survives in *andurza* 'inside' from an unattested **an-dur* < **(h_1)en-d^hur-* 'within the door' (see Forssman 2000: 49–50).

In summary, some adpositions in some IE languages clearly represent the outcomes of grammaticalizations of adverbs or case forms. But this does not justify the thesis that there were no adpositions in Indo-European, any more than the difficulty of reconstructing a relative pronoun for PIE justifies the thesis that relative clauses did not exist. There are two separate issues at stake, renewal of the syntactic structures and renewal of the markers that encode those structures. We should be careful not to confuse these two issues when reconstructing syntax (see the discussion of Harris and Campbell 1995: 282–3).

3 Interposition in Latin

By the time of our earliest Latin texts adpositions have become fully grammaticalized. In Latin most adpositions precede the noun they govern, but they can take the interposed order. The word-order patterns of *modifier–adposition–noun* and *noun–adposition–modifier* in Latin have recently been discussed by Penney (1999: 263–7). He has shown how the orders *genitive–preposition–noun* and *noun–preposition–genitive* became favoured in the verse of Lucretius, Virgil, and later poets, although they are largely absent

from early Latin, and concludes that they represent an artificial 'archaism' created in poetry. One model for this order is, according to Penney, the cases where the preposition is inserted between adjective and noun (*magnis de rebus*), or head and modifier (i.e. *rebus de magnis*). Both these orders are attested in early Latin verse, although neither is particularly frequent, and both are more common in poetry of higher register than in Plautus. An idea of the distribution of the different orders can be gained from a sample of all the prepositional phrases involving nouns and modifiers in the fragments of Ennius' *Annales* and in three plays of Plautus (the *Aulularia*, *Casina*, and *Menaechmi*):

	P–A–N	P–N–A	A–P–N	N–P–A
Ennius	13 (32%)	12 (29%)	12 (29%)	4 (10%)
Plautus	82 (56%)	47 (32%)	16 (11%)	1 (< 1%)

A = adjective, demonstrative, or relative pronoun; P = preposition; N = head noun.

Of the number in the A–P–N column, it should be noted that 8 of the examples in Plautus (but none of the examples in Ennius) involve relative pronouns; the other cases in Plautus are confined to adjectives denoting quantity or 'non-lexical' words: *aliquam in arborem* 'in a tree' (*Aul.* 678); *magna cum cura* 'with great care' (*Men.* 895); *omnibus in locis* 'in all places' (*Men.* 982); *tuam in provinciam* 'to your place of authority' (*Cas.* 103); *ullo in saeclo* 'at any date' (*Aul.* 126); *uno* 'one' in *uno in saltu* 'in one bound' (*Cas.* 476), and *uno asto in loco* 'I stand in one place' (*Men.* 56). The one example of the N–P–A order in Plautus is at *Men.* 838, *aetate in sua* (note that the same order is found with the noun *aetas* in the phrase *aetate in agunda* in Ennius 374 Skutsch).

In Latin prose the order *noun–preposition–modifier* does not occur before imperial authors (Marouzeau 1949: 58). The order *modifier–preposition–noun* is most frequent in early Latin prose in cases where the modifier is a relative pronoun (compare the preference for postpositions after relatives noted above). Indeed, in several texts it appears to be only phrases with relative pronouns which allow interposed prepositions. In Cato's *De agri cultura*, for example, prepositional phrases involving a relative pronoun usually show the relative first: *quo in loco* (35. 2), *quam ad arborem* (47. 1), *qua ex parte* (136. 1) but *in quo loco* (161. 3). In all other cases the preposition is always the first element: *in suo quidquid loco reponito* (68. 1), *in rudecto et rubrioso loco* (35. 1). The same distribution is found in an early official inscription (*CIL* i^2. 586, dated to 159 BC), where *quibusque de rebus* occurs next to *de eieis rebus* (twice). Early Latin prose examples not in-

volving a relative pronoun are rare: Marouzeau (1949: 60) states that '[l]a construction est attestée aussi, avec toutes sortes de déterminants, dès les plus anciens textes', citing *certeis in causeis* in *CIL* i^2. 593. 61. However, *CIL* i^2. 593 is now thought to date to around 45 BC (see Crawford 1996: 360–2 for discussion) and I know of no example from Latin prose before the time of Cicero.

In considering adpositional phrases with interposed preposition we are consequently dealing with several different factors. In early Latin prose it is common for a relative pronoun to be moved out of a prepositional phrase to the beginning of a clause. In the verse texts of Plautus the same fronting of a constituent of a prepositional phrase may also be used with quantifiers and determinatives. In Ennius and other highly stylized poetic texts a greater freedom of interposition is allowed, and this construction is later taken up by prose authors in the Empire. Since the interposed order is also characteristic of Greek poetry, it seems most likely that poets such as Ennius were imitating Greek practice.

4 Interposition in Sabellian

As the Umbrian examples cited at the beginning of this paper show, in Sabellian languages it is possible to place an adposition between a modifier and noun or noun and modifier. Umbrian also shows placement of the adposition between a noun and dependent genitive:

Ib 4 **vuku-kum. kureties**
grove-ABL-at Coredius-GEN
at the grove of Coredius

The interposed order is also found in Oscan at **Lu 1** 25 (the *Tabula Bantina*):[2]

ex{.}aisc-en. ligis
these-LOC-in laws-LOC
in these laws

probably in Paelignian at **Pg 9** 5 (the *herentas* inscription):

praicim-e. perseponas
?-ACC-in Persephone-GEN
into the ? of Persephone

and in the recently discovered fifth-century-BC 'Palaeo-Volscian' inscription (**VM 1,** reading and interpretation from Rix 1992: 38–9):

[2] In the rest of this article I shall refer to Sabellian texts using the sigla of Rix (2002).

iúkúh. ko.	**efieṣ.**
grove-ABL	at Efius-GEN

at the grove of Efius

However, despite the presence of these orders in the Sabellian languages, it is not clear how comparable they are to the Latin orders. In Latin, as we have seen, there was no restriction on which adpositions were found in these structures. In Umbrian, the Sabellian language for which we have the most evidence, this is not the case. Adpositions in Umbrian can be divided into three separate classes:

(1) Postpositions: **en**/*-e*(*n*) (=Latin *in*); **-per**/*-per* (=Latin *per*); **-ta**/**-tu**/*-to* ('from', no clear equivalent in Latin).
(2) Prepositions: **pre**/*pre* (=Latin *prae*); **pus**/*post* (=Latin *post*); and **e**/*eh*(*e*) (=Latin *ex*).
(3) Two words which can function both as preposition and postposition: **pert** and **kum**/*com* (=Latin *cum*).

Adpositions which only occur as prepositions are never found in the interposed order, but are preposed to nominal groups as well as to individual words. For example:

Ia 2	**pre veres.**	**treplanes**
	before gates-ABL	Trebulan-ABL

before the Trebulan gates

Ia 7	**pus veres.**	**treplanes**
	behind gates-ABL	Trebulan-ABL

behind the Trebulan gates

—whereas the postpositions **e**/*-e* and *-per*, which occur almost always as postpositions, always take the interposed order. Especially instructive is the use of **kum**/*com*, which occurs in the interposed order ten times in phrases such as the following:

Ia 29, VIb 24, 38	**testru-ku.**	**peři**	I *destruco. persi*
	right-ABL-at	foot-ABL	

at the right foot

Va 5	**ura-ku.**	**ri.**	**esuna**
	this-ABL-at	rite-ABL	holy-ABL

at this holy rite

But in one place the adposition is placed in front of a nominal group:

VIb 52	*com.*	*peracris.*	*sacris*
	with	year-old-ABL	sacrificial-animals-ABL
	with the sacrificial yearlings		

As the translation given for these passages suggests, there is a functional difference between the two orders, which corresponds to the difference between postposed **-kum**/*-com* and preposed *com.* When used as a postposition, **-kum**/*-com* occurs with nouns denoting places (e.g. 'sanctuary': **vuku-kum** (Ib 1 etc.) = *uocu-com* (VIb 43); 'boundary-stone': **termnes-ku** (Ib 19) and *termnu-co* (VIb 53 etc.); 'altar': **asa-ku** (IIa 39); 'gates': *ueris-co* (VIa 19 etc)); when used as a preposition it occurs in three out of four of its attestations with the noun denoting one of the officials involved in the ritual, the *prinuatir* (the fourth attestation is the one given above). The postposition consequently appears to have local, the preposition sociative, meaning.[3] The interposed order is therefore associated exclusively with postpositions, and with prepositions the order is avoided.

I argued above that in Latin phrases of the type *magna cum laude* the adjective had been fronted to the beginning of the phrase. Penney (1999: n. 48) has suggested that fronting also takes place in Umbrian in the phrase (repeated a number of times in tables VI and VII):

erer.	*nomne-per.*	*erar.*	*nomne-per*
of-this	name-for	of-this	name-for
for the sake of this one and for the sake of that one			

with the demonstrative fronted for contrast from an 'expected' order **nomneper erer/erar*. But with modifiers other than a dependent genitive a different pattern is found, since the postposition follows the fronted modifier, not the noun.

The placement of modifiers relative to their heads in Umbrian nominal phrases has not been studied in detail (Konneker 1972 is the fullest survey of word order in Umbrian, but is not comprehensive), and many of the handbooks limit themselves to fairly bald general statements (e.g. von Planta 1897: 490; Buck 1928: 223–4; see also Maniet 1969 and Rosenkranz 1933 on placement of genitives). However, the grammar of Conway (1897: ii. 520) gives a summary of adjective placement which captures the facts well: 'Adjectives generally follow the substantives they qualify (Osc. *dolud mallud*, Umb. *tote Ikuvine*, etc.), but precede if they are contrasted with

[3] The only clear exception to this rule is *erucom* at VIb 50, where *com* occurs with the demonstrative *eru* 'him', which is taken to refer to a person in context. It is possible that different rules of adposition placement apply in the case of pronouns; compare the Latin distribution of preposition *cum* but *mecum* etc.

some parallel adjective, e.g. *Vuŝiiaper natine* Tab Ig. IIb 26 or are otherwise emphatic, e.g. Osc. *múíníkeí tereí*.' These findings are supported by examination of the order of adjectives and nouns in adpositional phrases in Umbrian. The normal, unmarked, order is *noun–adposition–adjective*, for example:

Ib 1	**vuku-kum.**	**iuviu**
	grove-ABL-at	of-Jupiter-ABL
	at the grove of Jupiter	

When a contrastive adjective is used, it is fronted to precede the noun. But the adposition always follows the adjective, and is never kept with the noun, as with the case of the fronted genitive, for example:

Ia 29	**testru-ku.**	**peři**
	right-at	foot
	at the right foot	
Ia 31	**nertru-ku.**	**peři**
	left-at	foot
	at the left foot	
VIa 10	*todcom-e.*	*tuder*
	of-the-people-in	boundary
	to the city boundary	

The first two examples clearly show adjectives fronted for contrast, whereas in the third there is no contrast to anything in the text, but the order may be preferred since the city boundary is normally contrasted with another boundary.

Demonstratives also stand first in Umbrian adpositional phrases, and are followed by the adposition, for example:

Va 5	**ura-ku.**	**ri.**	**esuna**
	that-at	thing	holy
	at that sacred ritual		
VIa 18	*esis-co.*	*esoneir.*	*seueir*
	those-at	rituals	each
	at each of those rituals		

This same order for demonstrative and noun combinations in prepositional phrases is found with the postposition *-en* in Oscan, as we have seen above.

Why should a postposition attach to a fronted adjective but not to a

fronted genitive in Umbrian? It is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory synchronic account, but a historical explanation for the different Umbrian orders is possible, if we consider the situation in South Picene. South Picene survives in a number of short inscriptions which mostly date from the seventh to the fifth century BC, and it has received a lot of scholarly attention following Marinetti's new reading and publication of the corpus (Marinetti 1985; see Marinetti and Agostiniani 2000, Stuart-Smith 2000, and Rix 2002 for most recent editions of the texts). In South Picene, if any postpositional phrase has an adjective or demonstrative agreeing with the head noun, then *both* the modifier and the head noun are marked with the postposition (which in all cases is *-en*).[4]

CH 2 **ombrií-en** **akr-en**
Umbrian-in field-in
in the Umbrian land

CH 1 **iepet-en.** **esm-en** (cf. **esmín . . . uepetín** MC 2)
?monument-in this-in
in this ?monument

TE 2 **esmen.** **vepses.** **vepeten**
this-in ?-GEN ?monument-in
in this ?monument of ?[5]

RI 1 **esmík.** **uepetí**[**n**]
this-in ?monument-in
in this ?monument[6]

Whenever the adpositional phrase involves a dependent genitive, this is not marked with the postposition. Note example **esmen. vepses. vepeten** above and possibly also

[4] The only possible exception to this rule is *esmak toútaih* in the very fragmentary cippus from Fara Sabina (RI 1), which has been taken by Klingenschmitt as a locative phrase meaning 'in diesem Staat', with the final part of *esmak* deriving from **-ai-en-ke* (Klingenschmitt 1992: 91). However, the context for these two words is completely unclear (they are the only two words on the line to survive), and Klingenschmitt's interpretation is unlikely. In inscriptions from Italy it is not normal to use the demonstrative to refer to the 'state' or city where they are cited, only to more localized entities such as the stone itself, or something immediately adjacent, such as a road, building, or grove.

[5] On the interpretation of **vepses** see now Meiser (2003: 48).

[6] I assume, with Untermann (2000: 838), that in RI 1 *esmík* derives from **esmínk*, i.e. the locative with *-en* followed by a deictic particle *-k*. Untermann (2000: 355) takes *esmík* to be the equivalent of Umbrian **esmik,** i.e. dative singular masculine of the pronoun. The context does not allow us to establish one way or the other.

CH 2 **(?-)aniom. ombriı́-en akr-en**[7]
?-GEN-PL Umbrian-in field-in
in the Umbrian land of the ?

if the first word is in fact a genitive plural (see Weiss 1998: 712 and Untermann 2000: 102).

The doubling of the postposition is not limited to South Picene, but it is also found in Oscan and Umbrian. It occurs in an early Oscan inscription written in the native alphabet, **Sa 1** A 1–2 (the bronze tablet from near Agnone):

húrt-ín. kerríi-ín
grove-in of-Ceres-in
in the grove of Ceres

and in an Oscan inscription from Lucania written in the Greek alphabet, **Lu 4**:

σουϝ-ẹν μεδδικ-εν
his-in magistracy-in
in his magistracy[8]

In Umbrian postposition doubling is found in several places in the Iguvine Tables; it may be significant that one phrase written with doubled postposition in the earlier portion written in native script, **vapef-em. aviekluf-e** (Ib 14) ?seats-ACC-in of-augury-ACC-in 'to the augural seats', has no doubling in the later version of the same text: *vapef-e. auieclu* (VIb 51) ?seats-ACC-in of-augury-ACC 'to the augural seats'.

All of the examples of postposition doubling involve the postposition *en*, and some scholars have thought that the above examples show the postposition on its way to being reinterpreted as a new case ending (thus Marinetti 1981: 149–50; Untermann 2000: 225). Although this is possible, the evidence suggests that in fact doubling of postpositions is something that was progressively lost over time, rather than a developing tendency. Indeed, it may reflect a very old practice if we accept that some adpositions are of PIE origin, as argued in §2 above. Comparable material from other languages includes doubling found in Old Lithuanian with the postpositions *-na* and

[7] Marinetti (1985) read a stop before **aniom,** but all the most recent editors agree that there are in fact three more letters at the beginning of the word. Marinetti and Agostiniani (2000) read **tutanioim,** and Stuart-Smith (2000) reads **lufaniom.** The reading given at Rix (2002: 69), **ṛuṭniom,** is a mistake for **ṛuṭaniom** (the form which is given in the index, p. 172).

[8] This phrase is sufficient to disprove Marinetti's theory (1981: 149–50) that the form in *-en* has become a case form used exclusively in a strictly local sense.

-pi (Fraenkel 1914: 42–3), and in the Homeric formula *ὅν-δε δόμον-δε* 'to his own house' (seven times in the *Odyssey*).

If we assume that the doubling of postpositions after nouns and adjectives in concord is an inherited feature of the Sabellian languages, it leads the way to an explanation for the different word orders attested in Umbrian: they simply result from the loss of the second in a series of two consecutive postpositions. This reduction in doubled markers in nominal phrases is found in many other languages; perhaps the best known Indo-European examples are from Vedic, where occasionally phrases of noun/modifier only show case-marking on the first constituent, as *návyasā vácaḥ* new-INST. song-NOM./ACC 'with a new song' (RV 2. 31. 5c *et al.*; see Debrunner and Wackernagel 1930: 79 and Fortson 1998: 136–7 for further examples and discussion). This also provides a way of accounting for the difference observed in the Umbrian orders with fronted genitive and fronted adjective. The order *genitive–noun–postposition* can be explained by the fact that the postposition was never attached to a genitive if its head noun was present,[9] as can be seen from the South Picene examples. In such cases there is consequently no ellipsis of a second postposition, and the order is completely regular.

5 Conclusion

I hope to have shown that the similarities between the interposed order of adpositional placement in Latin and Sabellian arise from different factors. In Latin, the interposed order may originally have been limited to cases where a modifier, in particular a relative pronoun, was fronted from within a prepositional phrase. In Sabellian, the interposed order originates from postpositional phrases where both modifier and noun were marked with postpositions, with subsequent ellipsis of the second postposition.

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[9] Where there is ellipsis of the head noun the postposition may of course be found attached to the dependent genitive, as in the Oscan phrase **Maamiieís-e(n)** (**Po 55**) Mamius-GEN-in 'in Mamius' house'.

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30

Plus ça change . . .: Lachmann's Law in Latin

Jay H. Jasanoff

Lachmann's Law (LL) is the rule of Latin according to which verbal roots ending in an etymological voiced stop (**-b-*, **-d-*, etc.), but not a voiced aspirate (**-bh-*, **-dh-*, etc.), lengthen their root vowel in the past participle and its derivatives (e.g. *agō* 'drive', ptcp. *āctus* (+*āctiō*, etc.), *cadō* 'fall', ptcp. *cāsus* < **cāssus*). Neglected for most of the twentieth century, LL became well known through its role in the brilliant 1965 doctoral dissertation of Paul Kiparsky. For Kiparsky, LL was the *Paradebeispiel* of *rule insertion* or *non-chronological rule addition*, a type of linguistic change said to be predicted by the theory of generative grammar but impossible to accommodate within the traditional Neogrammarian framework of sound change and analogy. Until the end of the 1970s, LL figured prominently in the often polemical debate over the status of analogy as a mechanism of language change; at one point no fewer than three squibs were dedicated to it in a single volume of *Linguistic Inquiry*.[1] Then, almost as abruptly as it had begun, the near-obsession with LL came to an end. Today, as before 1965, the rule is known mainly to specialists in the history of Latin.

A form like *āctus* can be derived historically from earlier **ag-tos* by assuming two sound changes—one that lengthened the vowel before the voiced + voiceless cluster, and another that spread the voicelessness of the **-t-* leftwards.[2] But voicing assimilation is found in every IE language and was clearly an inner-PIE process, while lengthening before voiced + voiceless clusters was a much later development peculiar to Latin, or at least Italic. How, then, can the cluster **-gt-* have been accessible to speakers at the

This paper, an oral version of which was presented in our honorand's class at Oxford in 1996, benefited in its early stages from discussions with Alan Nussbaum. A thorough review of the literature on LL through the early 1980s is given by Collinge (1985: 105 ff.).

[1] The year was 1979, and the squibs were the contributions listed below under the names of Joseph, Klausenburger, and Stephens. See n. 10.

[2] Transcriptions are informal; where no confusion would result I write '**ag-*' for '*h_2*eĝ-*', '**-ō*' for '*-*o*h_2', etc.

moment when the lengthening rule applied? The usual Neogrammarian solution, classically articulated by Saussure (1885: 256) and repeated as recently as Leumann (1977: 114), was that inner-PIE **aktos* was analogically remade to **agtos* in post-IE times. Secondary **agtos*, according to this view, gave **āgtos*, which then, by a second application of the voicing assimilation rule, gave **āktos* (≅ *āctus*).

Kiparsky (1965: i. 32) rejected this scenario in no uncertain terms:

> He [Saussure] supposes that IE *aktos* reverted to phonetic *agtos*, then was lengthened to *āgtos* and finally reassimilated to *āktos*. In spite of its ad hoc character and phonetic implausibility (on which Saussure himself remarks) this has come to be the generally accepted view. . . . But there are insurmountable objections to it. To account for lengthening in dental stems (e.g. *cāsus*) we should then have to suppose that forms like **cadtus* were restored, and that after the lengthening by Lachmann's Law these forms underwent not only reassimilation of voicing but also reassibilation by the old rule that dentals became sibilants before dentals. This kind of miraculous repetition of history stretches our credulity to the breaking point. It snaps when we recall that dental clusters of secondary Latin origin do not in fact assibilate in Latin, e.g. *ad-terō* > *atterō*, and not '*asserō*'. There is, so far as I can see, no way of saving Saussure's theory of Lachmann's Law.

LL, in Kiparsky's view, was a case of *insertion*: a rule that lengthened vowels before *-gt-* and *-dt-*, viz.

$$[-\text{consonantal}] \Rightarrow [+\text{long}] \,/\!___ \begin{bmatrix}+\text{obstruent}\\+\text{voiced}\end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix}+\text{obstruent}\\-\text{voiced}\end{bmatrix}$$

was added to the synchronic grammar of Latin at a higher point in the ordered list of phonological rules than the rule of voicing assimilation. In schematic terms, taking G_1 and G_2 to represent chronologically successive grammars,

G_1:		G_2:
underlying form /ag-to-/		underlying form /ag-to-/
rules: ____		rules: ____
____		____
____	⇒	LL
. . . .		. . . .
voicing assim.		voicing assim.

LL thus operated, according to Kiparsky, on *underlying -gt-* and *-dt-*, despite the fact that these clusters never surfaced phonetically.

Kiparsky's analysis was an exciting proposal in 1965, since it seemed to show that there were possible—and documented—linguistic changes that

could not be explained within the standard framework of (surface) sound change and (surface) analogy, but that could easily be accounted for within the more abstract model of generative phonology. Normal sound change, in the early days of generative phonology, was regarded as a process of rule addition: implementing a sound change meant appending a new rule to the end of an ordered list of synchronic phonological rules (cf. Halle 1962: 64 ff.). Enthusiasts for Kiparsky's approach, such as King (1969), saw no essential difference between this process and rule insertion, which differed from ordinary rule addition only in that the 'landing site' of the new rule was synchronically higher than one or more historically earlier rules. LL was hailed as proof of the superiority of the 'grammar change' model of linguistic change to the classical Neogrammarian combination of sound change and analogy. In the ideological wars of the time, it was seen as another nail in the coffin of taxonomic (= structuralist) phonemics, with which the Neogrammarian approach to linguistic change was by implication identified.

Doubts, however, persisted. Normal sound change is rooted in acoustic and articulatory facts; in English, for example, the regular lengthening of vowels before voiced obstruents (cf. *hat* [hæt] vs. *had* [hæ:d]) reflects the natural tendency of speakers to assign part of the voicing of the consonant to the preceding vowel. Under Kiparsky's analysis, no perceptual or production errors could have been involved in the replacement of late PIE **aktos* by Lat. *āctus*, since the crucial voiceless + voiced combination never surfaced phonetically. It was unclear, therefore, how or why a speaker of pre-Latin would ever have been tempted to enact Kiparsky's LL scenario. King, after a long and futile search for typological parallels, dramatically reversed his 1969 position and concluded that rule insertion, as a species of linguistic change, did not exist (King 1973).

The rule itself was not free of difficulties. A total of seventeen Latin past participles satisfy the structural description of LL, but only thirteen of these actually show the expected lengthening. The examples can conveniently be arranged by root vocalism. The lengthening of *-a-* to *-ā-*, *-u-* to *-ū-*, and *-o-* to *-ō-* is exceptionless:[3]

[3] Compare forms with a voiceless stop or voiced aspirate and no lengthening: *faciō* 'do' : *fēcī* : *făctus*; *patior* 'suffer' : *păssus*; *rapiō* 'seize' : *rapuī* : *răptus*; *nancīscor* 'meet with' : *năctus*; *pandō* (< **patnō*) 'extend' : *pandī* : *păssus*; *trahō* (< **-gh-*) 'draw' : *trāxī* : *trăctus*; *fodiō* (< **-dh-*) 'dig' : *fōdī* : *fŏssus*; *doceō* 'teach' : *docuī* : *dŏctus*; *dūcō* 'lead' : *dūxī*: *dŭctus*; *rumpō* 'break' : *rūpī*: *rŭptus*; *iubeō* (< **-dh-*) 'order' : *iŭssī* : *iŭssus*; and others. Even before plain voiced stops, a synchronic morpheme boundary must be present; derivationally isolated forms like *lăssus* 'tired' < **lad-to-* and *tŭssis* 'cough' < **tud-ti-* retain their short vowel (cf. Kiparsky 1965: i. 31).

'drive'	*agō* (present)	:	*ēgī* (perfect)	:	*āctus*
'fall'	*cadō*	:	*cecidī*	:	*cāsus*
'break'	*frangō*	:	*frēgī*	:	*frāctus*
'fix'	*pangō*	:	*pepigī*	:	*pāctus*
'touch'	*tangō*	:	*tetigī*	:	*tāctus*
'pour'	*fundō*	:	*fūdī*	:	*fūsus*
'beat'	*tundō*	:	*tutudī*	:	*tūsus*
'hate'	——	:	*ōdī*	:	*ōsus*

-e- is lengthened to *-ē-* in four examples:[4]

'eat'	*edō*	:	*ēdī*	:	*ēsus*
'read'	*legō*	:	*lēgī*	:	*lēctus*
'guide'	*regō*	:	*rēxī*	:	*rēctus*
'cover'	*tegō*	:	*tēxī*	:	*tēctus*

. . . but here there is a conspicuous exception:

'sit (down)' *sedeō/sīdō* : *sēdī* : *sĕssum* (supine)[5]

Finally, there is one 'good' example of the change of *-i-* to *-ī-*:[6]

'see' *uideō* : *uīdī* : *uīsus*

. . . but no fewer than *three* 'bad' ones, with no lengthening:

'split'	*findō*	:	*fĭdī*	:	*fĭssus*
'tear apart'	*scindō*	:	*scicidī*	:	*scĭssus*
'draw tight'	*stringō*	:	*strīnxī*	:	*strĭctus*

In short, LL always 'works' when the root vowel is *-a-* (5 examples), *-u-* (2 examples), or *-o-* (1 example). It is usually also valid for *-e-* (4 good examples; 1 exception), but mostly fails for *-i-* (1 good example; 3 excep-

[4] Again, lengthening is absent when the root ends in a voiceless stop or voiced aspirate: cf. _uehō_ (< *-_ĝh_-) 'convey': _uēxī_ : _uĕctus_; _secō_ 'cut' : _sĕcuī_ : _sĕctus_; _metō_ 'mow' : _mĕssuī_ : _mĕssus_; -_spiciō_ 'look at' : -_spĕxī_: -_spĕctus_; etc. The status of _emō_ 'buy' : _ēmī_ : _ēmptus_ with respect to LL is unclear. Etymologically, of course, the participle should have been *_entus_ < *(h_1)_m̥-to_- or *(h_1)_em-to_-; _ēmptus_ must go back, directly or indirectly, to a reconstituted *_em-to_-, with *-_m_- reinserted from the present stem. While it is possible that restored *_emto_- simply gave *_embto_-, with epenthetic *-_b_- and subsequent LL lengthening, a direct development from *_emto_- to *_empto_-, with automatic lengthening before -_mpt_-, is also thinkable.

[5] The supine is quoted instead of the participle, which is restricted to compounds (*possessus*, *obsessus*, etc.).

[6] -_ĭ_- is expected, of course, before a root-final voiceless stop or voiced aspirate: cf. _fingō_ (< *-_ĝh_-) 'shape' : _fīnxī_ : _fĭctus_; _pingō_ (prob. < *_pik̂nō_) 'paint' : _pīnxī_ : _pĭctus_; _mingō_ (< *-_gh_-) 'urinate' : _mīnxī_ : _mĭctus_; -_linquō_ 'leave' : -_līquī_ : -_lĭctus_; _uincō_ 'conquer' : _uīcī_ : _uĭctus_; _mittō_ 'send' : _mīsī_ : _mĭssus_, etc.

tions). The exceptions—*sĕssum*, *fĭssus*, *scĭssus*, *strĭctus*—are not discussed by either Saussure or Kiparsky.

Kiparsky's discussion of LL, embedded as it was in a general assault on analogy as an explanatory tool in historical linguistics, naturally called forth an analogical counterattack. The opening salvo was fired by the great theoretician of analogy, Jerzy Kuryłowicz (1968), who began by accepting Kiparsky's dismissal of the Neogrammarian account:

> To assume an intermediate phonetic arrangement, viz. the restitution of *g* under the influence of *agō* and second devoicing of **agtos*, this time to *āktos*, would be clearly unacceptable. Nowhere and at no period has *g t* been a possible combination in I.E. languages opposing voiced *g d* to voiceless *k t*.

Kuryłowicz's response, however, was to construct an entirely different analogical scenario. Following an approach pioneered by Osthoff (1884: 113) and Kent (1928), he took the long vowel of *āctus*, *cāsus*, etc. to be an import from the perfect. In a verb like *legō* 'read', the present active with **-ĕ-* (3 sg. *legit*) served as *forme de fondation* to the perfect active with **-ē-* (3 sg. *lēgit*); therefore, since the active as a whole 'founded' the passive, the long vowel was extended from the perfect active to the perfect passive:

pres. act. *legit*	⇒	perf. act. *lēgit*
⇓		⇓
pres. pass. *legitur*	⇒	perf. pass. **lĕctus* (*est*) > *lēctus* (*est*)

The other such cases cited by Kuryłowicz were

edō	:	*ēdī*,	whence innovated		*ē*(*s*)*sus*
uideō	:	*uīdī*,	»	»	*uī*(*s*)*sus*
emō ('buy')	:	*ēmī*,	»	»	*ēm*(*p*)*tus*
——	:	*ōdī*,	»	»	*ō*(*s*)*sus*

From these examples speakers supposedly abstracted the principle that roots in **-g-*, **-d-*, and **-m-* formed their participles by adding *-tus* and lengthening the vowel of the present. Thus were created *āctus* (: *agō*), *cā*(*s*)*sus* (: *cadō*), and *tēctus* (: *tegō*), even though the perfects of these verbs were *not* formed by simple lengthening (*ēgī*, not **āgī*; *cecidī*, not **cādī*; *tēxī*, not **tēgī*).

As presented, this account is obviously unsatisfactory. Kuryłowicz's initial group of five verbs (*legō*, *edō*, etc.) is arbitrary; no mention is made of two other lexical items, *fodiō* : *fōdī* 'dig' and *scabō* : *scābī* 'scrape', which also form their perfects by lengthening the vowel of the present, but which

have root-final *-*dh*- (not *-*d*-) and *-*bh*- (not *-*b*-), respectively.[7] In addition, there are endless problems of detail. To explain the non-lengthening of *scĭssus*, *strĭctus* to **scī*(*s*)*sus*, **strīctus*, Kuryłowicz is obliged to claim that the nasal of the presents *scindō* and *stringō* prevented speakers from connecting the present stem too closely with the participle. But this makes it hard to account for *fū*(*s*)*sus* and *tū*(*s*)*sus* (: *fundō*, *tundō*), which he attributes to a 'tertiary' analogy that substituted the attested forms for 'correct' **fŭssus* and **tŭssus* (*rŭptus* (: *rumpō*) inexplicably failed to take part in this development). To explain the unexpected long vowel of *tāctus* (: *tangō*) and *frāctus* (: *frangō*), Kuryłowicz invokes *pāctus* (: *pangō*), which he sees as a PIE inheritance (cf. Gk. *πηκτός*).

Attempts to improve on Kuryłowicz's solution soon followed from Watkins (1970) and Strunk (1976). Watkins accepted Kuryłowicz's premiss that *lēctus* etc. acquired their long vowel from the long-vowel perfect, but tried, not very successfully, to explain the spread of long vocalism in the participle without reference to the voicing properties of the root-final consonant. *rēctus* (archaic perfect *rēgī*) and *tēctus* (archaic perfect **tēgī*?) were, according to Watkins, first-order analogical formations like *lēctus* itself. Another such form was *āctus*, with its long vowel taken from the hypothetical pre-Latin perfect **āgī*; *āctus* in turn generated *frāctus*, *tāctus*, etc., and, indirectly, most of the other LL forms. But herein lies the fatal problem: the perfect of *agō* is not **āgī* but *ēgī*, an inherited lengthened-grade preterite (< *h_2*ēĝ*-, by Eichner's Law) of the same type as *lēgī*, *ēmī*, *ēdī*, and (perhaps) *rēgī*.[8] Elements of Watkins's solution—presence vs. absence of a long-vowel perfect, transparency vs. opacity of the present stem, relative lateness of certain forms—recur in Strunk's monograph-length treatment of LL. When all is said and done, however, Strunk's theory is little more than a *post hoc*, case-by-case justification of why each form turned out the way it did.[9]

Later discussions of LL add nothing new to the picture.[10] In the last ana-

[7] To be sure, the whole idea of associating length with the character of the root-final consonant seems counterintuitive. One wonders why Kuryłowicz's speakers, having sensibly built *lēctus* to *lēgī* and *uīsus* to *uīdī*, did not simply proceed to the creation of **fēctus* beside *fēcī*, **cēptus* beside *cēpī*, **ēctus* beside *ēgī*, etc.

[8] Although the supposed perfect **āgī*, allegedly bolstered by ON *ók* (: *aka* 'drive'), is a staple of the LL literature, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that there is absolutely no evidence for such a form. For the pattern *agō* : *ēgī*, which cannot be explained within Latin and almost certainly goes back to PIE, see Jasanoff (1998: 305–7) and the references there cited.

[9] See the succinct review by Anna Morpurgo Davies (1979).

[10] This holds true, for example, of the three 1979 squibs in *Linguistic Inquiry*, which are largely concerned with the pros (Klausenburger 1979; Stephens 1979) and cons (Joseph 1979) of converting the Kuryłowicz/Watkins theory into 'rule addition' notation. A genuinely dif-

lysis, we have three basic approaches to choose from: (1) the Neogrammarian solution (analogical reintroduction of the voiced stop with subsequent lengthening by sound law); (2) Kiparsky's solution (rule insertion); and (3) the Kuryłowicz–Watkins–Strunk solution (analogical lengthening from the perfect). The objections to (2) and (3) have been reviewed above; it is time to return to (1).

Enough time has passed since the 'analogy wars' of the 1960s and 1970s for us to be able to recognize the heavy rhetorical component in much of the discussion surrounding LL. Both Kiparsky and Kuryłowicz, as quoted above, were witheringly dismissive of the possibility that a preform _*aktos_ could have been remade to _*agtos_; Kuryłowicz's remarks in particular go beyond the bounds of responsible generalization.[11] Kiparsky, in rejecting the scenario _*kassos_ ⇒ _*kadtos_ > _*kādtos_ > _*cāssus_ > _cāsus_, set up a straw man; the real question to ask in connection with roots ending in _*-d-_ was—and remains—whether early pre-Latin _*kassos_ could have been remade, not to _*kadtos_, but to _*ka**ds**os_ (> _*kādsos_ > _*cāssus_ > _cāsus_), with _*-d-_ restored and _*-s-_ retained (cf. the _s_-variant of the suffix in _lāpsus_ (: _lābor_ 'glide'), _mulsus_ (: _mulceō_ 'stroke'), _sparsus_ (: _spargō_ 'strew'), etc.). Simply to pose the question is to see that the possibility cannot be dismissed out of hand—an indication that the much-vilified Neogrammarian theory may not be so _ad hoc_ or unnatural as its detractors have maintained.

Unexpected light is shed on the problem of LL by the seemingly unrelated irregular superlative _maximus_ 'greatest' (: positive _magnus_, comparative _maior_ < _*mag-i̯ōs-_). From a second-century inscription (_CIL_ vi. 2080. 17) where it is explicitly marked, we know that the _-a-_ of this form is long. We also know, thanks to the fundamental work on Italic and Celtic superlatives by Warren Cowgill (1970), that the oldest reconstructable preform for _māximus_ is _*magism̥mos_, with the root _*mag-_ of _magnus_ and _maior_ and the Italic and Celtic superlative suffix _*-is-m̥mo-_.[12] There is only one way that the _-ā-_ of _māximus_ could have come to be long: syncope of _*-i-_ brought

ferent approach is taken by Kortlandt (1989; 1999), but his glottalic interpretation, which effectively denies the merger of _*-gt-_ and _*-kt-_ in the parent language, is unacceptable.

[11] For counter-examples to Kuryłowicz's claim that voiced/lax + voiceless/tense clusters are impossible in IE languages, we need look no further than English, where such groups are perfectly common at historical morpheme boundaries (_tadpole_, _ragtime_, _magpie_, _bodkin_, _absent_, etc.) and in proper names of non-Anglo-Saxon origin (_Aztec_, _Rabkin_, _Abt_, etc.). A Slavic example is given below.

[12] Older treatments of the superlative in Latin—see e.g. Buck 1933: 215–16 and Leumann 1977: 497–8—are notoriously confused, with fluctuating roles assigned to sequences variously reconstructed _*-m̥mo-_, _*-sm̥mo-_, _*-ism̥mo-_, and _*-issm̥mo-_. For our present purposes, Cowgill's essential result is that the _-x-_ [-ks-] of _maximus_ is not original, but the result of a pre-Latin syncope.

the *-*g*- and the *-*s*- of **magisṃmos* (or perhaps at this stage **magisomos*; cf. Vine 1993: 247 ff.) into contact, and the resulting sequence *-*ags*- developed to -*āks*-, with devoicing of the *-*g*- and lengthening of the preceding vowel. This, of course, is precisely the sound change that we know in a different guise as LL. What the example of *maximus* shows us is (*a*) that Latin at an earlier point in its history tolerated voiced + voiceless obstruent clusters, and (*b*) that such clusters were systematically devoiced with compensatory absorption of the voicing as length by the preceding vowel.[13] Naturally, none of this proves that early pre-Latin **aktos* and **kassos* actually *were* remade to **agtos* and **kadsos*, as we would have to assume under a refurbished Neogrammarian account. But there is now independent evidence that such intermediate preforms, if they ever existed, would indeed have given the attested *āctus*, *cāsus*.

What then *of* the supposed remodelling of **aktos*, **kassos* to **agtos*, **kadsos*—the step denounced as 'phonetically implausible' by Kiparsky and 'clearly unacceptable' by Kuryłowicz? Watkins (1970: 57), in an interesting aside to his main discussion, mentions but does not fully explore a suggestively similar development in certain dialects of Ukrainian and Russian. The relevant facts are discussed by Andersen (1969)[14] and Flier (1978). Proto-Slavic, like Latin, inherited the PIE rule of right-to-left voicing assimilation and the rule of sibilant insertion in dental + dental clusters (> Slavic *-*sT*-). Another change affected the cluster *-*kt*-, which gave PSl. *-*t´*- and East Slavic *-*č*- before high front vowels. Early East Slavic (= Old Russian) thus had infinitive forms like the following:

ved- 'lead' (1 sg. *vedu*)	+	-*ti* (infin.)	>	*vesti* 'to lead'
vez- 'convey' (1 sg. *vezu*)	+	-*ti* (infin.)	>	*vesti* 'to convey'
pek- 'bake' (1 sg. *peku*)	+	-*ti* (infin.)	>	*peči* 'to bake'
bereg- 'guard' (1 sg. *beregu*)	+	-*ti* (infin.)	>	*bereči* 'to guard'

With the syncope of the jers (*ŭ*, *ĭ*), a number of previously disallowed con-

[13] Note that these developments need not have preceded the pre-Latin voicing of intervocalic single *-*s*- to *-*z*-. The change of *-*s*- to *-*z*- (whence later -*r*-) was a purely subphonemic event; both before and after the rule, **magisomos* was phonologically /magisomos/, and the cluster that resulted from the syncope of *-*i*- was phonologically /-gs-/. That the phonological sequence /-gs-/would have been read [-gs-] and not [-gz-] is shown, in the last analysis, by its development to [-ks-] in *māximus*. I am indebted to John Penney for helping me clarify these issues.

Since **magisṃmos* yielded *māximus*, it might have been expected that the parallel **pedisṃmos* 'worst' (cf. *peior* 'worse' < **ped-i̯ōs*-) would yield **pēsimus* (< **pēss*- < **pēts*- < **ped-s*-). The actual form is *pĕssimus*—presumably reflecting the influence of the normal superlative type in -*issimus*, which 'protected' the *-*ss*-of **pēssimus* and triggered shortening of *-*ē*- to -*ĕ*- by the '*littera*-rule'.

[14] Andersen (1969) is the 'forthcoming study' to which Watkins refers his readers (ibid.).

sonant clusters, including combinations of a voiced/lax obstruent with a following voiceless/tense obstruent, were introduced into the East Slavic phonological system. In many dialects, including those which led to Standard Ukrainian, such clusters were maintained. Dialects of this type exploited the new acceptability of voiced + voiceless combinations to introduce a secondary contrast between, for example, (Ukr.) *vesty* 'to lead' and *ve<u>z</u>ty* 'to convey'—the latter 'helped' by the restitution of *-z-* from the present stem. In some varieties of Ukrainian and Russian the process was taken further: forms like *peči* (: *pek-*) and *bereči* (: *bereg-*, Ukr. *bereh-*)[15] were remade to *pekti*, *berehti* or to *pekči*, *berehči*, with the hybrid groups *-kč-*, *-hč-*.

These facts, parallel in almost every respect to the first part of Saussure's scenario for Latin, completely undercut any possible objection to the Neogrammarian approach *in principle*. It remains only to see how an updated Neogrammarian account would work in detail. The first step, clearly, must be to assume that at a stage of Latin following the earliest syncope rules[16]—a stage, for example, when the preform of *māximus* was **magsomos* (*vel sim.*)—root-final **-g-* was restored before suffixes beginning with a voiceless obstruent:

**aktos*, **rektos*, **striktos*	⇒	**agtos*, **regtos*, **strigtos*
(cf. Ukr. *vesty*	⇒	*vezty*)

When the root ended in **-d-*, the sequence **-ss-* (or its predecessor **-ts-*) was remade to the hybrid cluster **-ds-*:

**kassos*, **tussos*, **fissos*	⇒	**kadsos*, **tudsos*, **fidsos*
(cf. Ukr. *bereči*	⇒	*berehči*)[17]

Voiced **-g-* and **-d-* would not, of course, have been restored in synchronically opaque forms like **lassos* 'tired' (< **lad-to-*) and **tussis* 'cough' (< **tud-ti-*), both discussed by Kiparsky (cf. above). On the other hand, when a clear morphological boundary was present, there is no reason to assume that the analogical reintroduction of voicing would have been confined to the perfect passive participle.[18] Thus, for example, the '*faxim*-type'

[15] The consonant transcribed *h* in Ukrainian is a voiced velar fricative, the reflex of PSl. **g*.

[16] Syncope is attested at all periods of Latin (cf. Leumann 1977: 95 ff.); the precise formulation and chronology of the individual rules is of no concern to us here.

[17] This type of contamination, in which the form targeted for analogical renewal is blended with a form that might otherwise have replaced it entirely, is familiar to speakers of English from child language plurals like *feets* (= *feet* × *foots*), *geeses* (= *geese* × *gooses*), etc.

[18] Nor, indeed, is there any reason to rule out the possibility of restorations of the

subjunctive **aksīm*, **aksīs*, **aksīt*, etc. would presumably have been remade to **agsīm*, etc. in tandem with the remodelling of **aktos* to **agtos*.[19] Similarly, the nom. sg. of the word for 'foot', originally **pōs(s)* (< **pōd-s*), was probably remade to **ped-s* at this time, with the 'weak' stem-form **ped-*.[20]

Lachmann's Law proper converted the participles **agtos*, **regtos*, **kadsos*, **tudsos*, etc. to **āktos*, **rēktos*, **kātsos*, **tūtsos* (> *āctus*, *rēctus*, *kā(s)sus*, *tū(s)sus*),[21] and the non-participles **magsomos*, **agsī-*, **peds* to **māksomos*, **āksī-*, **pēts* (> *māximus*, *āxī-*, *pēs(s)*). The rule itself was typologically unremarkable, recalling changes like the lengthening of vowels before devoiced syllable-final obstruents in Polish (cf. *Bóg* < *Bogŭ* 'God', gen. *Boga*; *wódka* < *wodŭka* 'vodka' beside *woda* 'water').[22] Pre-Lat. **-i-* was not subject to LL lengthening (cf. *strĭctus*, *fĭssus*), in keeping with the cross-linguistic tendency of high front vowels to remain short (cf. e.g. OIr. *dét* [d′ɛ:d] 'tooth' < pre-Ir. **dant*, but *-icc* [ig′] 'goes' < pre-Ir. **inket*).

Two forms—*uīsus* with *-ī-* and *sĕssum* with *-ĕ-*—show the 'wrong' Lachmann treatment. *uīsus* 'seen' is evidently a neologism based on the perfect *uīdī* 'saw'; such a form may have been needed because the inherited participle **u̯issus* < **wid-to-*, like its cognates in Celtic (OIr. *-fess*) and Germanic (**wissa-*), had been specialized in the meaning 'known' in the IE dialect

type **missos* ⇒ **mitsos* (: *mittō*) or **i̯ussos* ⇒ **i̯uθsos* (: *iubeō*), involving consonants other than etymological voiced stops. But since there would have been reassimilation without lengthening in such cases, there is no obvious way to recover them.

[19] The length of the *a-* in *āxim*, *-īs*, etc. is guaranteed by the absence of vowel weakening in Plautine forms of the type 3 pl. *adaxint*.

[20] The long vowel of the regular nom. sg. *pēs* is more interesting than may at first appear. Lengthening no longer functions as a synchronic mark of the nom. sg. in Latin; lengthened-grade nominatives normally survive only in cases where they are synchronically perceived as suppletive (e.g. *homō*, stem *homin-* 'man'; *uerrēs*, stem *uerr-* 'boar'), or where the long vowel has been levelled throughout the paradigm (e.g. *uōx*, stem *uōc-* 'voice'; *lēx*, stem *lēg-* 'law'). This makes it hard to see how the remodelled word for 'foot,' with its conspicuously innovated lack of qualitative ablaut, could have acquired an analogical lengthened-grade nom. sg. **pē(d)s*, thereby becoming the only noun in Latin with a nom. sg. in *-V̄-s* and an oblique stem in *-V̆C-*. The assumption of a remade nom. sg. **ped-s*, with subsequent LL-type lengthening, seems much more efficient.

Here too perhaps belongs *coniūnx*, *coniŭg-* 'spouse', if the presence of the nasal in the nom. sg. points to an older, synchronically irregular nom. sg. **coniūx* < (secondary) **-i̯ug-s*. Such 'false' lengthened grades in the nom. sg. would have been natural targets for levelling; this is probably what explains *rēmex* (stem *rēmig-*) 'oarsman', with **-ăx* for expected **-āx* < **-ag-s*).

[21] The simplification of low-level **-ts-* to **-ss-*, of course, is independently motivated by *assistō* < *ad-sistō*, *asserō* < *ad-serō*, and countless other examples.

[22] Example from Pisani (1981); contrast *płot* < *plotŭ* 'wall', gen. *płota*. Lengthening in Polish does not depend on devoicing, however, since it also operates before sonorants (cf. OPol. *dóm* < *domŭ* 'house'; Michael Flier (pers. comm.)).

ancestral to Italic.[23] In the case of *sessum*, the initial pre-LL remodelling was not to **sedsum*, which would have given **sē(s)sum*, but to **sezdsum*, with **sezd-* extracted from the perfect *sēdī* < **sezd-* and the present *sīdō* < **sizdō* 'sit down'. A preform of this shape, with loss of the **-d-* through normal cluster reduction, would almost certainly have given *sĕssum*.[24]

We have thus come full circle. During its brief period in the limelight, LL was made into something much more than it was—a metaphor for the claim that abstract phonology was 'real', that Neogrammarianism and structuralism were different faces of the same bad coin, and that surface-driven analogy was as outdated as the Model T. Today we can take a calmer view of these issues. Both Kiparsky and Kuryłowicz saw LL as a proving ground for extreme positions, the one wishing to attribute almost nothing, and the other almost everything, to analogy. In fact, the truth lies somewhere in between. Sound change and analogy are both primary mechanisms of linguistic change, and the results of their interaction are varied and often surprising. LL, as a sound change that operated mainly on inputs created by analogy, is interesting in its own right. In the last analysis, however, its claim to a place in the history of linguistics stems not from what it is but from what it is not.

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[23] Alternatively, of course, one could take the view—much less likely in my opinion—that LL *did* apply to **-i-*, and that phonologically regular **strīctus*, **fī(s)sus*, **scī(s)sus* were analogically shortened on the model of *pingō* : *pĭctus*, *fingō* : *fĭctus*, etc.

[24] Cf. n. 13. Phonologically, **sezdsum* would have been /sesdsum/, which with deletion of the **-d-* would have given /sessum/. To be sure, no exact parallel is quotable apart from the now largely discredited derivation of *cēdō* 'yield' : *cessī* : *cessus* from **ke-zd-ō*, **ke-zd-s-*, **ke-zd-to-* (*IEW* 887).

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31

Old English *maþelian*, *mæþlan*, *mǣlan*

Don Ringe

1 Introduction

There is a group of Old English (OE) verbs meaning 'speak (formally)', attested mostly in verse, that are obviously derived from the noun *mæþl* 'assembly, council, advice, discourse'. One of these verbs, *maþelian,* is a weak verb of class II; the others, *mæþlan* and *mǣlan*, are weak verbs of class I. Examination of the distribution of these verbs in the corpus of OE verse reveals a startling fact: *maþelian* is attested only in the preterite 3sg. *maþelode*, always at the end of a first half-line of metrical type A or D with the subject immediately preceding; and though the pattern of attestation of the other two verbs is not so neat, they are practically excluded from the position in which *maþelode* is always found.

Anyone familiar with formulaic oral poetry[1] can hardly avoid the suspicion that these three verbs are etymologically a single lexical item which has somehow been split, either in the poetic tradition or in the transmission of the texts. In this paper I shall investigate that hypothesis and show that there must be some truth in it, but that the whole truth is more complex. The distribution of the verbs in verse did result from the manipulation of formulae, but all three verbs employed were linguistically 'real' at some point in the history of OE. They did not, however, all originate at the same time or in the same way.

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[1] Almost all OE verse, including Christian religious verse, fits this description. Lord (2000) is perhaps the best general introduction to oral poetry. On its formal characteristics see especially Parry (1971) (a volume of collected papers, some first published half a century earlier); but note that Parry actually understates his case. For instance, he demands an exceptionless one-to-one matching of metrical template, wording, and information conveyed for any unit to be recognized as a 'formula'. More recent work (e.g. Hoekstra 1965) has demonstrated that systems of formulae can be flexible and sophisticated.

2 The Distribution of Forms in Old English Verse

I begin with a description of the distribution of these verbs in the surviving corpus of OE poetry, based on Bessinger (1978).

The class II weak verb *maþelian* occurs only in the preterite 3sg. *maþelode* (variously spelt). It appears 44 times, always at end of the first half-line, in poems of every period. In 42 instances it is preceded by a polysyllabic name (e.g. *Bēowulf maþelode*, or *Elene maþelode*). The remaining two examples are preceded by monosyllabic nouns:

mon maþelade, sē þe mē gesægde *Riddle* 38. 5
weard maþelode ðǣr on wicge sæt *Beowulf* 286

It is not immediately clear whether we are in the presence of one or two formulae, but it is clear that all the half-lines in question are of type A or type D; that will be important later in our discussion.

The class I weak verb *mæþlan*[2] occurs only seven times, always in the present tense and mostly in the infinitive:

þe ic þurh mīnne mūð meðlan onginne *Andreas* 1440
mihtigne god, mæðlan gehȳrde *Genesis* 524
þonne ·ħ· cwacað, gehȳreð cyning mæðlan *Christ* 797
tō were mīnum wordum mæðlan *Genesis* 2220
tō his winedryhtne wordum mæðlan *Guthlac* 1202
wordum mæðlan þe him bið on þā wynstran hond *Christ* 1363
tō þām ēadgestum ǣrest mæðleð *Christ* 1337

The only clear formula is *wordum mæðlan*, on which see further immediately below. None of the poems in question dates from later than the ninth century.

The class I weak verb *mǣlan* and its compounds occur 18 times, all but once in the preterite. In nine instances we find the formula *wordum mǣlde* as the second half-line; a tenth example varies the formula slightly:

on wera þrēate wordum mǣldon *Elene* 537

This is obviously the preterite variant of *wordum mæðlan* (see above); it occurs in poems of every period. The remaining eight examples exhibit much less uniformity:

yrre andswarode, eorlum onmǣlde *Daniel* 310
mǣlde for mannum. Man wrīdode *Andreas* 767

[2] One would expect *meþlan*—the form that actually occurs in *Andreas* 1440—by i-umlaut; but, as is well known, *æ* tends strongly to be restored by analogy with related forms (Campbell 1962: 76). See §5 below for further discussion.

þæs þe Moyses iū mǣlde tō lēodum *Seasons for Fasting* 90
Moyses mǣlde, and wē þā mearce sceolan *Seasons for Fasting* 43
Adam gemǣlde and tō Euan spræc *Genesis* 790
Offa gemǣlde, æscholt āscōc *Maldon* 230
Lēofsunu gemǣlde and his linde āhōf *Maldon* 244
on mīnum mōdsefan mǣlan wille *Paris Psalter*, *Psalm* 84. 7. 2

We have one present infinitive (the last example cited) in a position in which we also find *mæðlan,* and of the preterite forms four examples of (*ge*)*mǣlde* occur in the same position in which we find *maþelode*.

However, the five forms just noted share a single striking characteristic: none is found in an early poem composed in OE. The example from *Genesis* is from the section known as 'Genesis B' (*Genesis* 235–851), which was clearly translated from Old Saxon (see Krapp 1931: xxv–xxvi with references); the first half-line of 790 is simply a close rendering of Old Saxon (OS) *Adam gimahalda*. The remaining four examples are all from very late poems, one of which, *The Battle of Maldon*, is conspicuous for the relative density of Scandinavian loanwords that it exhibits. I shall argue below that these examples of (*ge*)*mǣlan* could in fact reflect Scandinavian influence; but even if they do not, their appearance in late OE verse clearly has no bearing on the origin of these verbs, since the continuing evolution of the tradition of OE oral poetry must have involved continuing modification of inherited formulae, leading to the use in new metrical positions of forms which had originally been appropriate only in other metrical positions.

If the forms discussed in the preceding paragraph are put aside, the remaining forms exhibit a clear pattern:

(*a*) the present is always *mæðlan*;
(*b*) the preterite is normally *mǣlde*;
(*b′*) but at the end of a first half-line of type A or D we instead find *maþelode*.

It is immediately apparent that in the early poetry there is only a single class I weak verb of this etymological family, namely *mæþlan*, of which the preterite stem is *mǣld-* (as already implied by Luick 1914–21: 843, §638 n. 5). But the oddly restricted distribution of *maþelode* suggests that it too somehow arose by a lexical split of the class I verb in the course of the development of the OE tradition of oral poetry. That is, we must address the possibility that *maþelode* is an artificial creation of the poetic tradition, of the sort familiar in Homeric Greek.

The following sections will examine this hypothesis in detail, beginning with the most obvious objection that can be raised against it. The hypothesis

will prove to be only partly confirmed, and will develop in some unexpected directions.

3 Etymology

An obvious difficulty for the hypothesis just stated is that both the class I and the class II weak verbs in question are believed to have clear cognates in other Germanic languages. If that is true, OE cannot have inherited only a single verb of this etymological family. However, closer examination of the evidence reveals a different picture.

There is no question that OE inherited the class I weak verb *mæþlan~mǣlan* from Proto-Germanic (PG).[3] Solidly attested cognates include Gothic *maþljan*, Old Norse (ON) *mæla*, OS *mahalian*, and Old High German (OHG) *mahalen*, all meaning 'speak'. The noun which is the transparent derivational basis of this verb is also attested throughout the family: cf. Gothic *maþl* 'market place', ON *mál* 'speech', OE *mæþl* 'assembly, council, advice, discourse', OS *mahal* 'judicial assembly, speech', and OHG *mahal* 'judicial assembly'. The reconstruction of a PG word-family **maþlą* 'assembly', **maþlijaną* 'speak (in an assembly), give a speech' is completely straightforward.

The situation is very different for OE *maþelian*. Holthausen (1934: s.v.) lists Old Frisian (OF) *formēlia* and OHG *mahalōn* as cognates, but neither cognation will bear closer scrutiny. Holthausen (1985: 70) lists (under *mēlia*) an OF compound *urmēlia* 'announce, notify' ('vermelden'), which is said to be cognate with OHG *mahalōn,* but on p. 166 of the same volume Hofmann corrects this to (weak class I) *urmēla* 'give up, renounce', citing OHG *mahalen* as a cognate. It thus appears that the OF weak class II verb is a ghost word. By contrast, OHG *mahalōn* is very well attested, but it does not mean 'speak'; it means 'accuse, take to court' (cf. e.g. Raven 1967: 95)—precisely as we should expect if it is independently derived from the OHG noun *mahal* '(judicial) assembly'. The relation between OE *maþelian* and OHG *mahalōn* is therefore almost certainly one of parallel development, not true cognation.

We thus have no reason to believe that OE inherited a weak class II verb of this etymological family. It follows that *maþelode* is a form whose origin not only can but must be explained within the history of OE. That is consistent with the hypothesis under investigation.

[3] On the difference in shape between the two stems see §6 below.

4 Attestations of the Verbs in Prose and their Survival in Middle English

A further difficulty for the hypothesis advanced in §2 is that both *maþelian* and *mǣlan* are attested in late West Saxon (WS) OE prose. Class II *maþelian* is attested in Byrhtferth's *Handboc* (cf. Kluge 1885: 307, 322, 332) and in a very late fragment of a *Body and Soul* text (cited in Rissanen 1998: 170).[4] Class I *mǣlan* is also attested in Byrhtferth's *Handboc* (Kluge 1885: 322) and in one manuscript of the translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* (Hecht 1900: 103, critical apparatus to l. 32).[5] But this difficulty, too, is more apparent than real. It seems clear enough that the semi-standardized late WS chancery dialect became increasingly divorced from the spoken dialects of OE (so that the sudden proliferation of dialects in our early Middle English (ME) documents is simply an artefact of the chancery tradition's demise). It is reasonable to suggest that a word which had originally been confined to poetry could have been imported into such an artificial dialect even in prose, and that is just as true of a word that might have been created artificially in the poetic tradition as of a linguistically real word that had earlier been judged appropriate only for verse.

On the other hand, the survival of any of these words into ME is a fact of the utmost importance, because it demonstrates their linguistic reality. What we find is an interesting pattern of survival.

The class I complex of *mæðlan*~*mǣlan* survives robustly in ME, appearing as *medlen*~*mellen*~*mēlen* 'speak' throughout the ME period, though increasingly confined to the north and the west midlands in later ME (see the *Oxford English Dictionary* s.vv. *mell*, *mele*, and the *Middle English Dictionary* s.v. *mēlen*). It is surprising that a word appropriate chiefly to verse in OE literature should survive the demise of the OE literary tradition, but that is evidently what happened. This confirms the linguistic reality of the OE class I weak verb or verbs, precisely as we should expect from the pattern of cognates in other Germanic languages.

Class II *maþelian* also survives, but barely. It seems to be confined to the south-west and the south-west Midlands (cf. the *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. *mathele* and the *Middle English Dictionary* s.v. *mathelen*). Nearly all the citations given are from the *Ancrene Riwle*, in which the verb ap-

[4] I am grateful to Patrick Stiles for calling the latter reference to my attention.

[5] However, the manuscript in which *mǣlde* 'spoke' occurs is the least reliable of the three (Hecht 1900: vii–viii); the others read respectively *eldode* and *yllde*, both 'hesitated' or 'delayed', which fits the context much better and must be the original reading. Thus *mǣlde* is probably a scribal error, and its appearance in this passage need mean no more than that the scribe was familiar with the word.

pears as *meaðelin* and has a pejorative meaning 'talk (too much), prate, gossip' which also appears in its derivatives (cf. Tolkien 1962: 40, 43, 48, etc.). What sort of relation can we infer between the OE verb and its ME descendant?

In the first place, we probably cannot escape the conclusion that the class II weak verb *maþelian* was linguistically real in OE. Perhaps it is not completely impossible that *maþelian* might have arisen as an artefact of the oral poetic tradition, have been borrowed from the language of verse into the late WS chancery dialect, and from there have been adopted into ordinary speech, but that is very improbable; strictly literary lexical creations seldom have any discernible impact on vernacular speech.

Yet the fact that *maþelian* has no genuine cognates in any other Germanic language argues strongly that it was created within the history of OE. In principle it could have been formed from the noun *mæþl* at any time, since the second class of weak verbs was the one completely productive class throughout the history of OE (cf. Campbell 1962: 210). But there are two indications that it was created relatively early. The back vowel *a* must have been introduced into the root syllable by the rule backing *æ* before single consonants and many types of clusters when a back vowel followed (Campbell 1962: 60–1); possibly the rule could have operated at almost any period, since *æ* was rare in the root syllables of class II weak verbs at all stages of the language, but it is likeliest to have occurred if *maþelian* was created when the rule was still fully productive. Since the backing rule is clearly older than the palatalization of velars, the Mercian 'second fronting', and i-umlaut—all of which occurred before 600—and was no longer productive in West Saxon around 900, a date in or before the eighth century for the creation of *maþelian* is heavily favoured on probabilistic grounds.[6] A piece of direct evidence confirms that inference: Latin *cōntiōnātur* is glossed as *maðalade* in the *Corpus Glossary* (Lindsay 1921: 48), which probably dates from the decades around 800 (ibid., p. xiii; Brunner 1965: 9) but contains substantially older material. (Note also the attestations in other glossaries collected in Rissanen 1998: 170–1.) It follows that the appearance

[6] The second syllable of *maþelian* arose by a sequence of natural linguistic changes which is relatively well understood (cf. Campbell 1962: 151–2, 158–9). Monosyllabic full words ending in CR-clusters, like *mæþl*, developed a variable anaptyctic vowel before their word-final sonorants; in fact *mæþel* is also attested in OE. The anaptyctic vowels then spread by analogy to inflected and derived forms in which a vowel followed the cluster. Still later, sequences of two unstressed back vowels underwent dissimilation, the first becoming *e*; thus the anaptyctic vowel transferred into *maþelode* would in due course have become *e* no matter what it was originally. None of these changes affected the metrical suitability of the form.

of *maþelode* in *Beowulf*, almost certainly an eighth-century poem,[7] does not reflect scribal modernization of the text.

Attempting to determine the dialect distribution of *maþelian* raises interesting questions. From the fact that it occurs in prose almost exclusively in late WS and the *Ancrene Riwle* we might reasonably infer that it was a south-western word. But if it is true that the ME dialect of the *Ancrene Riwle* is more or less the direct descendant of the OE dialect of the *Vespasian Psalter* (Brunner 1965: 8), why does the verb not occur in the *Vespasian Psalter*? We might suggest that it was a WS word in the OE period which was borrowed into the neighbouring dialect of the south-west Midlands some time around the transition from OE to ME; but in that case its appearance in early OE verse, even in very restricted environments, is surprising, since that corpus of verse was almost certainly written in Anglian dialects. Alternatively, we might suggest that *maþelian* did occur in south-western Mercian OE as well, but that there was some stylistic reason why the glossator of the *Vespasian Psalter* found it inappropriate. The meagre evidence from prose does not permit further inferences.

But if both class I *mæþlan*~*mǣlan* and class II *maþelian* were linguistically real, why should they appear in complementary distribution in early OE verse? Also, why should there have been two distinct forms of the class I verb? Let us first consider how the observed distribution of *maþelode* might have arisen in the tradition of OE formulaic poetry.

5 The Use of *maþelode* in Verse

If *maþelian* is an OE innovation which in verse appears in exactly two metrical environments, it is likely that it replaced the inherited class I verb in those environments for metrical reasons. We must therefore begin our investigation with a discussion of the metrical considerations involved.[8]

The only metrical environments in which *maþelode* occurs are at the ends of type A and type D half-lines. Let us first consider type A half-lines (the simpler type). The second half of a type A half-line is reasonably tightly constrained: in its most basic form it must consist of a single prosodically heavy syllable (i.e. one containing a long vowel or closed by a consonant cluster, symbolized here by H) which bears primary stress, followed by a single syllable which bears no stress (×). For each of those two elements a

7 This is argued on metrical grounds by Fulk (1992: 348–92, esp. 390); an 8th-cent. date is confirmed by an unpublished analysis of the poem's syntax by Susan Pintzuk and Anthony Kroch.

8 The best introduction to OE verse is perhaps still Sievers (1893). Bliss (1962) and Hutcheson (1995) provide far more detail, though some of their conclusions can be challenged.

limited number of substitutions is permitted. In the first place, the stressless syllable can be replaced by a prosodically heavy syllable bearing weak stress; the most obvious examples are the second elements of compounds, but derivational suffixes which end in consonant clusters or contained a long vowel (before such vowels were shortened in the late prehistoric period) are also classed as weakly stressed. Secondly, any heavy syllable bearing any stress can be replaced by a light syllable bearing the same degree of stress plus a completely stressless syllable (a light syllable being one which ends in a short vowel, symbolized here by L). Finally, at the end of a type A half-line (though not in most other circumstances) the sequence heavy–fully stressed plus unstressed can be replaced by light–fully stressed plus unstressed. Thus the following sequences are permitted as the second half of a type A half-line:

Ḣ́ ×	Ḣ́ L̀ ×
Ĺ × ×	Ĺ × L̀ ×
Ḣ́ H̀	Ĺ ×
Ĺ × H̀	

The seven permitted types are respectively exemplified by the second halves of the following half-lines:

þrym gefrūnon *Beowulf* 2b
ellen fremedon *Beowulf* 3b
īsig ond ūtfūs *Beowulf* 33a
gūðsearo geatolīc *Beowulf* 215a
word wǣron wynsume *Beowulf* 612a
mōdges merefaran *Beowulf* 502a
herespēd gyfen *Beowulf* 64b

On the other hand, a sequence of a heavy fully stressed syllable and two (or more) completely unstressed syllables—that is, H́ × ×—is absolutely forbidden at the end of a type A half-line.

Type D is more complex, but also more tightly constrained. Any type D line contains, in principle, two fully stressed heavy syllables. The first is initial to the half-line and can be, but need not be, followed by an unstressed syllable. The second fully stressed heavy syllable is followed by yet a third heavy syllable with secondary stress; either before or after this latter syllable there is an additional syllable that is completely unstressed. The usual resolutions are allowed (see above); in addition, when two stressed heavy syllables are adjacent, the second can be replaced by a light syllable with the same degree of stress (and no unstressed syllable following—that is, this is simply substitution, not resolution). Finally, a non-initial fully stressed

syllable can be filled by the second half of a compound word, so long as the following syllable is still more weakly stressed. The subtypes relevant to our discussion are those in which an unstressed syllable occurs at the end of the half-line. Taking the half-line-initial stressed syllable (and its following unstressed syllable, if any) as given, the permitted shapes for the second part of a type D half-line ending in an unstressed syllable are the following:

> H́ H̀ ×
> Ĺ H̀ × (if the first element of the half-line is H́, not H́ ×)
> H́ L̀ ×
> Ĺ × H̀ ×

They are exemplified respectively by the second parts of the following half-lines:

> fromum feohgiftum *Beowulf* 21a
> þēodcyninga *Beowulf* 2a
> lēof landfruma *Beowulf* 31a
> hātost heaþoswāta *Beowulf* 1668a

But two (or more) completely unstressed syllables at the end of the half-line seem to be excluded, just as in type A.[9]

Let us now test the hypothesis that *maþelode* is a metrical adaptation of the preterite 3sg. of *mæþlan* by the following experiment. We begin with the shape which the relevant form ought to have exhibited at the stage before the syncope of short vowels occurred in the prehistory of OE. We then apply the known regular sound changes to that form in chronological order, and after each change we examine the metrical characteristics of the form and consider whether and how the poets might have been motivated to modify it.

Before syncope occurred, the pret. 3sg. of **meþlijan* or **mæþlijan*[10] ought to have been **meþlidǣ* or **mæþlidǣ*. The first alternative given for each form exhibits the regular effect of i-umlaut, but it is clear that in class I weak verbs **æ* was extensively restored on the basis of the nouns and adjectives from which the verbs were derived, in this case **mæþl* (Campbell 1962: 76); in the following discussion I shall assume restoration of **æ* in this verb. At this stage the form could not occur at the end of type A or D half-lines, since it ended in two fully unstressed syllables.[11]

[9] This contradicts part of Hutcheson's analysis, but see n. 13 below.

[10] This is the syllabic shape of the infinitive inherited from Proto-West Germanic; I can find no conclusive evidence that it was reduced to a disyllable at any date before the regular OE syncope of short vowels in internal open syllables.

[11] Of course it is possible that the metrical constraints of OE verse evolved as sound

After syncope had occurred, the pret. 3sg. of **mæþl(j)an*[12] ought to have been **mæþldǣ*. In its new disyllabic shape it could be used at the end of type A half-lines, and presumably it was so used. It would continue to be useful in that metrical position so long as further sound changes did not disrupt its syllable count.

Consonant clusters with internal sonorants, like **þld*, were eliminated in OE; in fact *mǣlde* appears to be a direct descendant of **mæþldǣ* in which **þ* has been lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (so that the metrical structure of the form did not change; see §2 above and §6 below). But we should not necessarily expect every dialect of OE to eliminate the complex consonant cluster **þld* in the same way. For instance, some dialects might have inserted an epenthetic vowel; such a change is attested in early WS, where we find *þrysmde* 'oppressed', *nemde* (< **nemnde*) 'named', *seglde* 'sailed', etc. beside *bytledon* (pl.) 'built' (Cosijn 1886: 163, Brunner 1965: 313). But however the cluster was eliminated, the result would have been an irregular verb paradigm. In some communities such a paradigm would be learnt by the children and would persist, but in others the children might regularize it—a very common type of error in native-language acquisition. An obvious way to regularize it would be to introduce the stem vowel **-i-*, which had not been syncopated in the preterites of class I weak verbs with light root-syllables; the result would be pres. **mæþlan*, preterite **mæþlidǣ*. However, a restored **mæþlidǣ* would have been just as objectionable metrically as its identical ancestor had been before syncope had occurred.

Suppose that a traditional oral poet had learnt to use type A formulae ending in **mæþldǣ*, but began to pronounce the form **mæþlidǣ* because that had become the normal spoken form in his dialect, thus rendering the formulae unmetrical. What would his reaction probably have been? At first he might simply have accepted the metrical violation, on the grounds that the formulae were validated by tradition; that is clearly what happened to formulae affected by contraction and anaptyxis at a slightly later stage of the tradition of OE verse (cf. e.g. Fulk 1992: 66–121). Eventually, though, the tradition collectively either adjusts or abandons such 'deformed' formulae.

changes affecting syllable structure occurred, but that possibility has never been rigorously investigated. The outcome should in any case have been that described in the following paragraph: once the preterite of this verb had assumed the syllabic shape actually attested in OE, it should have been available for use at the end of type A and D half-lines in the shapes in which they are attested in OE verse.

[12] The semivowel must have been dropped after a heavy syllable at some point subsequent to syncope, but it is not clear when that occurred.

I suggest that *maþelode* began its long but tenuous career in OE verse as an attempt on the part of an oral poet to 'save' formulae ending in **mæþldǣ* in an Anglian dialect in which that form had been replaced by unmetrical **mæþlidǣ*. The crucial difference between the two preterites lies in the etymological source of the vowel preceding the past-tense suffix *-*d*-: whereas in class I weak verbs it is *-*i*-, which was not stressable at any stage of the language, in class II weak verbs it is long *-*ō*-, which because of its length could bear weak stress in the period before medial long vowels were shortened. That was the rationale for the introduction of the ancestor of *maþelode* into the formulaic tradition. As we saw in §4, it is unlikely that a poet actually invented such a verb; probably he availed himself of an existing verb which he would not otherwise have considered suitable for use in poetry. A plausible reason for the prior unsuitability of the verb is simply that it was a neologism, possibly still uncommon and in any case felt to be less 'correct' than the inherited class I weak verb.

It is possible that **mæþlidǣ* was replaced by **maþlōdǣ* when the medial vowel of the latter was still long; if that is what happened, it might have had an interesting consequence. So long as the medial vowel of **maþlōdǣ* was long, its syllable would have been heavy; the result would have been that unmetrical type A half-lines of the form

Ḣ́ × Ḣ́ × ×

would have been replaced by metrical type D half-lines of the form

Ḣ́ × Ḣ́ Ḣ̀ ×

This might have led directly to the creation of the prototype of the type D formula exemplified by *weard maþelode*.

That is not the only possibility, however. The derivational suffix of class II weak verbs continues to be treated as stressable for metrical purposes throughout the history of OE metre, long after it had been shortened and must have become completely unstressed in normal speech.[13] As a result, a typical half-line ending in **maþlodǣ* would have fitted the template not of type D

Ḣ́ × Ḣ́ Ḣ̀ ×

[13] This is a further example of the failure of oral metrics to 'catch up' with the phonological development of the language. Type D half-lines ending in words of this type are analysed by Hutcheson as ending in two completely unstressed syllables. That analysis must be descriptively correct for, say, the 10th cent.; whether it would have fitted the facts in the 8th cent. is much less clear. In the 6th cent. the analysis of Sievers and others, according to which these syllables count as weakly stressed, must have been fully descriptive of the facts (assuming that the OE verse tradition already existed at that time, as is very likely).

(as suggested above) but of type A (or D?)[14]

H́ × H́ L̀ ×.

Thus in principle the formula could have been ‘fixed’, and the new verb created, just as well after the shortening of long vowels in open unstressed medial syllables. Moreover, the result would have led just as easily to the creation of the type of *weard maþelode.*

When did this particular vowel shortening occur? Clearly it cannot have preceded the syncope of short vowels in unstressed open syllables, since in that case the vowel would have been syncopated. But shortening need not have followed syncope; it is also possible that syncope of short vowels and shortening of long vowels in that position were simultaneous, being perhaps part of the same phonetic process. If they were simultaneous, the second scenario advanced above must be what actually happened; if shortening of the long vowel occurred substantially later than syncope, then the first scenario is also possible. Simultaneous syncope and shortening would reduce to almost nothing the period during which an unmetrical formula was tolerated, but that is not an argument in its favour, since we know that unmetrical formulae are not always adjusted immediately.

My explanation of the introduction of weak class II *maþelode* into verse is thus feasible regardless of the exact chronology of syncope and shortening; both the introduction of the verb into verse and its restriction to a specific metrical environment can be explained without serious difficulty on the hypothesis that it was originally employed to ‘save’ a formula that had become unmetrical.

If *mǣlde* is a sound-change outcome of **mæþldǣ*, it must originally have been characteristic of a different dialect, in which *-*i*- was not reinserted to break up the heavy cluster. The formulae in which it occurs must therefore have reached the common OE verse tradition through a dialectally different local tradition.

Let us now turn to the two class I weak verbs and see how they can be explained as divergent outcomes of a unitary prototype.

6 The History of *mæþlan* and *mǣlan*

The best argument that the two class I weak verbs were originally a single verb is the distribution of forms in early OE verse, in which the present

[14] The indeterminate analysis of such half-lines is one of many indications that Sievers’s ‘five types’ theory is no more than a descriptive catalogue, not a ‘theory’ in the usual sense (as Sievers himself emphasized).

stem is always *mæþl-* and the past always *mǣl-d-*. It is reasonable to suggest that the heavy consonant cluster of the past tense **mæþld-* (< **mæþlid-* by syncope) was simplified by the loss of **þ* with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (as suggested already by Luick 1914–21: 843, §638 n. 5). The present stem *mǣl-* (which occurs only once, in the late *Paris Psalter*; see §2 above) can then have been backformed to the past; the noun *mǣl* 'speech' (which occurs only in gen. pl. *mǣla* at *Maldon* 212) can have been backformed to the new verb *mǣlan* that resulted.

So far as I can discover, there are no exact parallels to such a development. The handbooks typically cite as parallels a noun *stǣl*—sometimes implying that it is closely connected with *staþol* 'base, foundation, position'—and a verb *stǣlan* (cf. e.g. Campbell 1962: 171; Brunner 1965: 163). But the distribution of relevant forms is completely different, and the precise etymological relations of these words are far from clear. The noun *staþol* clearly reflects a disyllabic Proto-West Germanic (PWG) form **staþul* < PG **staþulaz* 'place' (cf. ON *stǫðull* 'milking-shed'), with a suffix different from that of **maþlą*. The verb *stǣlan* means 'impute to, accuse of; confess; avenge', and its present is *stǣlan* even in early verse (e.g. at *Christ* 1374); no verb '*stæþlan*' is ever attested. A noun **stǣl* actually seems to be attested only in the compound adjective *stǣlwierþe* 'serviceable'.[15] In principle its sound sequence *-ǣlw-* could have developed from **-æþlw-* by the same sound change that gave rise to *mǣlde*, if only there were any reason to suppose that the first element had originally been **stæþl-*; but '*stæþl*', too, is nowhere attested. Finally, the attested meanings of *stǣl-* and *stǣlan* have not obviously developed from the earlier meaning *'place' which **stæþl* is supposed to have had. I conclude that, whatever the etymology of these words may be, they provide no secure parallel for the development of *mǣl* and *mǣlan*.

There is also a complicating factor in that development. The ON cognate of *mæþl* is *mál* 'speech', which has a further derivative *mæli* 'voice; saying', and the ON cognate of *mæþlan* is *mæla* (past *mælti*). It is likely enough that the ON verb, at least, was borrowed into northern OE after the Scandinavian invasion and settlement of the ninth century; of course it would have coincided in form with OE *mǣlan* (if such a verb already existed), but it need not have shared the apparent restriction to 'high style' of the OE verb. That would make it easier to understand how *mēlen* survived in ME (cf. already Björkman 1900: 104). It is even possible that the hapax noun *mǣl* reflects a borrowing of ON *mæli* (Björkman, loc. cit.)—or perhaps better, considering its meaning, a loan translation of ON *mál*.

[15] The noun *stæl* 'place' must have a short vowel, since it undergoes retraction in oblique forms (e.g. in *on stale* 'in place (of)').

That is not the usual assessment of OE *mǣlan*. Though Björkman (1900: 104) does list the word as a possible ON loan, Campbell (1962: 171) simply records it as an OE word exhibiting an unusual (and irregular) sound change. Gordon (1937: 43, in the critical apparatus to l. 26) strenuously denies that the word is Scandinavian, citing its occurrence in pre-invasion poetry and the supposedly parallel word-family of *stǣlan*; of the sound change involved he remarks that 'there are still more Anglian instances' (though he cites none and I cannot find any). But it appears that these authors are implicitly relying on a methodological principle which is indefensible. The idea seems to be that if we cannot *demonstrate* that an English word is a Scandinavian loan, we *must assume* that it is a native word; that is, descent from pre-invasion English is treated as a default, to be preferred in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. But argument by default is appropriate only when general principles are involved, or in cases in which a particular type of development is universal (or nearly so); for instance, we assume that a particular sound change is regular in the absence of evidence to the contrary because observation of linguistic change in progress and of the historical record shows that an overwhelming majority of sound changes are, in fact, regular. Such a line of argument cannot be applied to contingent events, which might have happened one way or another; and the possible borrowing of an ON word into OE is obviously such an event.

So if we ask, 'Is ME *mēlen* descended from OE *mǣlan* or ON *mæla*?', the correct answer is 'either or both' (as implied by Björkman 1900: 104)—not 'the OE word, since we don't need (!) the ON one'. We could even suggest that, because none of the manuscripts of verse in which *mǣlan* occurs (in any form) pre-dates the Scandinavian invasion, its appearance in our texts might conceivably reflect the Scandinavianization of some more original form of *mæþlan*; but the neat distribution of forms in the early poems tells against that hypothesis.

A final point concerns the shape of the class I weak verbs. Comparison of OHG *mahalen* (and its derivational source, the noun *mahal*), OS *mahalian*, and OE *mǣlan* might suggest that the stem **maþl-* had become **mahl-* by sound change already in PWG. The shape of the ON verb might even suggest that such a development occurred in the last common parent of North and West Germanic. The *-t-* of the ON past *mælti* (in place of the usual *-d-*) shows that the *-l-* of the verb stem must once have been voiceless; evidently the inherited **þ* devoiced the following **l* and was then lost, possibly through an intermediate stage **h* (Streitberg 1896: 141), and those developments must have occurred before the voicing of medial **þ* in

the eighth century (Noreen 1923: 161–2), possibly long before. Is it possible that OE actually inherited a verb **mahlijan*?

In fact it is not, for two quite different reasons. In the first place, the **æ* that developed from inherited **a* was invariably 'broken' to **ea* when **h* followed immediately; the new diphthong was i-umlauted to a non-low vowel or diphthong in all dialects, and **h* in voiced environments was not lost until much later. Thus if OE inherited this verb with the sequence **hl* already present, it should have developed as follows:

**mahlijan* > **mæhlijan* > **meahlijan* >

(1) (WS) **miehlijan* > **miehljan* > **miehlan* > 'mīelan'
or (2) (Anglian) **mehlijan* > **mehljan* > **mehlan* > 'mēlan'

(see especially Campbell 1962: 56–7, 79–80, 104–5). Even if the low diphthong **ea* had somehow been restored in the root-syllable by analogy after the period of i-umlaut, the result should still have been **meahlan* > '*mēalan*' (in all dialects; note that the loss of **h* with compensatory lengthening before sonorant consonants preceded the Anglian 'smoothing' of non-high diphthongs, cf. Campbell 1962: 97, 105). Since the form that actually occurs is different from all the outcomes just calculated, it follows that OE cannot have inherited such a form as **mahlijan*. Given the overwhelming regularity of sound change, this argument is clinching.

The second difficulty in positing inheritence of a stem **mahl-* in OE is the hard fact that *mæþl* and *mæþlan*, with a surviving sequence *þl*, are very well attested. To account for the co-occurrence of *mæþl-* and *mǣl-* we cannot plausibly posit an unconditioned, but inconsistent, sound change (as Campbell 1962: 171 seems to do), since such changes are very rare; we can only suggest conditioned sound change, or some combination of conditioned sound change and analogical change. But the attempt to construct such a scenario for any period before the separate history of OE runs into interesting difficulties, as follows.

The Proto-Germanic noun and verb in question are reconstructable as **maþlą* and **maþlijaną* (past 3sg. **maþlidē*) respectively, and neither underwent any significant change before the separation of Norse from PWG. At that stage all instances of **þl* in the paradigms of both words occurred between vowels, so any change of **þl* to **hl* must have affected intervocalic **þl*. But since the vowel preceding the cluster was always **a*, the conditioning factor for a conditioned change of **þl* to **hl* must have been the *following* vowel—a very implausible suggestion, given that most sound changes are phonetically natural. It follows that the ON and the West Germanic developments must be parallel innovations which occurred (at

the earliest) after the independent loss of (some) word-final short vowels in those two branches of the Germanic family—or perhaps a change which spread across an already well-differentiated dialect continuum.[16]

By the PWG period the verb had not undergone any changes relevant to the present discussion, but the noun had: its nom.-acc. sg. was now endingless **maþl*. Of course the other forms of the noun's paradigm still exhibited vowels after the stem-final cluster, but the nom.-acc. sg. could have been salient enough for the results of any sound change which affected it to have spread to the rest of the paradigm by analogy, while the results of any sound change which failed to affect it should have tended to be eliminated from the rest of the paradigm by analogy. At this stage, then, we have a reasonable chance of explaining the split between *mæþl-* and *mǣl-* by processes of conditioned sound change and analogy in the noun paradigm. What we need to have happened is this: **þl* must have become **hl* intervocalically but have survived when word-final; it can then have been reintroduced throughout the noun paradigm by analogy with the endingless nom.-acc. sg., and can then have spread from the noun into the derived verb, in OE—while in the continental languages **hl* simply spread by analogy into the nom.-acc. sg. of the noun. But this is not plausible either. Intervocalic consonant clusters are normally split between syllables, the first consonant closing the preceding syllable while the second is the onset of the following syllable. Word-final **þl* and similar clusters, by contrast, were parsed within a single syllable; we know that because words like *mæþl* are scanned as monosyllables in the earliest surviving OE poems, especially in *Beowulf* (cf. Fulk 1992: 66–91). Consonant clusters within syllables exhibit a much greater tendency towards simplification than those which are split between syllables. We should therefore expect the word-final **þl* of nom.-acc. sg. **maþl* to have been simplified, not the intervocalic cluster of all the other forms. But in that case the analogical changes which we must posit are so extensive that the resulting scenario for OE is too complex to credit: we must somehow spread the word-final **hl* of nom.-acc. sg. '**mahl*' into the verb by analogy, then eliminate it from the noun.

There was no further relevant change in the shapes of these paradigms in OE until the regular syncope of short **i* in open syllables gave rise to a cluster **þld* in the past tense of the verb. It therefore appears that the scenario proposed at the beginning of this section is actually the most

[16] The loss of word-final short low vowels must have occurred within the separate history of ON not only because such vowels are written on a few of the earliest Runic monuments, but also because at least one specifically ON sound change, the early devoicing of word-final stops, affected words which had no final vowel in PG (e.g. *batt* 'tied' < **bant* < **band*), but not those which ended in a short low vowel in PG (e.g. *land* 'land' < **landą*).

plausible way to account for the distribution of forms in OE. It follows that the change of **þl* to **hl* in the continental languages was an independent phenomenon.

7 Conclusions

A careful examination of the attestation of the three OE verbs *maþelian*, *mæþlan*, and *mǣlan* and their ME descendants, as well as cognates in other Germanic languages and the regular sound changes that must have affected them, leads to the following conclusions.

(1) OE inherited only a single class I weak verb of this etymological family.
(2) The class II weak verb was derived from the noun *mæþl* early in the independent history of OE. Its pattern of attestation suggests that it was a south-western word, though not completely confined to WS.
(3) The highly restricted attestation of the class II verb in OE verse resulted from an attempt by at least one oral poet to 'save' formulae which had become unmetrical in his dialect by regular sound change; otherwise the class II verb appears to have been considered stylistically unsuitable for verse (perhaps because it was a neologism).
(4) Aside from the phenomenon just described under (3), early OE verse still uses only a single verb, class I *mæþlan* with preterite stem *mǣld-*; the latter developed from **mæþld-* by regular sound change in at least one dialect.
(5) Subsequently a verb *mǣlan* was extracted from the old class I preterite. That development may have been facilitated by a borrowing of ON *mæla* in some dialects.
(6) The loss of **þ* in various forms of this etymological family, often through an intermediate stage **h*, was an independent development in ON, OE, and the continental West Germanic languages.

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32

I nomi delle figure dei miti greci nelle lingue dell'Italia arcaica. The First Traces of Achilles and Hercules in Latin

Helmut Rix

Sul cammino nel quale la cultura greca divenne la cultura europea la prima tappa fu l'Italia. Al sud della terra italica essa rimase cultura greca, portata principalmente da comunità di lingua greca, da comunità che si intendevano—o venivano intese—come *Μεγάλη Ἑλλάς*, 'Magna Grecia'. Più al nord, nella regione tirrenica dell'Italia centrale, questa cultura realizzò per la prima volta la sua capacità di assimilare culture indigene, 'barbariche', e di assimilarsi ad esse. L'Etruria, specialmente la sua parte meridionale, ed il Lazio, con Roma al suo centro, si assunsero il ruolo di provincie della cultura greca, pur senza adottare la lingua di questa e senza rinunciare alle proprie tradizioni. In tal modo esse divennero le prime aree della cultura europea.

L'influsso greco in Italia centrale non si limitava alla cultura materiale, per quanto importante esso fosse in questo campo; comprendeva bensì anche l'area spirituale. In modo palese ed eminente ciò si verificò nella trasmissione dei miti, che sono un'interpretazione del mondo per mezzo di storie facilmente concepibili e raccontabili. A prescindere da pochi precursori (v. p. 437) miti greci erano presenti presso gli Etruschi, come è noto, ma anche presso i Latini, a partire dal sesto secolo a.C., tanto in rappresentazioni artistiche o artigianali su vasi, specchi, gemme o pareti, quanto in didascalie aggiunte a queste rappresentazioni, talvolta anche in dediche. Secondo C. de Simone (1970: 312, 324) furono i negozianti ad introdurre i nomi delle figure mitologiche in Italia. È però immaginabile anche un'altra fonte: poeti greci della tradizione della lirica del coro, seguaci di Stesicoro di Imera, Ibico di Rhegion, Simonide di Keos, che recitavano poemi mitologici in lingua epicorica, per trovare un pubblico nuovo nonché mecenati

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nuovi (un cenno in Rix 1981); neanche semplici raccontafavole di lingua epicorica, ma di origine greca, possono essere esclusi.

In ogni modo i miti greci e i nomi delle figure mitologiche vivevano in Italia nella tradizione orale, da cui dipendeva la tradizione scritta. Ciò risulta dal fatto che questi nomi seguivano i cambi fonetici della lingua ospite. Per l'etrusco basta citare la sincope, la perdita delle vocali brevi all'interno della parola in nonprima sillaba nei primi decenni del sec. V a.C.: in questo periodo ad esempio la forma arcaica del nome gentilizio *Larecena* diventò *Larcna*. Così *Aχile* (=Ἀχιλλεύς) divenne *Aχle*, *Utuze* (='Οδυσσεύς) *Uθste*, *Atalanta* (=Ἀταλάντα) *Atlnta* e *Klutumi*(*s*)*ta* (=Κλυταιμήστρα) *Clutmsta* (gli esempi non sincopati sono della prima metà del sec. V, gli altri in parte più recenti, v. de Simone 1968 s.vv.). Se i nomi con forme sincopate parteciparono alla sincope dell'inizio del sec. V, essi devono essere appartenuti allora all'etrusco. Ciò vale a dire che devono essere entrati in questa lingua al più tardi nel sec. VI (concessi casi isolati di un inquadramento secondario). Due attestazioni isolate su un vaso del settimo secolo, trovato nell'ultimo decennio, convalidano questa ipotesi: *Metaia*=Μήδεια, *Taitale* (al sec. V *Taitle*)=Δαίδαλος (Martelli e Rizzo 1992).

Anche in latino i nomi dei miti greci venivano alterati secondo le leggi fonetiche. Un buon esempio fornisce il più antico testo latino che contiene tali nomi, la legge sacra dell'inizio del sec. V: *Castorei Podlouqueique qurois* '(qui è da sacrificare) per Castore e Polluce, i (Dios-)curi' (*ILLRP* 1271b; Wachter 1995: 85–92; °*quei*° per °*cei*° è errore di scrittura per prolessi). Il nome latino **Poludeucēs* per greco Πολυδεύκης ha perso la /u/ breve per sincope latina, svoltasi anch'essa all'inizio del sec. V; il nuovo gruppo /ld/ è diventato /ll/ (**sal-dō*> *sallō* 'salo'), come allo stesso tempo il gruppo /dl/ (**sedlā*> *sella* 'sedia'), ed è reso con un'ortografia storica sbagliata; in fine il dittongo /eu/, non presente nel latino del tempo (*neven* e *neuna*, esempi in apparenza contrari, contengono una /ē/, come mi avverte R. Lipp, e *Leucesie* del *Carmen Arvale* può essere un grecismo del tipo Λεύκιος per *Loukios*> *Lūcius*). Un esempio dell'indebolimento dell'/a/ breve in sillaba interna chiusa è *Alixentros* per Ἀλέξανδρος (*CIL* i². 553; Wachter 1987: 121–3), in cui anche il gruppo /dr/ del modello vi è stato sostituito da /tr/ (come in *taetro-* da **taid-ro-*, radice *taid-* in *taedet*); in età classica la struttura greca è restituita (e modernizzata nell'esito).

Non meno di quello fonologico il cambiamento morfologico dei nomi greci è dovuto all'introduzione e trasmissione orale nelle lingue dell'Italia centrale tirrenica e non ad una scritta. Si tratta dell'inquadramento della fine di parola nella struttura morfologica delle lingue epicoriche; tanto in etrusco quanto in latino la funzione della parola nella proposizione

veniva indicata alla fine di parola. Un nome greco doveva essere 'declinabile' per poter essere usato nella lingua epicorica; una desinenza che non lo permetteva doveva essere sostituito con un altro simile, corrente nella lingua ospite. C. de Simone ha presentato gli esempi etruschi (1970: 93–140): così dei nominativi greci la cui sillaba finale non aveva una corrispondenza in etrusco, tanto -ος quanto -ης e -ευς vennero sostituiti con *-e* (*Κύκνος~Kukne*, *Διομήδης~Ziumite*, *Τυδεύς~Tute*), *-os* secondo la relazione preesistente tra latino *Titos* e etrusco *Tite* (preso in prestito dal vocativo italico), gli altri sul modello di questo.

Il gruppo -ευς alla fine di nomi greci non aveva una corrispondenza neanche in latino; venne altresì identificato con -ης = *-ēs* (*Ἀχιλλεύς~Achillēs*). Senza corrispondenza latina era del pari il gruppo finale -ᾶς del greco *Αἴας* (da **Aiāss* < **Aiwāss* < **Aiwanss* < **Aiwants*; /ā/ in Omero, *Il.* 1. 145; 3. 229 ecc.); la sua strana sostituzione col latino *-āx* /āk-s/ potrebbe essere stata un mezzo sabinismo: in tutti i dialetti osco-umbri, e quindi anche in sabino, *-ās*(*s*) (da **-āh-s* < **-āk-s*) era il gruppo finale del nominativo di aggettivi col suffisso *-āk-*, tipo lat. *audāx* gen. *audācis*, acc. sudpiceno *audaqom*; il nominativo sabino era (dal sec. V in poi) **audāss*. In etrusco, lingua che ben conosceva forme del casus rectus in *-as* (*zivas* 'vivo' ecc.), *Αἴας* appare nella forma *Aivas* (poi *Eivas* e *Evas*), che ovviamente presenta un'origine ed una tradizione del tutto diversa.

Le sostituzioni morfologiche in etrusco e in latino sono indipendenti l'una dall'altra, e quindi lo dovrebbe essere anche il processo del prestito dal greco. Contro questo principio sembra porsi il nome di Ercole. Uno studio dei nomi del mito greco attestati in testi latini del sec. V avanzato (dopo la citata legge per Castore e Polluce) mostra che questo contrasto non è originale, ma secondario.

Questo studio sarà la seconda parte del mio contributo alla Festschrift per Anna Morpurgo Davies. Ringrazio la Casa Editrice per il permesso di usare la lingua madre della collega onorata, la lingua in cui noi due abbiamo discusso. L'ho usata per abbozzare lo sfondo del problema studiato, un problema che congiunge il campo scientifico del destinatario con quello dell'autore. Lo studio stesso rimarrà in inglese, cioè nella lingua in cui Anna Morpurgo Davies ha raggiunto tanto successo nel suo lavoro scientifico e nel suo insegnamento.

The Latin texts which contain significant numbers of names deriving from Greek myth are the legends written near mythological figures on the bronze mirrors and chests produced (and mostly also found) at Praeneste. Examples are: on a mirror *Oinomauos—Ario—Melerpanta* '*Οἰνόμαος*—

Ἀρίων—Βελλεροφόντης' *CIL* i². 554 = Wachter (1987: 119–21 §49) (2nd half 4th cent. BC); on a chest: *Tondrus—Creisita—*[.]*elena—Aciles—Simos—Oreste*[*s*] '*Τύνδαρος—Χρυσηίς—Ἑλένη—Ἀχιλλεύς—Σῖμος—Ὀρέστης*' *CIL* i². 567 = Wachter (1987: 158–61 §64) (1st half 3rd cent. BC). The Praenestine production of engraved and inscribed bronze objects began in the first decades of the fourth century BC (the proposals for dating are registered and discussed in Wachter 1987: 106–8). This is a century later than the *lex sacra*, mentioned above, containing the names of *Castor* and *Pollux*, who here, however, are not mythological figures, but gods who should receive offerings.

It is not sufficiently noticed that in the century between these two dates a small Latin tradition of Greek mythological names can be found on engraved gems. In Etruria, the fashion of adorning gems with figures and names taken from Greek mythology started in the beginning of the fifth century BC and lasted until the end of the fourth. In the first half of the fifth century the majority of Greek mythological names in Etruscan come from gems and not from mirrors or vases. But not all texts on the Central Italian engraved gems are written in Etruscan; some are Latin. They unfortunately have not received the attention merited by their age, the usual situation being that, of two cases, one of them is sometimes, the other always, taken for Etruscan.

The first example I wish to consider is *Aciles*. This word is found on a gem which is generally dated to the second half of the fifth century (Walters 1926: 82, following Furtwängler; Richter 1968: 195). It is written—from right to left—near the image of a young hero putting on one of his greaves: this represents Achilles, who is taking the weapons given him by his mother in order to avenge the death of Patroclus. So *Aciles* corresponds to Greek *Ἀχιλλεύς*. The attested form is that expected by Early Latin sound laws, morphological rules, and orthographic principles: the aspirated voiceless stop ([kʰ] ⟨χ⟩) is rendered by the sign for the non-aspirated voiceless stop ⟨c⟩; the word-internal short /i/ is preserved before a long consonant ([l:]), which in this period is not written as a geminate; the Greek word-final *-ευς* is replaced regularly by Latin ⟨es⟩ /-ēs/ (see p. 438).

These facts become particularly important upon comparison with the Etruscan version of the name (attested in de Simone 1968: 30–6): *Aχle* (22 examples), *Aχile* (4 ex.), *Aχele* (3 ex.), *Aχale* (1 ex.), and *Aχule* (1 ex.: *REE* 51: 155). The aspirated voiceless stop of the Greek model is rendered always by the sign for the marked stop (⟨χ⟩; the mark is difficult to define: aspirate [kʰ], affricate [kˣ] or spirant [χ]); the vowel /i/ of the internal syllable is

dropped in two of three examples, as the syncope of short internal vowels in Etruscan—in contrast to Latin—also works in closed syllables, and where it is preserved, it is identical with that of the original in fewer than half of the examples; finally, the final -ευς of the Greek nominative is replaced as always by -*e* (see p. 438).

In every point where Latin and Etruscan rules differ *Aciles* follows Latin; it represents the Latin form (Wachter 1987: 169; de Simone 1970: 125; 183: '"italische" Form'). As the letters used in the word are identical in the Etruscan and in the Latin alphabet, one must consider this inscription to be Latin, as acknowledged in *CIL* i². 574 (and in Diehl 1930: 81 no. 783). If the gem is correctly dated, the *Aciles* found in this text is hitherto the oldest attestation of the hero-name in Latin; the Praenestine examples are younger: *CIL* i². 564 stems from the fourth century, *CIL* i². 567 from the second half of the third (Wachter 1987: 150, 159).

C. de Simone's table illustrating the Etruscan attestations of the hero-name lists two examples of the form *Aciles*. The first (de Simone 1968: 33 no. 10) is no. 671 in H. B. Walters's catalogue of the engraved Greek, Etruscan, and Roman gems in the British Museum (Walters 1926), illustrated with a photograph (pl. XI); along with many other pieces from the Hamilton Collection, the gem came into the British Museum at the end of the eighteenth century (cf. Jenkins 1996). The only source of the other example (de Simone 1968: 36 no. 33) is the second volume of the *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* by the Comte de Caylus (1756: pl. XXVIII no. III; *non vidi*); de Caylus's drawing is copied (printed sideways) in Lanzi (1824: 127 XVI, pl. IX) and in Fabretti (1867: 2518, gloss. col. 54). The image—Achilles, nude, is resting his foot on his helmet while putting on one of his greaves; the shield is lying on the ground—is the same as on the British Museum gem; in both the ⟨a⟩ of the name is on the right of the hero's head, the other letters following to his left. The possibility that the gem-carver produced two identical objects (which would not alter the linguistic and historical conclusions) cannot be entirely excluded. But it is much more probable that the two de Simone entries refer to the same object. The hypothesis that in 1756 de Caylus registered a gem which at the end of the century was part of the Hamilton Collection is by no means unlikely.

The second example, *Herecles*, also comes from a gem dated to the second half of the fifth century BC (Walters 1926: no. 665; Zazoff 1968: 162 no. 639; Richter 1968: 195 no. 785; de Simone 1968: 72 no. 13). Again, the form corresponds exactly to the Old Latin sound laws, or better: the only sound

law which distinguishes the (written) Latin form from the Greek original Ἡρακλῆς, the 'weakening' of the /a/ in a closed internal syllable to /e/ (de Simone 1970: 292 reconstructed such a form without being aware that it really exists). Here, too, the sound structure contradicts the Etruscan character of text and form, not so obviously as in the case of *Aciles*, but nevertheless certainly. Thus, the final *-s* is lacking in all 62 Etruscan examples of an ascertained and preserved nominative form; *Hercles* on the fragment of an Attic red-figure vase (*ET* OA 2. 56; 2nd half 5th cent.; de Simone 1968: 72 no. 13) is neither a certain nominative (the rest of the text could be lost) nor beyond doubt genuinely Etruscan (the text could have been written by a Greek artist with imperfect knowledge of the language of his customers). As for the vowel in the internal syllable, there is no example of *Herecle* in Etruscan: 63 of the 67 Etruscan examples of the name (de Simone 1968: 70–8) have the syncopated form *Hercle*/*Herkle* (once *Herχle*). One could not totally exclude an Etruscan anaptyctic vowel; but none of the other examples of the phenomenon in this name (de Simone 1970: 72; 75) dates from the fifth century, and Etr. *Herecele* (de Simone 1968: 70 no. 1) and *Heracales mi* '(the statue) of Hercules I (am)' (Martelli 1991: 618, not yet in de Simone 1968), both from the fifth century, show the inverted orthography of an archaizing text: they put a vowel in internal position wherever possible. As one can see, all the traits of the sound structure of *Herecles* point away from Etruscan and towards Latin.

But we need not rely upon conclusions drawn from the sound structure of *Herecles* in order to demonstrate that text and form are Latin. There is a simpler and unambiguous mark: the alphabet is Latin. This can clearly be seen from the good photograph in G. Richter's book on engraved gems (Richter 1968 no. 785): the ⟨h⟩ has only one horizontal bar as always in Latin (H) and not three as in Etruscan (the 'ladder-h'), and the ⟨r⟩, in Etruscan always composed of a vertical line and a semicircle (P or D), is a vertical line, from whose top an S-shaped line descends at an acute angle. This form of the 'tailed' ⟨r⟩ is used in the oldest (and in some younger) Latin inscriptions on Praenestine bronzes (*CIL* i². 555, 558, 554, 548; Wachter 1987: 112, 114, 119, 129; 4th cent. BC); it imitates the rho that occurs around 500 BC in Greek inscriptions from Kyme (Jeffery 1990: 238; pl. 48 no. 9). The *Herecles* found on our gem seems to be the oldest example of this letter form in Latin inscriptions; older Latin texts (e.g. the *lex sacra* cited above, p. 437) use the older form of Etruscan and Kymean ⟨r⟩ without the 'tail' (P).

The unexpected Latin letters on an engraved gem could be P. Zazoff's motive for declaring, without comment, that *Herecles* is a 'moderne Beischrift' (Zazoff 1968: 162 no. 639). Indeed, a not so small number of Etruscan

engraved gems known in the eighteenth century bear letters engraved in this period, and the gem in question belonged to the eighteenth-century Hamilton Collection. But these modern 'additions' are groups of—often Greek—letters without any sense. I cite from Walters's examples (1926: xli): ΤΟΥD 611, ΠΛΘC 636, ΔOSΔX 715, ΔΕΡΧΛΦ 719; ΑΓΑ ΜΕΝ ΠΑΤ 836, ADA ΠΕΤ ΕΔ ΓΔΑ 853; *HERECLES* has a completely different quality. It is difficult to imagine how an eighteenth-century gem collector could intentionally invent or accidentally find the correct Early Latin form and the Old Latin letter ⟨r⟩, which is identical neither with the Greek nor with the Latin forms he knew. The text must be genuine.

Hereclēs was the Early Latin form, but it is not the form classical *Herculēs* developed from by sound laws. The immediate pre-form of *Herculēs* was *Hercolēs*, used until 150 BC (dat. *Hercolei CIL* i^2. 607; end of 3rd cent.), which goes back, via anaptyxis, to *Herclēs*, attested in the second half of the fourth century (dat. [*H*]*ercle CIL* i^2. 2659; *ILLRP* 129; date after Colonna 1980: 46 and 51 n. 17) and the first half of the third (*Hercles CIL* i^2. 563; reading following Wachter 1987: 130). There is no phonetically possible path from *Hereclēs* to *Herclēs*; before a group of consonants (certain s-groups excluded) a short internal vowel is not syncopated in Latin (Rix 1966: 156 = 1973: 90–1), nor in Greek or Osco-Umbrian. Therefore all attempts to explain the sound structure of Old Latin *Herclēs** as regularly developed in Latin (Schulze 1893: 195–6; Wachter 1987: 134) or borrowed from Osco-Umbrian (Wissowa 1912: 272 n. 1) are erroneous. The only Central Italian language of the first millennium BC which syncopates a short internal vowel before consonant groups is Etruscan, and there can be no doubt that the loss of the middle /e/ is due to this language, as G. Devoto surmised (1928: 322–3; de Simone 1970: 291–2). But Devoto's (and de Simone's) historical explanation, namely that the Latin name *Herculēs* is borrowed from Etruscan as *Hercle* and that it owes its final *-ēs* to a secondary Greek influence, cannot be correct, precisely because the oldest Latin testimony, *Hereclēs*, is borrowed immediately from Greek. The situation is rather the reverse: the Early Latin form *Hereclēs* has been changed under the influence of Etruscan *Hercle* to the Old Latin form *Herclēs*.

The historical situation of Latin *Herclēs Herculēs* is different from that of Oscan *Her*(*e*)*klo-* (attested gen. *Herekleís*, dat. *Hereklúí* and *Herclo*, see Rix 2002: 149; Paelignian *Herclei* is the Latin form). Oscan *Herklo-*, by secondary anaptyxis *Hereklo-*, must have been borrowed directly from Etruscan *Hercle*, which was interpreted as the vocative of an -o-stem (Devoto 1928: 321). This borrowing must have taken place after 500 BC, when the internal vowel of Ἡρακλῆς was syncopated in Etruscan, and probably took place

in Campania (de Simone 1970: 291) after 440 BC (intrusion of the Samnites into Campania). It may seem strange that an Oscan theonym, borrowed from Greek in Campania, could arrive after little more than a century among the Oscan-speaking Vestines on the Adriatic coast (*Herclo* Rix 2002: 78 MV 5; 3rd cent. BC). But there is now a parallel: *Apellune* (dative) at Peltuinum (Rix 2002: 78 MV 10; Sommella 1995: 284) reflects Campanian Oscan *Appelluneís*, °*neí* (Rix 2002: 149), which is borrowed from Doric Greek Ἀπέλλων, while the Latin (*Apollō*), the Etruscan (*Apulu*, *Aplu*; de Simone 1968: 19–23), and the Marsian forms (*Apols* Rix 2002: 67 VM 7; 4th cent. BC) go back to the Ionian-Attic form Ἀπόλλων.

The singular case that a Latin mythological name, borrowed from Greek and developed according to Latin sound laws, was changed later under the influence of the Etruscan form of the name requires a singular explanation—which by definition is not cogent, but only plausible and therefore probable. Such an explanation is the hypothesis that the original place of the Etruscan *Hercle* in Latin was the affirmation formula *mēhercle*. Simple expressions which indicate a general and typical action can easily be borrowed: the Romans adopted the greeting word *avē* from Punic *hawā* 'live', the Germans the greeting *ciao* '(Your) servant' from a North Italian dialect, the Italians the command (*h*)*alt* 'stop' from German soldiers and the universal *OK* (which nobody understands) as a term of consent from the Americans.

The correct interpretation of Latin *mēhercle* can be read already in Paulus Diaconus' excerpt of Festus' *De verborum significatu* (p. 112 L):

mehercules iusiurandum erat, quasi diceretur . . . ita me Hercules, ut subaudiatur iuuet.

mehercules was an oath, as if one said 'may Hercules me', that is to be understood as 'help me'.

Hercle was correctly interpreted by the Romans as a nominative (and not, as by the Samnites, as a vocative) and later replaced by the classical nominative form *Hercules*. In Plautus one still finds the original form *mehercle* (*Most.* 720; *Pseud.* 1175; *Rudens* 1365; *Stichus* 250; reading not always sure), and Cicero confesses ('libentius dixerim') to preferring *mehercule* over *mehercules* (*Orat.* 157). The most frequent form in Old Latin, still used by Cicero (e.g. *Leg.* 2. 34; *Brut.* 251), is the simplified *hercle*: Plautus used this formulaic word over 800 times (only ten times with a variant *hercule* or *hercole*: Lodge 1924: 672, metrically impossible, e.g. *Persa* 591), while the name of the god is always (20 times) *Herculēs* with the anaptyctic vowel. A form used so currently in colloquial Latin could well have influenced the official name

of the god: *Hereclēs* was replaced by *Herclēs* in the second half of the fifth or in the first half of the fourth century BC.

The hypothesis that Latin *hercle* was borrowed from Etruscan in the affirmation formula *mēhercle* presupposes that a corresponding formula also existed in Etruscan. The lack of attestations in Etruscan texts does not rule out the phrase's existence in the language: Etruscan texts are not of the kind to contain affirmation formulas. The borrowing was facilitated by a similarity of shape: in the fifth and fourth centuries the Etruscan correspondence for Latin *mēhercle* would have been **men hercle* or **mene hercle*; *mini or min*, later *men* (*ET* Cl 0. 1; OA 2. 58) or *mene* (*ET* Ve 3. 2; 3. 24–5) are accusative forms of *mi* 'I'. The only feature that changed in the borrowing process was the replacement of the Etruscan pronoun form *men*(*e*) by Old Latin *mēd*. The borrowed form *hercle* was shorter than the indigenous *hercelēs* and therefore better adapted to a sort of interjection. Besides, it constituted a difference between the affirmation and the theonym, which also remained after the latter adopted the syncopated form: the theonym became *Herclēs* and later *Hercolēs Herculēs*, the affirmation remained *hercle* in Old Latin (as in Plautus: see above) and as a variant until Cicero; only from Classical Latin onward did it become assimilated to the name of the hero (Cicero uses *hercle*, *hercule*, *hercules*, and *mehercules*; Petronius, for example, has *mehercules* also in the speeches of the freedmen, besides *hercule* in the narrative text: *Sat.* 10).

The general Old Latin rule does not preclude some exceptions: on a Praenestine mirror from the second half of the third century BC one reads, by the side of *Iuno* and *Iouei*, the form *Hercele*, which surely means the mythological figure. The text is Latin, the anaptyxis and the absence of ⟨s⟩ of *Hercele* included (Wachter 1987: 133–4). The anaptyctic vowel /e/ shows that the final /e/ was short; before a long /ē/ the inserted vowel would be /o/, later /u/; in Classical Latin the vocative is *Herculē* (Schulze 1893: 215). In order to avoid the unlikely hypothesis of the vocative of an unattested Greek -o-stem ***Ἡρκλος*, one must assume that here the general distribution of the endings of theonym and affirmation was inverted: the theonym *Hercele* has the ending of the affirmation.

The *terminus post quem* for the borrowing of Latin (*mē*)*hercle* is the year 500 BC; the Etruscan syncope of short internal vowels, the presupposition for the Etruscan form *Hercle*, took place in the first quarter of the fifth century BC. The *terminus ante quem* is the middle of the fourth century, if G. Colonna's dating of *CIL* i^2. 2659 (see p. 442) is correct. The borrowing no longer belonged in the period of the 'grande Roma dei Tarquini', which finished according to tradition in 509 BC. But the contact between Romans

and Etruscans did not cease after the expulsion of the Etruscan kings from Rome. In the first half century of the Roman Republic some consuls bore Etruscan family names (*Herminius*, *Larcius*, *Volumnius*). In 390 BC the Etruscan town Caere received the Roman priests who were fleeing from the Celts (Livy 5. 50), and in the second quarter of the fourth century BC Etruscan actors were called to Rome (Livy 7. 2). Trade continued; the Latin word *sporta* 'basket' was borrowed from Etruscan **spurita* (this from the Greek accusative *σπυρίδα* 'id.') after the short internal vowels were lost and the /u/ was pronounced [o]; both changes date from about 500 BC. Certainly, there was no lack of opportunity for borrowing an affirmation formula in this period.

My modest contribution in honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies has doubled the number of mythological names of Greek origin in Latin texts of the fifth century BC and has eliminated the sole previous exception to the historically important observation that Latin borrowing of Greek mythological names was independent of Etruscan. Finally, it has I hope elucidated a point of influence that Etruscan exercised on everyday Latin in the first century of the Roman Republic.

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33

Old Welsh *Dinacat*, *Cunedag*, *Tutagual*: Fossilized Phonology in Brittonic Personal Names

Paul Russell

That personal names can preserve phonological patterns which have long since vanished in lexical items is a familiar phenomenon. Anna Morpurgo Davies has herself commented upon this in a discussion of Greek personal names:

> in a literate society (or for that matter in a society which is rich in oral poetic performances) older forms of words may be recorded in writing or in the poetic tradition. In the case of names, the incentive to resurrect them or to continue them in the original form may be stronger than for other lexical items. (Morpurgo Davies 2000: 23)

Such a view is common, though more often it is framed in terms of the propensity for personal names to retain more archaic features through some innate conservatism or resistance to decay without attempting to explain how this could be.[1] The challenge in each case is to attempt to break through such generalization and to consider how precisely in a particular linguistic context a personal name might be conservative or prone to archaism. The present paper considers one such case from the early Brittonic languages.

A large proportion of the personal names attested in early Brittonic sources are in origin compound names, e.g. MW *Maelgwn* < **maglo-kunos*, *Gwynnhoedl* < **windo-saitlos*, *Dyfnwal* < **dumno-walos*, *Dingat* < **dūno-katos* (cf. the inscriptional form DVNOCATI, though it is uncertain from the context whether it is Irish (> Old Irish *Dúnchath*) or Welsh).[2] As can

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[1] Cf. in a Celtic context, Jackson (1953: 650): 'personal names tend to be more conservative, more resistant to decay, than other words'; Fleuriot (1964: 183): 'l'archaïsme des noms propres'.

[2] For a general discussion of naming patterns in Brittonic, see D. E. Evans (1970–2);

be seen from the above examples, the usual phonological development of these forms involved *inter alia* the weakening and eventual loss of the composition vowel as part of the general patterns of syncope in early Brittonic languages in polysyllables.[3] The weakening of the vowel from -/o/- towards -/ə/- is assumed to be indicated in the inscriptional sources by the various spellings of the composition vowel as -A-, -I-, -E-, though the issue is clouded by the possibility that other composition vowels were used, e.g. -/u/- where the first element was a *u*-stem noun, such as **katu*- (e.g. CATVRVGI), or by the potential interference from Irish spelling patterns since in Ogam inscriptions the composition vowel is regularly spelt as -**A**-.[4] What is clear is that, apart from the personal names which form the focus of the following discussion, the later manuscript sources regularly show loss of the composition vowel in all lexical items, e.g. MW *teilu* < **tego-slougo-* or **tegeso-slougo-* (cf. Old Irish *teglach*), MW *gwynfa* 'paradise' (lit. 'white-field') < **windo-magos* (cf. OIr. *Findmag*, Gaul. *Vindomagus*), and most personal names follow the same pattern.[5]

However, beside the standard pattern of development outlined above, there are a number of personal names attested both in early Welsh and in Breton where the composition vowel seems to have been preserved. Often they form a doublet with a version of the name where the regular loss of the composition vowel is observable, e.g. OW *Dinacat* (Harleian genealogies, §4),[6] MW *Dinogat* (*Canu Aneirin* (Williams 1938), 44. 1 with

on compound patterns and their phonological development, Jackson (1953: 643–56); on the inscriptional evidence in particular, Sims-Williams (2003: 115–31); it is important to be aware that the post-Roman inscriptions from Britain contain material both in Roman script and in Ogam and that all the material in Ogam and some of the material in Roman script must be assumed to reflect Irish phonological patterns rather than Brittonic (for this issue, see Sims-Williams 2003: 9–10); on DVNOCATI and related forms, Sims-Williams (2003: 44); Uhlich (1993: 235). Inscriptional forms are printed in Roman capitals if they are in Roman script, and in bold Roman capitals if in Ogam.

[3] Jackson (1953: 644–6); Sims-Williams (2003: 115–31). In words of more than three syllables, the syllable immediately preceding the stressed syllable was vulnerable to syncope, e.g. Welsh *pylgeint* < Latin *pullicántio*, *awdurdod* < *auctoritátem*, etc. (Jackson 1953: 652); in most cases that is the position of the composition vowel in compounds.

[4] Jackson (1953: 644–6); Sims-Williams (2003: 122–7); Uhlich (1993: 30–6), where some exceptions to the Ogam spelling rule are also discussed. On CATVRVGI, see Sims-Williams (2002: 114 n. 622) for doubts and an alternative account. We also have to take into account the outcomes of forms such as *Vindiorix* with *-io-* as the composition syllable.

[5] On MW *teilu*, the former is the usual etymology (see Pedersen 1909–13: ii. 522), but the latter has been plausibly proposed by Schrijver (1995: 71); on *gwynfa*, see Zimmer (2000: 44); on compounds generally in Welsh, see Zimmer (2000: 1–222).

[6] For a printed text of the Harleian Genealogies, see Phillimore (1888); Bartrum (1966: 9–13). In the following examples, detailed references are given to Old Welsh sources but not for Middle Welsh examples, unless they are unique or particularly relevant.

note on p. 321) : OW *Dincat* (Book of Llandaf, 203. 18),[7] MW *Dingat* < **dūno-katos*; OW *Tutagual* (Harleian genealogies, §§4, 6) : MW *Tudwal* < **touto-walos*;[8] OW *Dumnagual* (Harleian genealogies, §5), W *Dyfnawal* : OW *Dumngual* (Harleian genealogies, §10) < **dumno-walos*;[9] OB *Dumnouuallon* (Cartulaire de Redon, fo. 72^{r}) : *Dumnuuallon* (Cartulaire de Redon, fo. 77^{r}) < **dumno-wallaunos*;[10] OW *Urbagen* (*Historia Brittonum*, §63): OW *Urbgen* (*Historia Brittonum*, §63),[11] MW *Urien* < **orbo-genos*;[12] OB *Cunauualt* (Cartulaire de Redon, fo. 103^{v}) : *Conuual* (Cartulaire de Redon, fo. 79^{r}) < **kuno-walos*; OB *Conatam* (Cartulaire de Redon, fo. 95^{v}), *Cunatam* (Cartulaire de Redon, fo. 110^{v}) : OW *Condaf* (Book of Llandaf, 144. 17), MW *Cyndaf* < **kuno-tamos* (cf. CVNOTAMI (Macalister 1945–9: §449 = Nash-Williams 1950: §384)).[13] In other cases, the form with the composition vowel seems to have become the standard form of the name; this is notably the case with the name of the northern British king, OW *Cunedag*, *Cuneda*, MW *Cuneda* < **kuno-dagos* (the expected but unattested form without a composition vowel would be **Cynda*).[14] Another group contains a first element *Ria-*/*Rio-* or *Bria-* where the composition vowel has been retained but an original */g/ has been lost in front of it, e.g. OW *Riacat* (Book of Llandaf, 140. 17) < **rīgo-katos*, OW *Riatam* (Book of Llandaf, 186. 5), *Riataf* (Book of Llandaf, 185. 4) < **rīgo-tamos*; OW *Rioual* (Book of Llandaf, 178. 25), *Riaual* (Book of Llandaf, 213. 13), OB *Riauual* (Cartulaire de Redon, 4^{v}), *Riaual* (Cartulaire de Redon, 132^{r}), *Riagual* (Cartulaire de Redon, 133^{v}) < **rīgo-walos* (cf. MW *Riwallon* < **rīgo-wallaunos*); OW *Riogan* (Black Book of Carmarthen, 65. 1 (poem 18. 187)) < **rīgo-kantos*;[15] OW

[7] For the printed text of the Book of Llandaf, see Evans and Rhŷs (1893); references are to the page numbers of this work.

[8] Perhaps also OB *Tutahel* unless it is a spelling for *Tuthael* (cf. Fleuriot 1964: 153).

[9] Cf. also *Dinawal* (*Hen Llwythau Gwynedd*: Bartrum 1966: 114–15 (§3a)). This may be a spelling for *Dyfnawal* with *i* for /ə/ rather than *y*, but the manuscript readings also offer *Dinewal* and *Dyn*(*i*)*awl* and it is possible that it reflects a different compound, < **dūno-walos*. A similar alternation is found in the work of the 15th-cent. poet Lewys Glyn Cothi, where *Ddyfnwal* and *Dyfnawal* are identified by his most recent editor as referring to Dinawal, son of Cedifor (Johnston 1995: poem 78, ll. 28, 37, and p. 506). It is clear in poem 78 that the poet is using *Dyfnwal* and *Dyfnawal* as a pair of names to be played off one against the other, and he does at least seem to perceive a connection between them (Morris-Jones 1913: 190).

[10] For a printed text of the Cartulaire de Redon, see de Courson (1863); folio numbers can be used to refer to the facsimile edition of the manuscript (Guillotel *et al.* 1998).

[11] For a printed text, see Morris (1980).

[12] See Williams (1933–5: 388); Koch (1997: cxxii–cxxiii, 134).

[13] See Sims-Williams (2002: 119 n. 655).

[14] See Isaac (1991) and Koch (1997: ccxxii); contrast Jackson's less likely etymology, < **kouno-dagos* 'good lord' (1963: 30). See also Uhlich (1993: 209).

[15] For a printed text of the Black Book of Carmarthen, see Jarman (1982).

Briacat (*Historia Brittonum*, §49) < **brīgo-katos*, OW *Briauael* (Book of Llandaf, 143. 25), MW *Briafael* < **brīgo-maglos* (cf. also BRIAMAIL (Macalister 1945–9: §978 = Nash-Williams 1950: §49); BRIGOMAGLOS (Macalister 1945–9: §498)).

This group of names has attracted some scholarly attention but it has tended to focus on their oddity and marginality rather than attempt to account for them. Williams (1933–5: 388, 1980: 12 (and n. 40 added by Bromwich)) took the view that the loss of the composition vowel was a gradual process and that in some dialects of Brittonic the vowel was still in existence late enough to receive the shifting stress accent when it moved back to the new penultimate syllable after the loss of final syllables, thus fixing it and preventing syncope. Jackson (1953: 649–50) rightly observed that this does not do justice to the evidence and certainly does not explain why the phenomenon should be restricted to personal names. Even so, it is not impossible that there is a regional aspect to the issue, as implied in Williams's account; for a number of these names occur in material which seems to emanate from the 'Old North' (that is, the original Brittonic-speaking regions of Cumbria, Strathclyde, and Man): for example, the names attested in the Harleian genealogies are all concentrated in the sections which refer to the 'men of the north' (Bartrum 1966: 10), while Cunedda was the legendary ancestor of the first dynasty of Gwynedd and was supposed to have come from Manaw Gododdin. This northern focus to some of the material encouraged Koch (1997: cxxi) to echo Williams in suggesting that there was a northern bias in some of the source material, though that in itself cannot provide a full account if we are to explain the instances in Breton as well as those in Welsh. The fullest discussion of these forms is by Jackson (1953: 648–50), but in the end he resorts to the 'archaism of personal names' explanation: 'the composition vowel is kept in those instances because personal names tend to be more conservative, more resistant to decay, than other words, and for this reason it succeeded, in a few cases, in surviving the period when they were syncopated' (1953: 650). A similar view is taken by Fleuriot in his brief discussion of the Breton forms: 'mais l'archaïsme des noms propres explique qu'elle [sc. la voyelle de composition] se soit assez souvent conservée jusqu'au xe siècle' (1964: 183–4). More recent discussion has made some progress, notably in the important observation that these forms cannot have survived in the spoken language but are rather literary survivals, possibly deriving from genealogies and annals (a point noted but not exploited by Jackson 1953: 649). Koch (1997: cxxi–cxxii) notes in particular the consistent *e*-spelling of the original composition vowel in *Cuneda*(*g*), which 'strongly suggests an

unhistorical pronunciation based on an old spelling: in other words, there was no continuous oral tradition for the name' (1997: cxxii).[16] In other words, if these forms did have any phonological reality, it was secondary and reacquired at a later stage, thereby effectively bypassing any sound changes which had taken place in the spoken language in the meantime.

An important consequence of this view (which seems likely to be correct) is that these names were being written down at a time when the composition vowels were more or less intact syllabically (even if the quality of the vowel was less clear). In absolute chronological terms the weakening and loss of composition vowels seems to have been completed by the latter part of the sixth century.[17] The absolute date is dependent on a number of apparently datable examples in manuscript sources: for example, forms with composition vowels are to be found in the *De excidio Britanniae* of Gildas (possibly 530 × 544), one apparently with the correct vowel retained, *Maglocune* (§33. 1 (vocative)) < **maglo-kunos* (cf. MW *Maelgwn*), the other, *Cuneglase* (§32. 1 (vocative)) < **kuno-glastos* (cf. OW *Cynglas* (Harleian Genealogies, §3)), with the reduced form of the vowel.[18] On the other hand, by the period of the *Vita Samsonis* (seventh or eighth century) syncopated names, *Eltutus* (1. 9. 11), *Iudualus* (1. 53. 8, 10), are attested beside one instance of a preserved composition vowel, *Tigernomale* (Prol. 1. 10; 2. 1. 13; 2. 2. 4).[19] Furthermore, it would appear that pure composition vowels had already been lost by the early sixth century, if we accept that the form *Catiherno*, the name of a Breton priest reprimanded by the bishop of Tours, Angers, and Rennes between 509 and 521, is to be compared with OW *Cattegirn*, *Catigirn* < **katu-tigernos* (but note also in the same text the name *Lovocatus* < **lugu-katus*).[20] On the other hand, a bishop of Senlis was present at the Council of Orléans in 549 and at the Council of Paris in 566 × 573, by name *Gonotiernus* (de Clercq 1963: 160. 313) or *Gonothigernus* (de Clercq 1963: 210. 154), deriving from either **kuno-* or *gon(n)o-tigernos*.[21] It would seem, therefore, that, while composition vowels were weakening

[16] Cf. also Uhlich (1993: 15–16), Isaac (1991: 101).

[17] Jackson (1953: 650–1); Sims-Williams (2003: 281, 285).

[18] For a printed text of Gildas, see Winterbottom (1978). For discussion of the dating with earlier references, see Stancliffe (1997: 180–1).

[19] For a printed text of the *Vita Samsonis*, see Flobert (1997); the manuscripts (the two earliest are dated to the end of the 10th cent.) show forms in both *-magle* and *-male*. On these forms, see Sims-Williams (1990: 222–3; 2003: 281, 285); on the chronological problems presented by *Tigernomalus*, see Sims-Williams (2003: 253).

[20] Sims-Williams (1990: 246 (*Catiherno*), 282, 285 (*Lovocatus*)); for a text of the letter (preserved in a 9th-cent. manuscript), see Jülicher (1896: 665).

[21] Sims-Williams (1991: 20 (and n. 4 for discussion of the alternative etymologies); 2003: 285).

and disappearing during the early sixth century, they were often preserved in written forms as late as the end of the century in this type of text.

Several aspects of the above account give cause for uncertainty. Much of the evidence, namely that deriving from the church councils of central Gaul, would seem to be prima facie reliable evidence since it derives from texts written by non-native speakers. However, there is always a danger that we are replacing one set of problems with another, in that we have to assess these spellings in terms of Merovingian spelling conventions; for example, the spelling *-th-* in *Gonothigernus* is the Merovingian spelling for /t/ and does not indicate any form of lenition or spirantization (Jackson 1953: 454, 457). Likewise, the prevalence of *Rio-* and *Brio-* spellings in Brittany might in part be due to Merovingian scribal habits whereby /ɣ/, lenited /g/, may have been perceived as close to /y/ and not written.[22] But the main issue to be addressed is the fact that all the name forms discussed as evidence for absolute dating are Latinized forms of names embedded in Latin texts. This sits rather uncomfortably with the frequently expressed notion that Latin forms of names are inherently conservative and archaizing; for example, we may note Jackson's comment (1953: 504) in the context of a discussion about the preservation of the *-nt-* spelling in Old Welsh that 'it is chiefly used in forms with Latin terminations, which are more likely to preserve archaic spellings', and more relevantly for the present discussion Fleuriot's comment (1964: 183) about the survival of the composition vowel in Old Breton: 'tous les ex. de voyelle de composition apparaissent dans des noms propres souvent latinisés'. In that respect the one relatively early example of syncope of the composition vowel, *Catiherno* (dated 509 × 521), becomes even more significant, as we can then accept the later examples of a retained composition vowel as Latinate conservatism. However, while *Catiherno* < **katu-tigernos* could show loss of the composition vowel, the adjacent dentals make it equally likely that it is simply a case of haplology in unstressed syllables (the stress probably being penultimate). If that is a reasonable alternative, then it is difficult to see *Catiherno* as an unambiguous instance of loss of the vowel. If so, our next datable examples are to be found in the *Vita Samsonis*, the date of whose composition is a matter of debate, and the whole issue of absolute dating becomes in this case at least far less certain.[23]

For the early history of the Brittonic languages, the issue of the conser-

[22] See Jackson (1953: 454), Sims-Williams (2003: 210 (n. 1299), 257). It is not impossible that a scribe trained on the Continent was responsible for the similar spellings in the Book of Llandaf.

[23] Suggested dates for the composition of the *Vita Samsonis* have ranged from the beginning of the 7th cent. to the first half of the 9th; see Flobert (1997: 102–11), who himself suggests an approximate date of 750.

vatism of Latin forms of names cannot be ignored, as most of the source material in which the early evidence for the Brittonic languages is preserved is in Latin. That early evidence is largely onomastic and, whether it is preserved in the post-Roman insular inscriptions, in the genealogies and annals, or in witness lists to charters, the context is Latinate.[24] The names themselves will vary as to whether they show Latin endings or not. If they do, they are then labelled as Latinate, potentially conservative, and treated with suspicion as evidence for the phonology of the language at that period. On the other hand, names without Latin case endings are treated as evidence for the vernacular language at that particular period (if an absolute chronology can be established).[25] To put some detail into the argument: there seems to be a general assumption that, if we encounter a Latin name such as *Dunocatus*, we cannot tell (because of the conservatism of Latin spelling patterns) whether the scribe writing that name said /du:no'katus/, /di:no'gaduh/, /di:no'gad/, /di:'nogad/, /di:n'gad/, /'di:ngad/, and we cannot know when that scribe was writing.[26] On the other hand, if a scribe writes *Dingat*, it is reasonably assumed that he said /di:n'gad/ or /'di:ngad/, and not /du:no'katus/, and that *Dingat* was written at a period when all the preceding sound changes had already occurred. The problem arises with the pronunciations, /di:na'gad/ or /di:'nagad/, /di:no'gad/ or /di:'nogad/, which seem to be implied by the spellings *Dinacat* and *Dinogat*.[27] By the normal processes of phonological development these are difficult forms to explain as we would not expect the composition vowel to be preserved (and certainly not a 'correct' composition vowel, as in *Dinogat*). One response would be that even in Latinate contexts personal names were the first place where one would find experiments in writing the vernacular, and so these names merely reflect a mid-sixth-century attempt at spelling. Another would be that even in the late sixth or early seventh century complete texts in the vernacular were being written down. The former has generally been the consensus, not unreasonably given that the contemporary evidence is

[24] The earliest non-onomastic vernacular evidence is preserved in glosses of about the 9th cent. and in short passages of continuous prose dating from the 9th cent. onwards. In some senses the distinction between onomastic evidence and the rest is not to the point in that Brittonic naming patterns are relatively perspicuous as most names are made up of lexical elements.

[25] For an important example of this approach, see Sims-Williams (1991) (p. 53 for rejection of Latin forms).

[26] For a discussion of these issues in an Irish context, see Harvey (2001).

[27] The alternative stress patterns reflect the likely pronunciations before and after the Old Welsh accent shift, whereby after the loss of final syllables the previously penultimate stress accent was left on the final syllable and gradually shifted back on to the previous syllable.

Latinate, but the latter has gained some support in recent years.[28] The rest of this paper will focus on one aspect of this larger issue.

If we focus upon personal names, a crucial pair of interrelated questions is how a Brittonic speaker in the early medieval period would write down a Brittonic name and also how he would pronounce an existing written form of a name. Let us consider the former, where he wishes to write down the name of a person whose name he can pronounce. There are a number of possible strategies: one would be to refer to existing texts, most of which would presumably be in Latin, and to extract an appropriate spelling of the name from there. Another would be to attempt to create a spelling from scratch, matching sound segment with written segment, but it would still require some spelling model from which to work. Both approaches importantly depend on the model. If, to continue the same example, our scribe wanted to refer to someone in writing whom he called /ˈdi:ngad/, but the texts at his disposal could only supply him with forms such as *Dunocatus*, **Dinocatus*, **Dinacatus*, *Dinocat*, or *Dinacat*, what would he do? To begin with, it would depend on whether he recognized any of these forms as a possible spelling of /ˈdi:ngad/, and that in turn would depend on his pronunciation of Latin (assuming that the texts in question were in Latin). Much has been written in recent years about the pronunciation of Latin alongside the development of the vernacular Romance languages in the early medieval period.[29] But much of that discussion involves continuity of a spoken version of Latin developing into the relevant Romance language; it is Wright's (1982) contention that written Latin was not pronounced in a different way from spoken Latin until the Carolingian period.[30] The implications of this view for Celtic languages have been explored by Harvey (1990; 1991), who concluded that

> in the Celtic-speaking world throughout the medieval period, at any given time and place there was just one sound-system in operation, whether Latin or the vernacular was being spoken, because Latin was assimilated to the the native phonemics; and that conversely, in orthography Latin was the fixed point, and writing in the vernacular was in the first instance adapted to the pattern of Latin graphemics. (Harvey 1990: 183)

If so, then presumably our scribe would have been able to spell /ˈdi:ngad/ as

[28] For the latter, see Koch (1997) in particular.

[29] See, in particular, Wright (1982), and for its application to Celtic languages, Harvey (1990; 1991).

[30] Sims-Williams specifically applies this to Wales in relation to the abandonment of the spelling *e* for [ui], which he links to the change in the pronunciation of Latin in the late 8th cent. (1991: 76).

Dunocatus, *Dinocatus*, **Dinacatus*, *Dinocat*, *Dinacat*, or *Dingat*, depending on the models he had in front of him and whether they were writing names with final Latin syllables or not. But that would depend on how he had learnt his Latin and from whom. The difference essentially between the continental situation discussed by Wright and its application to the Celtic world is that there was no widespread continuity of spoken vernacular Latin/Romance from the Romano-British period into the medieval period;[31] indeed, it is likely that by the early medieval period a high proportion of those speaking Latin would have learnt it as a second language, while speaking a Celtic language as their native tongue. There will presumably have been a degree of continuity if spoken British Latin did not die out until after local churches had developed sufficiently to provide teaching in Latin, but the point is that the basis would have been far narrower than on the Continent. In such a situation it is not impossible that pronunciation of Latin started to diverge from the vernacular at an earlier stage than on the Continent, especially if priests were being imported from Gaul with a slightly different pronunciation of Latin. Another factor brings us on to the second scenario: the case of where someone comes across a name in a text, but does not know how to pronounce it; in order for him happily to spell /ˈdi:ngad/ as *Dunocatus*, he has presumably to pronounce, for example, **Toutowalus* as /ˈtüdwal/, etc. But there are other possibilities: he might look at these Latin names and pronounce them without their endings but otherwise treat them syllabically either with a classical pronunciation, i.e. /du:nokat/, /tütowal/, or with a British pronunciation, i.e. /di:nogad/, /tüdowal/, or with vowel assimilation, /di:nagad/, /tüdawal/. The important point for our purposes is that retention of a composition vowel might be more likely when a name is being created from a Latin model.

The above discussion is somewhat inconclusive, but it is necessary to highlight the interaction between Latin and vernacular written forms and that between the spoken and written forms. For somewhere in this confusing situation is the origin of forms such as OW *Dinacat*, *Cuneda*(*g*), *Tutagual*, etc. The observation that these forms are literary preservations is likely to be correct, and it is probable that they had 'no *continuous* oral tradition', as suggested by Koch (1997: cxxii, emphasis added). But, given that in the early medieval period reading largely meant reading aloud, any reader of texts including these names would have had to confront the issues outlined above.[32] In other words, a simple distinction between written forms and forms with 'a continuous oral tradition' (and so likely to show

[31] For an interesting discussion of the issue, see Schrijver (2002).

[32] For reading aloud, see Russell (1995–6: 175 n. 64).

the continuity of phonological developments) is perhaps too facile, since even written forms could be 'resuscitated' and re-enter, if only momentarily, the processes of phonological change. One important aspect to stress is the significance of Latin forms of names in fossilizing different stages of Brittonic phonological development: a Latin form of a name created at a particular period has the effect of fixing the phonology of that period, and then at a later stage it may be used to represent a later phonological form of the name simply by the expedient of deleting the Latin ending. A particularly clear example of this is the form *Dinogat*. It is preserved in *Canu Aneirin* in a nursery rhyme traditionally called *Peis Dinogat* 'Dinogad's Cloak' (Williams 1938: 44; Koch 1997: 126–9 nn. 233–4). In that context, *Dinogat* presumably had a phonological reality, possibly as /diːˈnogad/ or /diːnoˈgad/; /ˈdiːngad/ would be less likely in a vernacular context.[33] But, while the name elements *din* /diːn/ 'fortress' and *cat* /kad/ 'battle' would have had continuous phonological histories, the name itself with the apparently well-preserved composition vowel is unlikely to have had a continuous oral tradition, and it looks as if it was rescued from the literary tradition. On the other hand, whatever the hiatus in the oral tradition, this verse is no product of a literate, learned tradition but was composed for oral performance. It therefore presents a good example of a form which has been brought back into the oral tradition and has thereby reclaimed its intermittent phonological history. In contrast, OW *Dingat* shows all the hallmarks of a full phonological history.

The interaction between Latin and vernacular versions of names has implications for our understanding of one of the most important early texts in Wales, the *Liber Landavensis*, the Book of Llandaf (Evans and Rhŷs 1893), containing among other things a collection of charters purporting to uphold the claims of the diocese of Llandaf over vast tracts of southern Wales. For many years its linguistic value was disregarded as it was held to be largely an early twelfth-century forgery, or at least it was thought impossible to disentangle the genuine charters from the forgeries.[34] However, Wendy Davies (1979) demonstrated by close study of the witness lists to the charters that many of the charters were genuine (though late copies) and that they could be arranged in chronological order and provisionally dated. Building on this work, Koch (1985–6) and Sims-Williams (1991) showed that the spellings of names preserved a very early stratum of writing in

[33] The poem has no consonance in the first line, where the name occurs, nor are the lines of a regular syllabic length such that we could work out how many syllables the pronunciation of *Dinogat* contained.

[34] For the scholarly background, see Sims-Williams (1991: 28–9).

Welsh.[35] Sims-Williams (1991) produced the most detailed analysis of the evidence and was able to argue that it was possible to discern early and later spelling patterns in substantial runs of charters and that archaic spelling patterns, such as *e* (later Welsh *wy*) for /ui/ (< /eː/) and *o* (later Welsh *au*) for /ɔː/ could be observed being replaced by the later spellings. The present discussion touches upon this issue in the matter of the treatment of Latin versions of names. Many of the names in the Book of Llandaf do not have Latin case endings, but some do, notably the names of the main saints, *Teilo* : *Tei(i)l(i)avus*, *Euddogwy* : *Oudoceus*, *Dyfrig* : *Dubricius*. In the light of the above discussion, the influence of the Latin spelling of names should perhaps be taken more seriously as a factor in the preservation and maintenance of these archaic spellings. Sims-Williams removes the Latin forms from his statistics when analysing the distribution of the spelling patterns, but they are not always then brought back into the discussion in a systematic way.[36] More specifically, it can be argued that the systematic use, for example, of *e* as a spelling for /ui/ well into the eighth century (when the change to /ui/ could be as early as the beginning of the sixth century: Sims-Williams 2003: 286–7) may well have been supported by the fact that some of the names ending in *-e* and *-ui* have corresponding forms in Latin *-eus* and *-eius*, e.g. *Oudoceus* : *Eudoce* (*V. Cadoci*, §65 (Wade-Evans 1944: 132)), *Iunapeius* : *Iunabui* (Book of Llandaf, 115. 11, 73. 4 respectively). Similarly, the persistence of spellings in *-oc* (later *-auc*) may have been closely linked to the regular Latin forms of such names having a suffix *-oc(i)us*, e.g. *Catocus*, *Cadocus* : *Catoc*, *Gurdoc* : *Gurdocius*, etc. Put another way, the Welsh form of such names may in some instances have been formed by a simple process of deleting the case ending from the Latin form, thus generating an apparently archaic spelling, when in fact the spelling had been preserved in the Latin form.

In conclusion, then, the notion that personal names are inherently conservative can in some instances be dismantled into a series of subquestions. In the case of the forms discussed here, such as OW *Dinacat*, *Tutagual*, etc., which unexpectedly preserve a composition vowel, it is argued that the influence of the Latin form of the names was important in fossilizing certain phonological features from an earlier period. The process of

[35] See also Davies (1978–80), who made some preliminary remarks about the personal names. A useful check on the evidence of the Book of Llandaf is provided by a set of charters preserved in the Life of St Cadog (Wade-Evans 1944: 124–41) emanating from Llancarfan, not far from Llandaf, as in ten of the charters the witnesses overlap with those of the Book of Llandaf.

[36] e.g. Sims-Williams (1991: 53 (the removal of the Latin versions from the statistics), 76 (the influence of the change in the pronunciation of Latin)).

forming Brittonic names is also a factor; this could be done in a number of ways, but for the present discussion it is important to be aware that one way of doing it may have been to delete the Latin case endings. The form thus produced could then display a phonologically confusing set of features which no lexical item with its continuous history of phonological development could possibly show.

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34

Consumer Issues: *Beowulf* 3115a and Germanic 'Bison'

Patrick V. Stiles

1 *weaxan Beowulf* 3115a as a Corruption

Line 3115a of *Beowulf* comes in the poem's penultimate fitt, 42.[1] Beowulf has been slain by the dragon, and Wīglāf, his loyal retainer, is giving orders for the funeral. He tells his men to gather wood for the pyre, and continues:

'Nu sceal gled fretan
weaxan wonna leg   wigena strengel'

Manuscript *weaxan* has the form of a well-established Old English word, the infinitive of the verb 'to grow', ModE. *to wax*. However, it does not suit the context, not least because it creates syntactic difficulties (being an intransitive verb). Omitting the problematic half-line, one can translate: 'Now fire shall consume . . . the ruler of warriors'; the remaining two words denote 'dark flame'.

It has often been remarked that, if *weaxan* 'to grow' is accepted, then 3115a must be taken as parenthetic—'the dark flame (will) grow'—which is clumsy, as it comes between *fretan* and its direct object. It also interrupts the flow of the thought unduly. What is more, a parenthesis in the first half-line is very rare in the older poetry and may have been considered bad style.[2] Cosijn trenchantly observed (1882: 573–4): 'Es liegt auf der hand, dass *weaxan wonna lêg* entweder verdorben ist oder eine andere bedeutung hat als man bisher angenommen hat.' Discarding the interpretation as a parenthesis (see below, §2), he pointed out 'solche zwischenglieder bilden

[1] The epic is preserved in a single manuscript from about 1000 and is in the 'poetic dialect' (cf. Campbell 1959: §18), containing elements of the Anglian dialects spoken in the Midlands and the north, but written mainly in the orthography of the Late West Saxon standard, based on the dialects of the south of the country (excluding Kent). The editions with the best critical apparatus are Klaeber (1950), Dobbie (1953), and von Schaubert (1961–3).

[2] Krapp (1905: 34–5) only recognizes one instance in *Beowulf*, 3056a; Klaeber (1950: lxv) accepts two further examples, 2778a and the one we are considering. Compare also Mitchell (1985: §3853).

immer einen satz für sich, was hier n i c h t der fall ist, denn *sceal* muss aus dem vorhergehenden suppliert werden'.[3]

2 Holthausen's Conjecture *we(o)san*

Dobbie notes that 'various attempts have been made to avoid the parenthesis and to take l. 3115a as a variation of *gled fretan*' (1953: 276).[4] However, of the suggestions that have been made, only two seem worthy of serious consideration.[5] They both posit a transitive verb with the meaning 'consume, devour'. To do so produces excellent sense and removes the syntactic problem. Instead of a troublesome parenthesis, the text has variation featuring inversion of the word order and the addition of an adjective. The whole sequence can be rendered: 'Now fire shall consume, the dark flame devour the ruler of warriors.'[6] The question is: can the existence of such a word in the original be regarded as plausible?

The older proposal eschews emendation, postulating instead a verb *weaxan* 'to consume, devour', a homonym of 'to grow'. Grein, moved by considerations of meaning and syntax, was the originator of this idea in his *Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter* of 1861–4 (1912 edn.: s.v. '*weaxan* verzehren?'). In support, he cited what Klaeber (1950: 228) describes as 'the (somewhat inconclusive) gloss' *waxgeorn* for EDAX 'gluttonous, greedy' in Ælfric's Colloquy (ed. Garmonsway 1947: l. 290). *Wax-* would presumably be a late form of *weax-* (cf. Campbell 1959: §329.3). These two forms might be considered too slender a basis for establishing a lexeme (especially as *waxgeorn* is an emendation for manuscript ⟨paxgeorn⟩, although

[3] Krapp (1905: 33) similarly defines 'real parentheses' as 'sentences which are inserted as independent additions between the syntactical elements of other sentences', although he does not explicitly invoke this criterion to reject 3115a as an example (cf. further Mitchell 1985: §3848). Mitchell and Robinson call it 'a singularly awkward and unlikely parenthesis' (1998: 159).

[4] All the same, most recent commentators assume a parenthesis here: Klaeber (1950: 117); von Schaubert (1961–3: 173); Wrenn and Bolton (1973: 209); Nickel *et al* (1976–82: 65); Jack (1995: 206).

[5] Compare the textual notes of Dobbie (1953: 276) and von Schaubert (1961–3: 173–4). Mitchell and Robinson (1998: 159) 'prefer to take *weaxan* as a form of the infinitive *wæscan*, *waxan* meaning "wash, bathe"' and translate 'the dark flame engulf', thus reverting to a suggestion of Earle (1892: 102, 194) and Sedgefield (1910: 183), who called it 'a bold figure of speech'. Hoops characterized the interpretation as 'völlig unwahrscheinlich' (1932: 322); Klaeber called it 'far-fetched' (1950: 228).

[6] Fire words often collocate with verbs meaning 'devour' in *Beowulf* (cf. Robinson 1979 = 1993: 75–6). Thus, with *lig* as subject: 1122 *Lig ealle forswealg*... 'Flame swallowed up all...'; and, in a genitive construction, 781–2 *nymþe liges fæþm | swulge on swaþule* 'unless the embrace of fire should swallow (it) in flame'. Further, 3014b *þa sceall brond fretan* 'fire shall devour them', and, of course, 3114b.

⟨p⟩ and wynn are not always easily distinguished in this hand). However, Grein's view was accepted by Cosijn (1882: 573–4), Krapp (1905: 34–5), and Holthausen (1905–6: ii. 193, 258, until the 1929 edition), and is the solution Dobbie plumps for (1953: 276).

The other suggestion was put forward by Holthausen (who had worked on the 1912 revision of Grein's *Sprachschatz* and had separately published a note seeking to supply etymological underpinning for that scholar's interpretation of *weaxan*, 1908: 293–4). The later contribution improves on his earlier idea by positing a formation that is known to have existed in Germanic. Holthausen advocated emending the manuscript form to *weasan* 'to consume' (1929*a*: 90–1). **weasan* would be a spelling of **weosan*,[7] a non-West Saxon form that developed from **wesan*—which would be its West Saxon shape—by the sound change of back-mutation (cf. Campbell 1959: §210.2). Holthausen adduced Gothic *wisan* 'schmausen', and Old High German *fir-wesan* 'verbrauchen' as cognate verbs within Germanic. He incorporated the change into his *Beowulf* edition (1929 onward), and lists the word in his Old English etymological dictionary of 1934 as '*wesan* 3'.

The emendation was embraced by Hoops (1932: 321), and described by Klaeber as 'a very interesting solution' (1950: 228), although he chose not to adopt it (cf. n. 4). Nickel *et al.*, in what is meant to be a revision of Holthausen's edition (cf. 1976–82: vol. i, p. v), mention their predecessor's conjecture approvingly, then rather timidly opt for Sedgefield's 1933 emendation to passive participle *weaxen*—'the full-grown sooty flame'—on the ground that it 'nur eine geringfügige Änderung am Ms. bedingt und alle Vermutungen über sonst nicht belegte Verben . . . überflüssig macht' (1976–82: ii. 65).

Evidently, a more conservative generation has been reluctant to accept *we(o)san* because of the lack of attestations of the verb elsewhere in Old English. But it seems sounder to agree with Maas (1958: §16) that: 'Where several conjectures are available we should choose in the first instance that which is best in style and matter, in the second that which makes it easiest to see how the corruption arose.' Although, *a* for *e* in an ending could be 'linguistically real', a reverse spelling reflecting the weakening of final syllables, the substitution of *x* for *s* (possibly in a ligature) in what may have been an unfamiliar word is an unremarkable error.

[7] There are parallels for the spelling ⟨ea⟩ for *eo* in *Beowulf*; see Klaeber (1950: lxxviii (§12.2)), and cf. Campbell (1959: §§278(b), 280).

3 The Indo-European Ancestry of *we(o)san*

The verb is now much better known. Benveniste (1962: 97–101) first deduced the existence of an Indo-European root **wes-* 'to pasture, tend (livestock)' on the basis of continuants in Hittite and Old Iranian of PIE **wes-tor-* 'herdsman', an archaic agent noun of a type built directly to verbal roots. (Oddly, the verb received no entry in the first edition of Rix *et al.*'s lexicon of Indo-European verbs, 1998, though one has appeared in the second edition of 2001, as '3. **u̯es-*'.) Much of the evidence for IE **wes-* is in the form of nominal derivatives. Hamp (1970) and Bader (1976: 24–6; cf. 1978: 116–18) connected various substantives with the presumed basic meaning 'grass; fodder' (some of them also used of food for humans) in Celtic, Tocharian, and Germanic. Hamp also assigned to the root a verb meaning 'to observe, watch, take care of' in Albanian. However, the verb in its original meaning has been identified in an early Middle English text, the Life of St Margaret, which has two examples of a class V strong preterite singular *wes* (OE **wæs*), as part of an alliterative formula describing Margaret tending her foster mother's sheep (for details, see Stiles 1985; *MED*, s.v *wesen*—unfortunately the data are lacking from the entry in Rix *et al.* 2001). This makes Germanic the only branch of Indo-European to attest the verb in its primary sense.

In Celtic and Germanic the root developed a secondary meaning 'to consume, devour, eat voraciously'—what the livestock do while they are being pastured (for an earlier collection of evidence for this meaning, see Pokorny 1959: 1171, '2. *u̯es-* "schmausen"'). We can compare the semantics of Latin *pascō*, German *weiden*, and English *graze* (used both, transitively, of a human supervising livestock grazing and, intransitively, of the livestock grazing in their own right). The important point is that 'Holthausen and Pokorny's verb' is now recognized as belonging to the root **wes-* 'to pasture, tend (livestock)' and this fact provides a valuable criterion for assessing the semantics of the Germanic data. We may note at the outset that in Germanic the verb can be used of humans in the secondary meaning 'to eat'.

4 Germanic Cognates

THE MEANING OF THE GOTHIC COGNATE *wisan*

Streitberg in the glossary to his edition of the Gothic Bible (1965) defines '2. wisan'—the counterpart of Greek *εὐφραίνεσθαι*, which is usually glossed as 'to rejoice' (cf. Bauer *et al.* 1988: 661–2)—as 'sich freuen, schwelgen, schmausen' ['rejoice, live it up, feast'], which, it will be noticed, diverges from Holthausen's gloss (above, §2). It is no doubt because

of Streitberg's definition that the entry in Seebold's dictionary for the Germanic class V strong verb (mainly represented by Gothic: *wisan -was wesun* ——) is headed 'WES-A- 2 "schwelgen" ' (1970: 562–3). Seebold lists a number of derivatives (for more, see pp. 467–8) and mentions *Beowulf* 3115a, but considers Holthausen's conjecture OE **weosan* 'zu unsicher' (1970: 562). Bammesberger (1979: 138) rejected it on semantic grounds. He wrote: 'Dieser Emendation liegt die anvisierte etymologische Verknüpfung mit got. *wisan* "sich freuen, schwelgen, schmausen" zugrunde' and objected that an English cognate 'bedeutungsmäßig an der Beowulfstelle kaum paßt'.

However, our improved understanding of the word indicates that, from a historical point of view, Streitberg's sequence of meanings ought rather to be reversed, in so far as 'devour, eat' is a basic meaning of the verb. This same message is repeated by the Germanic derivatives (see below). Once this is recognized, Bammesberger's semantic objection falls away.

Indeed, Streitberg had earlier interpreted *wisan* simply as 'schmausen', arguing that its use in the Gothic Bible indicated 'die Freude findet einen sehr konkreten Ausdruck' (1907–8: 309). All the attestations of the word are found in Luke and all but one of them in the parable of the Prodigal Son; in all but one example it is accompanied by the adverb *waila* 'well' (cf. Martellotti 1972: 246–7). Ignoring for the moment the import of Gk. εὐφραιν-, in every instance *wisan* and the compound *biwisan* can indeed be understood as 'to feast'. Where a meaning 'to feast' is not possible, different Gothic verbs are used to render εὐφραιν-, as Streitberg observed (1907–8: 309); similarly Martellotti (1972: 246). The same point has been made more forcibly by Rosén in a detailed philological study of Go. '2. wisan' (1984: 378–87), which observes that the verb always occurs in the context of eating and concludes that it meant 'essen, speisen' (1984: 384–5).[8]

It is surely significant, therefore, that *wisan* occurs in all and only those places where the 'Old Latin' reading is *epulari* 'to feast'.[9] This was pointed out by Streitberg (1907–8: 309) and is noted by Friedrichsen (1926: 111 with n. 2, although Friedrichsen adopted a divergent and—in my view—

8 Incidentally, it may be noted that Lehmann's dictionary misreports Rosén's article. The comment at the end of the entry for '3. wisan' (1986: 406) belongs under Lehmann's lemma '1. wisan' and should read '378–82'.

9 On 'Old Latin' or 'western' readings in the Gothic Bible, compare Stutz (1966: 31–43; 1972: 388–96). It is not possible to consider the intricacies of the textual history of the Gothic Bible here. Suffice it to say that, although clearly based on a Greek text, the translation as transmitted contains readings conforming with pre-Vulgate Latin traditions, whatever the explanation for this state of affairs may be. Such readings are most frequently found in Luke and John (Stutz 1966: 36; Friedrichsen 1926: 161; 1961: 67–8). Not being sure what word the Gothic is translating is an obstacle when trying to establish the meaning of certain Gothic lexemes.

erroneous analysis of the Gothic word-family). Rosén argues that it is not necessary to suppose Latin influence on the Gothic text here, asserting that in New Testament Greek, *εὐφραίνεσθαι* had itself come to mean 'to feast' (1984: 383) and that the Latin versions correctly render this—an example of the sequence of development that Streitberg's lemma suggests.[10] For obvious pragmatic reasons, the concepts EAT, DRINK, AND BE MERRY form a semantic family.[11] Rosén draws attention to the fact that the New Testament passages where a rendering of *εὐφραίνεσθαι* as 'feast' is not feasible are all quotations from or allusions to Old Testament verses and that in the Greek of the Septuagint the verb had still meant 'to rejoice' (1984: 383).

Further, the semantics of—at least some of—the nominal derivatives are hard to understand if the basic meaning of the Gothic (Germanic) verb was 'to rejoice'. That the 'Bedeutungssphäre' of the derivatives is food and eating is emphasized by Streitberg (1907–8: 308), Martellotti (1972: 247), and Rosén (1984: 385)—who argues that this holds for all derivatives in Gothic.

- Go. *waila-wizns**, evidently a nominalization of the phrase *waila wisan*, occurs in the Skeireins (ed. Bennett 1960: VII^{b}. 22–3) in the context of the feeding of the five thousand. Bennett glosses it as 'nourishment, food', and translates 'satisfying them with so much food' (similarly Rosén 1984: 384: 'Speise'), while Streitberg defines it in the glossary to his Bible edition as 'gute Nahrung'; Martellotti (1972: 246 n. 87) considers taking it to mean 'banchetto [feast]'. Friedrichsen (1926: 112), in keeping with his analysis of the word-family, was inclined to render it 'satisfying them with so much good cheer'—which seems a less satisfying interpretation.
- The noun Go. *anda-wizns* appears three times in the Gothic Bible (Rom. 12: 13; Phil. 4: 16; 2 Cor. 11: 8), with the sense 'means of support; wants, needs', and is usually considered to belong to the sphere of nourishment (compare Rosén 1984: 385 and Friedrichsen 1926: 112, who agree on this point).
- The adjective Go. *gawizneigs* is found in Rom. 7: 22: *gawizneigs im . . . witōda gþs*. Streitberg in his glossary takes it to mean 'voll Mitfreude', giving the locus the import 'I am delighted at the law of God'. Accordingly,

[10] Intriguingly, Feist, in his etymological dictionary of Gothic, renders *wisan* as 'schmausen' (1939: 568). Similarly, Mossé in the glossary to his *Manuel* defines '2. (*bi-*)*wisan*' as 'festoyer' (1956: 321) and Bennett in the glossary to his *Introduction* remarks at the top of his entry on *wisan* 'be': 'homographic with *wisan* . . . "feast"' (1980: 180).

[11] Cf. also Wissmann (1932: 14, 91 plus references), and compare the semantics of G. *genießen*. Conversely, the notion of overeating can lead to words for unhappiness: E. *fed up*, and *sad* beside G. *satt*, Lat. *satis*. Unfortunately, Luke 12: 19 is lacking from the Gothic Bible.

> Schubert (1968: 56) derives *gawizneigs* from a noun **gawizns* 'Freude', although 'Mitfreude' would presumably be a better gloss. However, Rosén (1984: 385) interprets the passage as 'stark figurativ-allegorisch' and attributes to **gawizns* the meaning 'gemeinsames Speisen', yielding a sense 'ich bin dem Gesetze Gottes Speisegenosse', although a weaker sense along the lines of 'partaking in the law' might be preferable. Martellotti favoured connecting the word to *wisan* 'to be' via *miþgawisan* 'be together' (1972: 248), which remains a distinct possibility.

Underlying at least the first two of these lexemes is an *i*-stem feminine abstract noun *(*ga*)-*wizns* < **wes-ni-z* with a meaning something like 'sustenance'. Corresponding to this is the NWGmc. feminine *i*-stem **wes-ti-z* 'sustenance, food', which developed the meaning 'feast' in Old English.

Seebold (1970: 562), unlike Streitberg's glossary, also assigns Go. *frawisan** 'to consume, squander' to *wisan* 'eat, feast' (as have Wissmann 1932: 91; Friedrichsen 1926: 113; and Rosén 1984: 385–7). The word is attested solely as a preterite singular *frawas* in Luke 15: 14, when the prodigal son has spent his patrimony.[12]

Consideration of Gothic (-)*wisan* provides an illustration of how linguistic and textual study often proceed hand in hand.[13]

WEST GERMANIC COGNATES OF *we*(*o*)*san*

Gothic *frawisan* has an Old High German cognate: *firwesan* 'to consume, squander', which is attested in a number of glosses (cf. Seebold 1970: 562, and *Althochdeutsches Glossenwörterbuch* s.vv. *fir-wesan* and *fir-wesen*). At Acts 12: 23, CONSUMPTUS is found glossed by both *firwesinir* and *vrezaner*

[12] The weak verb *wizōn* is usually connected with *wisan* 'eat, feast' too. It occurs only once, in association with the obscure nominal *azētjam*, at 1 Tim. 5: 6 *sō wizōndei in azētjam* 'the [widow] living for pleasure'. Krahe and Meid (1967: §183.2), Schubert (1968: 86), and Seebold (1970: 562), following Wissmann (1932: 91), gloss the verb 'schwelgen' and regard it as deverbal to (*waila*) *wisan*; whereas Rosén considers it to be denominal to a hypothecated **wisa* 'meal' (1984: 385). By contrast, Martellotti (1972: 248 with n. 92) weighs assigning it to *wisan* 'be'. *wizōn* seems to mean 'to lead (a certain kind of life)', as Friedrichsen notes (1926: 112), which may favour Martellotti's derivation. All in all, it seems difficult to reach a definite conclusion.

[13] It can be difficult to eradicate false lore from our reference works and the entry in Streitberg's Glossary continues to exercise influence. Understandably enough, Streitberg's definition is repeated by such diverse figures as Schubert (1968: 56 verbatim), Martellotti (1972: 245 'far festa [celebrate]'), Lehmann (1986: 406 'make merry, live sumptuously'), and Rix *et al.* (2001: 'schwelgen, sich freuen'), Naturally, it has repercussions for interpretations; for example, Bammesberger cited above and the present author having glossed OE *wesa* 'reveller' rather than 'glutton'(1985: 298 n. 5), see the next subsection. The meaning 'revel, rejoice' does not seem required at all in Germanic.

(*Althochdeutsche Glossen*, i. 745. 64–6), the same two verb-stems as occur in *Beowulf* 3114–15 (cf. also in Gothic Luke 15: 14 *frawas* and 15: 30 *frēt*).

Further, Old English attests two nominal derivatives that presuppose a verb **wesan* meaning 'devour, feast' (for details and concerning their previous misassignment, see Stiles 1985: 298–9 n. 5; this account supplements and corrects that treatment). The most significant is OE *wesa* 'glutton' (attested in the plural *wesan*, glossing Latin COMMESSATORES, Kentish Glosses 1045, ed. Sweet and Hoad 1978: 194), which is most naturally analysed as a masculine agent noun in *-an-* to a verb **wesan* (cf. Krahe and Meid 1967: §91.3). The other is the abstract noun *oferwesness* 'excess (in feasting)', so defined by Campbell (1972: s.v.), formed with a predominantly deverbal suffix (cf. Krahe and Meid 1967: §125). Neither of these nouns has an equivalent elsewhere in Germanic, which brings the base-form **we(o)san* 'consume, devour, feast' much closer to home than the Gothic and Old High German cognates cited by Holthausen. And, of course, the verb is attested in the meaning 'tend livestock' in Middle English (§3).[14]

5 'Bison' as a Derivative of **wesan*

There is a further word in Germanic that could be interpreted as a nominal derivative of **wesan* 'devour, eat voraciously'. The animal-name 'bison' could be a lexicalization of the present participle **wesand-*/**wesund-* (cf. Krahe and Meid 1967: §129.1), the naming-motive being 'big-eater'. The word is attested in Old High German as *wisant*, *wisunt* and in Old English as *wesand*, *weosend* (cf. Suolahti 1899: 133–6; Jordan 1903: 158–60; also Kluge

[14] Accepting Holthausen's 1929 emendation of *Beowulf* 3115a leaves [*w*]*axgeorn* in Ælfric's Colloquy isolated (cf. §2), as Krogmann pointed out (1939: 398). Not wishing to do so was part of his motivation for reverting to Holthausen's suggestion of 1908. But providing support for a somewhat dubious form is not a valid reason for favouring one emendation over another, superior, one.

On the other hand, it is conceivable that [*w*]*axgeorn* could belong to *wesan* 'devour, eat voraciously'. The semantic fit is excellent, although phonology and especially morphology are more problematic. Assuming, as seems likely, that the word was unfamiliar to the scribe, not only the first letter of ⟨paxgeorn⟩ but also the second and third could be miscopied from *⟨wæsgeorn⟩. Such a form could be a spelling for **wes-georn* with the first element being the verb-stem (cf. Krahe and Meid 1967: §33). Alternatively, the first element of the compound could represent nominal *wæs-* < PGmc. **wasaz*, an otherwise unattested nomen actionis to the verb (cf. Krahe and Meid 1967: §§68.2, 32.3).

If its ⟨æ⟩ is for *-e-*, the form ⟨wæser⟩ 'unnatural appetite' BULIMUS (MS BUBIMUS) in the Harley Glossary (ed. Wright and Wülcker 1883–4: vol. i, no. vi 195/28) might belong to *wesan* as a *-ra*-derivative, cf. Krahe and Meid (1967: §81.20). Schlutter adopts a different analysis (1908: 527–8; unfortunately, Garmonsway 1947: 46 n. 290 gives an incorrect reference to his discussion).

and Mitzka 1975: s.v. *Wisent*, and especially Schaffner 2001: 631–4). Latin *bisōn*, *-ntis*, variant *uisōn*, is a loan from Germanic, as are the Greek forms.

The standard etymology goes back to Suolahti's tentative suggestion (1899: 134), which assigns the word to a root **weis-* 'to stink'. But a bison is not like a skunk, for which such a naming-motive would make sense. We can be confident that many wild animals in the primeval forest were smelly; but would any have eaten as prodigiously as a bison, the largest mammal in Europe? Unlike the North American bison, which grazed in large herds on the great plains, the European bison, dwelling in the forest in small family groups, are mostly browsers, living on leaves, twigs, bark, ferns, mosses, berries, and mushrooms as well as grass. What is more, the root in question is entered in Rix *et al.* (2001) as '2. *u̯ei̯s-* "fließen"', which complicates the semantics somewhat (although cf. Schaffner 2001: 634). Kluge and Seebold prefer a connection with OInd. *visā́na* f. 'horn' (1989 s.v.), following Petersson (1914: 131)—as de Vries (1962) somewhat sardonically puts it: 'also "das gehörnte tier", obgleich die hörner eben nicht gross sind'. A designation 'big-eater' might be hunters' taboo; compare 'the grey one' for the hare and the wolf, 'the brown one' and 'the honey-eater' for the bear. Connecting the animal-name with **wesan* entails raising of **e* to *i* before *u* in continental West Germanic forms, and that these were the source of the Latin and Greek loans, which must have been the case anyway.[15]

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[15] The Old Prussian form ⟨wissambs´⟩, found in the German–Old Prussian Elbing Vocabulary (ed. Mažiulis 1966–81: ii. 40, item 649), is often mentioned in the context of the Germanic word for 'bison'. Some scholars have analysed it as *wis-sambris*, and connected the first element with the stem of the Germanic form. However, in Old Prussian terms, the first element, whether isolated as *wis-* or *wi-*, is obscure, although the second element appears to be the Baltic cognate of the Common Slavic word for 'Auerochs' **zombrŭ*, which in Polish, however, denotes the European bison. Endzelin suggested that the first element could be the result of contamination with the German term (cf. the entry in Mažiulis 1988–97: iv. 249–51). It should further be noted that the Old Prussian word glosses German *Ewer* (*Eber* 'boar'), although there appears to be some confusion in the text, as the German lemma for item 648 is *Wesant* (interestingly, with a stem-vowel *-e-*), which is glossed *tauris* 'Auerochs'.

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35

Die hispanische Heerschau des Silius Italicus

Jürgen Untermann

Die Nachahmung des Schiffskatalogs im zweiten Gesang von Homers *Ilias* ist wie kaum eine andere Passage der homerischen Gedichte zur Pflichtübung in späteren epischen Werken geworden: sie gab deren Verfassern, wie seinerzeit Homer selbst, die Gelegenheit zum einen die Akteure der bevorstehenden Ereignisse vorzustellen, zum anderen, ihre eigenen prosopographischen und geographischen Kenntnisse in ein gutes Licht zu rücken, und damit werden alle diese Exkurse zu beachtenswerten Quellen für die jeweils beschriebene geschichtliche Phase und für die Personen- und Ortsnamen, die darin angeblich oder wirklich eine Bedeutung gehabt haben.

In dem Epos *Punica* des Silius Italicus,[1] das den zweiten punischen Krieg zu Inhalt hat—verfasst gegen Ende des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts—erscheint ein solcher Katalog im dritten Buch. Dort wird berichtet, wie sich Hannibal nach dem Fall von Sagunt im Jahre 218 v.Chr. zum Zug über die Pyrenäen nach Gallien und Italien rüstet. Unbeschwert von seriösen Quellenstudien baut der Dichter hier seine Heerschau ein, indem er zunächst, noch halbwegs plausibel, die afrikanischen Truppen beschreibt, über die Hannibal verfügt, dann aber reichlich phantastisch eine Art nationalen Aufbruchs aller einheimischen Völker Hispaniens zu diesem Unternehmen in Szene setzt,[2] in deutlicher Anlehnung an den entsprechenden Passus im siebten Buch von Vergils *Aeneis*, wo—natürlich viel überzeugender motiviert—die Mobilmachung der italischen Völker gegen den Machtanspruch des orientalischen Eindringlings Aeneas beschrieben wird.

So unglaubhaft für uns der Anlass ist, so dankbar darf man Silius dafür

[1] Die hier besprochenen Stellen wurden zuletzt kommentiert in der Ausgabe von P. Miniconi und G. Devallet (1979) und von F. Spaltenstein (1986).

[2] Nichts davon findet sich im entsprechenden Kontext bei Livius (21. 23) oder Polybius (3. 35. 1–6); diese berichten—im Gegenteil—dass Hannibal noch unmittelbar vor seinem Zug über die Pyrenäen Probleme mit der Unbotmäßigkeit einiger hispanischer Stämme hatte.

sein, dass er uns auf diese Weise eine Fülle von Orts- und Stammesnamen (seine Personennamen sind weitaus weniger brauchbar) aus der noch nicht von den Römern besetzten iberischen Halbinsel mitteilt. Es ist zwar kaum ein Name dabei, den wir nicht auch bei anderen, wissenschaftlich solideren Autoren wie Strabo, Plinius und Ptolemaeus finden, aber es lohnt sich doch, vom Standpunkt der althispanischen Ethnologie und Ortsnamenkunde aus zu beobachten, was ihn an diesen Namen interessiert und wie er sie für seine Leser kommentiert. Silius' wichtigstes Vorbild für die sprachliche und poetische Gestaltung seines Epos war Vergils *Aeneis* und in der Gliederung des Stoffes hat er sich eng an die dritte Dekade von Livius' Geschichtswerk angelehnt.

Zunächst ein Blick auf das Prooemium (3. 223–30), das zwar pflichtschuldigst der Vorgabe bei Homer und Vergil folgt, aber doch zu bemerkenswerten Abweichungen gezwungen ist:

> prodite, Calliope, famae, quos horrida coepta
> excierint populos tulerintque in regna Latini
> et quas indomitis urbes armarit Hiberis
> quasque Paraetonio[3] glomerarit litore turmas.
> ausa sibi Libye rerum deponere frenos
> et terris mutare iugum. non ulla nec umquam
> saevior it trucibus tempestas acta procellis
> nec bellum raptis tam dirum mille carinis[4]
> acrius infremuit trepidumque exterruit orbem.

Homers *ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι* (*Ilias* 2. 484) und Vergils *pandite nunc Helicona, deae* (*Aeneis* 7. 641) wird verkürzt auf *prodite* und auf die eine Muse der epischen Dichtung. Das daran angefügte *famae* ist ein letzter Rest der Verse

> *ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν* (*Ilias* 2. 486)
> ad nos vix tenuis famae perlabitur aura (*Aeneis* 7. 646),

die ihrerseits kennzeichnend für die abweichende Situation der beiden

[3] *Παραιτόνιον*, 300 km westlich von Alexandria gelegen, war in römischer Zeit die Hauptstadt der Provinz *Libya inferior*, steht aber hier schon namengebend für die gesamte Bevölkerung der afrikanischen Mittelmeerküste.

[4] Mit *mille carinis* nutzt Silius die Gelegenheit, sich enger an Homer anzuschließen; er dürfte damit die Schiffe meinen, in denen die afrikanischen Kontingente über das Mittelmeer kamen, wogegen Vergil die griechische Seefahrt nach Troia völlig in einen Landkrieg umwandeln musste. Das merkwürdige Syntagma *raptis mille carinis* lehnt sich dagegen wieder an Vergils *Halaesus . . . mille rapit populos* (7. 725) 'riss mit sich fort (in den Feldzug)' in der Beschreibung des oskischen Kontingents an.

älteren Epiker sind: sowohl Homer als auch Vergil mussten sich von ihren Hörern/Lesern fragen lassen, woher sie denn so genau über zahlreiche Orte und Personen Bescheid wussten, von deren Epoche der eine durch drei oder vier schriftlose Jahrhunderte—nach antiker Tradition war der Trojanische Krieg 1183 v.Chr. zu Ende—der andere durch mehr als ein Jahrtausend getrennt waren. Da half nur die Antwort: die Musen wussten es, und die haben es mir erzählt:

> ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα (2. 485)
> et meministis enim, divae, et memorare potestis (7. 645).

Silius Italicus dagegen lebte weniger als 300 Jahre nach Hannibals Heerzug und verfügte über eine lückenlose Folge ausführlicher historischer Berichte von jener Zeit bis in seine Gegenwart—Cato, Polybios, Valerius Antias, Livius, Pompeius Trogus und zweifellos noch weitere. Für das Ende des dritten Jahrhunderts v.Chr. hatte er also irdische Information genug, und für die frühe Gründerzeit, die er in seinen Katalog hereinzieht, gab es, wie wir vor allem von Strabo erfahren, ebenfalls schon eine detaillierte Mythographie, so dass für Silius die beiläufige Nennung der *fama* als Empfängerin der Musenbotschaft (3. 223)[5] ausreichte, um sich bei der Muse für ihre Hilfe zu bedanken.

Die langen Aufzählungen von militärischen Einheiten (29 in 265 Versen bei Homer,[6] 13 in 171 Versen bei Vergil, und 23 hispanische[7] in 180 Versen bei Silius Italicus) bieten im Prinzip immer die gleiche Information: den Namen des Volkes oder der Stadt, den Namen des Anführers und—nur bei Homer und Vergil—die Zahl der Schiffe in der *Ilias* oder die der Krieger in der *Aeneis*. Darüber hinaus gibt Homer—wie in einem Reisehandbuch—kurze Listen von Städtenamen, meist durch Attribute wie πετρήεις, εὐρύχορος, ἐϋκτίμενος, ἐρατεινός usw. charakterisiert; ebenso Vergil, der jedoch zuweilen auch längere Exkurse über Sitten, Kulte oder geschichtliche Zusam-

[5] So (*famae* Dat.sg., Objekt von *prodite*) nicht recht überzeugend gedeutet von Spaltenstein (1986: 201), der dann aus dem Plural *prodite* schließt, dass hier wie bei Homer und Vergil alle Musen angerufen werden, wenn auch nur eine genannt wird. Im Blick auf das Prooemium des Truppenkatalogs in der *Thebais* (1. 32–6) des Statius—Zeitgenosse des Silius—in dem zuerst eine divinisierte *Fama* und dann, drei Verse später, die Muse Calliope angerufen werden, scheint es mir aber ebensogut möglich, dass auch hier die *Famae* (im Vok.pl.), asyndetisch auf *Calliope* folgend, als Begleiterinnen der Muse anzusehen sind; dann wäre auch der Plural von *prodite* nicht mehr erläuterungsbedürftig.

[6] Fast wie ein Anhang dazu wird am Ende des zweiten Gesangs die knappe Aufzählung (2. 816–77) der 16 troianischen Truppen und Verbündeten nachgeliefert.

[7] Dazu kommen in den Versen 231–324 die Truppenteile aus Afrika, die hier nicht näher besprochen werden.

menhänge der Orte einflicht. Über die genannten Personen verliert Homer—von stereotypen Epitheta abgesehen—fast nur dann ein paar zusätzliche Worte, wenn es sich um Abkömmlinge von Göttern handelt; Vergil ist etwas freigiebiger mit anekdotischen Anmerkungen und genealogischen Informationen.

Im Gegensatz zu beiden sind bei Silius die ethnographischen Berichte und die Personen auf zwei weit voneinander getrennte Ebenen verteilt: einerseits auf die ferne, tausend Jahre vor dem zweiten Punischen Krieg liegenden Zeit, in der die genannten Städte gegründet oder die Volkstämme sich niedergelassen haben, andererseits, wie bei Homer und Vergil, auf die Hilfstruppen und ihre Anführer im aktuellen Augenblick, also im Jahre 218 v.Chr.

Bei den Namen der aktuellen Heerführer gibt Silius sich nicht die geringste Mühe um historische Korrektheit,[8] er scheint ins Blaue hinein Namen zu erfinden oder unreflektiert irgendwoher zu holen. Zudem nennt er solche Führer nur für sechs der 23 von ihm aufgelisteten Truppenkontingente.

Mandonius und *Viriathus* spielen bekanntlich ln der Geschichte Hispaniens eine große Rolle, werden aber beide hier völlig abwegig verwendet: *Mandonius* als Anführer der Küstenstädte des Valenciano und der Sedetaner (376)[9] und nicht, wie bei Polybios und Livius, der Ilergeten, und nicht, wie bei diesen, unzertrennlich mit *Indibilis*/*Ἀνδοβάλης* verbunden, sondern mit einem gewissen *Caeso* (377), dessen Name in Hispanien sonst nur noch als Cognomen eines Duovir und Flamen der Stadt Obulco, des heutigen Porcuna in Andalusien, belegt ist (*CIL* ii. 2126). Silius' *Viriathus* führt außer den Gallaekern auch die Lusitaner an, wie der große Caudillo dieses Namen in den für Rom so gefährlichen und verlustreichen Lusitaner- und Keltibererkriegen des zweiten Jahrhunderts, und Silius scheint sich eben diesen hier als jungen Mann—*primo in aevo*—vorstellen zu wollen:

> hos [sc. Gallaecos] Viriathus agit Lusitanumque remotis
> extractum lustris,[10] primo Viriathus in aevo,

[8] Auch bei Vergil spielen hierbei Phantasie und mythologische Assoziation eine größerer Rolle als die Bemühung um historische Realität; keiner der Anführer in seinem Truppenkatalog trägt einen Namen, den wir nach unseren heutigen Kenntnissen für das vorhistorische Italien rekonstruieren würden.

[9] Wie auch andere Autoren unterscheidet Silius die Sedetaner, die im südlichen Aragón zwischen Ebro und Küstenkordillere wohnen, nicht von den Edetaner im Küstenland zwischen *Saetabis*—Játiva und Sagunt; s. dazu Untermann (1990: 1. 116, mit weiterer Bibliographie).

[10] Während in der übrigen Historiographie und Geographie die Lusitaner eine kultivierte und mächtige Gruppe von Städten und Stämmen (Strabo 3. 3. 3: *ἡ Λυσιτανία ἐστὶ μέγιστον*

nomen Romanis pactum mox nobile damnis

(354–6)

Der berühmte Viriatus wurde aber kaum vor 180 v.Chr., also erst vierzig Jahre nach dem Beginn des punischen Krieges geboren.

Drei weitere Namen könnten als hispano-keltisch gelten, sind aber nirgendwo sonst für irgendwie prominente Personen bezeugt. Der Führer der Vettonen heißt *Balarus* (378), ebenso ein einfacher Mann auf einer lateinischen Inschrift aus Ávila,[11] also vom Ostrand des Vettonengebiets. *Arbacus* (362) sieht zwar aus wie ein Gegenstück des für Keltiberien bezeugten Ortsnamen *Ἀρβάκη*,[12] er trainiert aber die Truppen der ausschließlich von Phöniziern bewohnten Insel *Ebusus*—Ibiza. Für die Städte der Baetica sind zuständig *Phorkys* (402)—so hießen der Feldherr der Phryger in der *Ilias* (2. 862) und der Meergott, der die grausigsten Monster der Frühzeit gezeugt hat[13]—und *Arauricus* (403); dieser sonst nirgendwo belegte Name kann kaum anders erklärt werden als Ableitung von dem südgallischen Flussnamen *Arauris*, dem heutigen Hérault, dessen Stamm im alten Namen der Stadt Orange, *Arausio*, und in dem Namen eines Asturers, *Arausa*,[14] wiederkehrt, also wohl zum keltischen Repertoire gehört.

Die Leute von Pyrene und die aus der Keltibererstadt Uxama werden von kleinasiatischen Flüssen, *Cydnus* (338) und *Rhyndacus* (388), angeführt; von *Phorkys* war soeben die Rede. Es ist schwer nachvollziehbar, was sich Silius bei alledem gedacht hat. In den einschlägigen Geschichtswerken hätte er nicht nur *Mandonius* und *Viriathus*, sondern noch viele weitere gut hispanische Namen gefunden, sogar vornehmlich solche von Fürsten oder Condottieren. Auf *Phorkys* könnte er allenfalls durch den ebenfalls schon erwähnten Namen der andalusischen Stadt *Porcuna* gekommen sein, die aber nicht unter den vorher genannten Städten mit Truppenanteilen aus dieser Gegend erscheint. Was er mit *Cydnus* und *Rhyndacus* will, bleibt völlig unklar.

Transparenter sind Silius' Kriterien bei der Beschreibung von Orten und

τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ἐθνῶν) und die eigentlichen Träger des von Viriatus geleiteten Widerstands gegen Rom sind, werden sie hier, im Gegensatz zu den für Silius weitaus interessanteren Gallaeker, 'aus abgelegenen Sümpfen herausgeholt'; was den Dichter zu dieser Deklassierung bewogen hat, ist unklar.

[11] In gut keltiberischem Namenformular *Candano Cabura*(*teicum*) *Balarus*: Knapp (1992: Nr. 30).

[12] Steph.Byz. s.v.: *Ἀρβάκη, πόλις ἐν Κελτιβηρίᾳ.*

[13] Als solcher tritt er später (10. 173–7) auf, wo er sich, *ab antris Herculeae Calpes* 'aus den Höhlen des Felsen von Gibraltar' mit dem Gorgonenschild in die Schlacht wirft.

[14] Bronzetafel aus Astorga (*CIL* ii. 2633); Funktionär im Rahmen eines Gastfreundschaftvertrags zwischen asturischen Stämmen.

Stämmen. Wo es, jedenfalls seiner Meinung nach, nichts Mythologisches anzumerken gibt, beschränkt er sich entweder auf kurze Aufzählung, so bei den Städten am unteren Guadalquivir (396–401) und zwischen Emporiae[15] und Saetabis (369–75), oder aber auf eine fachgerechte ethnographische Beschreibung gegenwärtiger Zustände, so bei den Cantabrern (325–31), deren kriegerische Lebensweise ausführlich erläutert wird, oder bei der Jugend der Gallaeker (344–53), die sich auf das Weissagen versteht, barbarische Lieder in ihrer Sprache singt—*barbara . . . patriis ululantem carmina linguis* (346), Kriegstänze aufführt und alle Arbeit, auch den Ackerbau, den Frauen überlässt, oder bei den Keltiberern—*Celtae sociati nomen Hiberis* (340)—die die im Krieg Gefallenen nicht bestatten, sondern, wie die Perser (Hdt. 1. 140), den Geiern preisgeben.

Wo immer ihm dagegen brauchbare Überlieferungen oder Vergleiche zur Verfügung stehen, holt Silius Gründung und Herkunft aus einer den aktuellen Ereignissen weit vorausliegenden Zeit in den Vordergund. An einer Stelle im ersten Buch seines Epos, wo vom Beginn der Belagerung von Sagunt die Rede ist, lässt sich sein Vorgehen im Vergleich mit seiner Quelle besonders gut verfolgen—zunächst Livius 21. 7. 1–2:

dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam Saguntum summa vi oppugnatur. civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum[16] quidam generis.

Silius macht daraus eine Folge von 23 Versen (1. 271–93; rechts in den Klammern wird auf die entprechende Stelle bei Livius verwiesen):

prima Saguntinas turbarunt classica portas	(iam oppugnatur)
bellaque sumpta viro belli maioris amore.	
haud procul Herculei tollunt se litore muri	(sita passus mille ferme a mari)
clementer crescente iugo,[17] quis nobile nomen	
conditus excelso sacravit colle Zacynthos.	(a Zacyntho insula)

[15] (*viros*)*Phocaicae dant Emporiae* (369) zeigt Silius' Bestreben, alle wichtigen Orte der Halbinsel in seine Heerschau einzureihen; die Griechenstadt Emporion stand in Wirklichkeit natürlich eindeutig auf der Seite der Römer und war der erste Landeplatz für die römische Flotte, als die Scipionen den Krieg gegen die Karthager in der iberischen Halbinsel eröffneten.

[16] Während die griechische Insel Zakynthos oft mit Sagunt (bei Polybios *Ζάκανδα* genannt) in Verbindung gebracht wird (z.B. Strabo 3. 159; Plinius *NH* 16. 216), ist die zusätzliche Herleitung aus der Stadt Ardea in Latium nur bei Livius und, diesem folgend, bei Silius belegt; motiviert ist sie durch den zweiten Namen der Stadt, *arse* auf iberischen Münzen (Untermann 1975: 231); zu den Namen und zu den Münzlegenden zuletzt: Aranegui (2002: 25–8); Velaza (2002: 130–4); García-Bellido und Blázquez (2002: 37–8), alle mit weiterer Biblographie.

[17] Ein merkwürdiges Indiz dafür, dass Silius oder seine Quelle Sagunt gekannt haben; in

Danach 15 Verse, in denen von Zakynthos und Geryon und deren Beziehung zu Hispanien die Rede ist, und weiter:

firmavit tenues ortus mox Daunia[18] pubes	(oriundi . . . dicuntur)
sedis inops, misit largo quam dives alumno	
magnanimis regnata viris clarum Ardea nomen.	(mixtique etiam ab Ardea . . . generis).

Daran schließt sich übergangslos noch der Hinweis auf den Vertrag an, der die Saguntiner vor den Karthagern beschützen sollte—bei Livius kurz vorher, 21. 2. 7:

foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur,

bei Silius (1. 294–5):

libertas populis pacto servata decusque	(libertas servaretur, foedus)
maiorum et Poenis urbi imperitare negatum,	

Silius macht aus längst Vergangenem lebendige Geschichte und scheut sich nicht, diese mitten in die Ereignisse der Gegenwart einzureihen.

Zurück zur Heerschau im dritten Buch. Mythologische Assoziationen bestehen oft in kurz hingeworfenen Andeutungen, manchmal auch in einer etwas ausführlicheren, aber stets sehr komprimierten Wiedergabe alter echter oder neuer erfundener Sagen, und immer wird vom Leser ein beträchtliche Menge von Vorkenntnissen erwartet. Einige Beispiele:

Cerretani, quondam Tirynthia castra (3. 357) erinnert auf dem Umweg über den Ort seiner Jugendzeit, *Tiryns* in der Argolis, an Hercules und spielt auf seine Affäre mit der schönen Pyrene am Fuß des nach ihr benannten Gebirges an;[19] die *Cerretani* bewohnen dessen östlichsten Teil.

iam cui Tlepolemus sator et cui Lindus origo . . . | Balearis (364–5) steht im stellvertretenden Singular für die Bewohner der Balearen, die von der Insel Rhodos und deren in Homers Schiffskatalog (2. 653–70) ausführlich beschriebenen König Tlepolemos, Sohn des Herakles, abstammen sollen.

der Tat steigt der Kamm des im Übrigen allseits schroff abfallenden Burgbergs von Westen nach Osten etwas an.

[18] Livius' *Ardea* wird hier zunächst durch *Daunia pubes* paraphrasiert, das auf den bei Vergil *Aen.* 10. 616, 12. 22 erwähnten König von Ardea, Daunus, verweist, den Vater des Turnus, des Gegners von Aeneas in der *Aeneis*.

[19] Wenig später, anlässlich Hannibals Übergang nach Gallien, in den Versen 415–40 folgt eine ausführlichere Beschreibung des Gebirges einschließlich der Geschichte von Herakles und Pyrene.

Dass Carthago Nova nicht von den Karthagern, sondern von dem homerischen Helden Teukros gegründet worden ist, wird dem Leser hier—*Carthago . . . Teucro fundata vetusto* (368)—einfach zugemutet; an einer anderer Stelle des Epos,

> urbs colitur Teucro quondam fundata vetusto,
> nomine Carthago, Tyrius tenet incola muros
> (15. 192–3),

wird dies wenigstens etwas zurechtgerückt; aber Silius schien nicht gewillt zu sein, die im übrigen völlig dunkle Verbindung von Teukros mit Carthago aufzugeben.[20]

Um *Parnassia Castulo* (391) zu verstehen, muss man daran erinnern, dass die große Bergbaustadt in der Nähe des heutigen Linares, die bei den Iberern *Kastilo* oder *Castlo* hieß,[21] bei den Römern *Castulo* und bei dem griechischen Geographen Ptolemaeus *Καστουλών* heißt, von anderen griechischen Autoren, namentlich Polybios, *Κασταλών* genannt wird, unverkennbar im Gedanken an die kastalische Quelle in Delphi und somit im Parnassos-Gebirge, dessen Name oft für den des delphischen Heiligtums eingesetzt wird.

Im Nordwesten und Norden konnte Silius aus dem Vollen schöpfen, da es für diese Gegenden längst eine Fülle von graekophilen Legenden gab, möglicherweise angeregt einerseits durch die Vorstellungen vom Ende der Welt, dem nahen Totenreich und den Inseln der Seligen,[22] andererseits von dem Bestreben, für die Wanderungen des Herakles und für die Irrfahrten des Odysseus und anderer aus dem trojanischen Krieg zurükkehrender Helden eine reale geographische Zuordnung zu finden.[23] Strabo äußert sich in seinem Werk ausführlich über Herakles und Odysseus in Hispanien (3. 2. 13), über Hellenen, Teukros, Amphilochos in Galicien und über den im Übrigen unbekannten Okelas aus dem Gefolge des Antenor in Kantabrien

[20] Noch stärker abgeschwächt bei Iustinus 44. 3. 2–3: 'post finem Troiani belli Teucrum . . . Hispaniae litoribus adpulsum loca, ubi nunc est Karthago Nova, occupasse . . . inde Gallaeciam transisse . . .'.

[21] Der iberische Name ist durch zahlreiche Münzen mit der Legende *kastilo* in iberischer Schrift gesichert (s. zuletzt García-Bellido und Blázquez 2002: 226–7), *Castlo* steht auf einer teilweise in iberischer Sprache verfassten lateinischen Inschrift (Untermann 1990: 2. 651–2, Nr. H.6.1).

[22] Vgl. zuletzt Moralejo (o.J.).

[23] Merkwürdig ist, dass die Legenden um Herakles und Odysseus einerseits und die um andere trojanische und griechische Heroen (Amphilochos, Teukros, Tydeus und deren Gefolge) andererseits verschiedene geographische Einzugsgebiete zu haben scheinen: letztere werden fast ausschließlich für den Norden und Nordwesten erwähnt, Herakles und Odysseus vorwiegend für das westliche Mittelmeer und den äußersten Südwesten der Halbinsel.

(3. 4. 3),[24] und selbst der sonst so realistische Plinius flicht in seine Beschreibung der galicischen Küste (*NH* 4. 112) hinter den Stammesnamen *Helleni*, *Grovi* und dem Ortsnamen *castellum Tyde* die Bemerkung ein: *Graecorum subolis omnia*.[25]

Silius widmet Zuwanderern in diesen Gegenden zwei sehr komplizierte Passagen, beide, wie alle bisher genannten, im Kontext der Aussendung und im Eintreffen (*misere*, *venit*) von Truppen für den Feldzug nach Italien.

> venit et Aurorae lacrimis perfusus in orbem
> diversum patrias fugit cum devias oras
> armiger Eoi non felix Memnonis Astyr.
> (332–4)

Memnon war König der Äthiopier, Sohn der Eos (gr. ἠοῖος oder ἠῷος, lat. *Eous*), die hier lateinisch *Aurora* genannt wird; er kam dem Priamos zu Hilfe und wurde von Achill im Zweikampf getötet. Ovid schildert in den *Metamorphosen* 13. 576–622 ausführlich die Totenklage der Mutter (*Aurorae lacrimae*). Von seinem glücklosen Schildträger Astyr, der danach aus Äthiopien in einen anderen Teil der Welt (*in orbem diversum*), in den hispanischen Norden geflohen ist,[26] ist sonst nirgendwo die Rede. Silius scheint hier chronologisch und geographisch gewaltsam den Etrusker Astyr, den Vergil in der *Aeneis* 10. 180–1 erwähnt, dem aber jeder Bezug zu Memnon fehlt, für seine Absicht, den Asturern einen Stammvater zu besorgen, benutzt zu haben. Offiziell werden die *Astures* und ihr Land *Asturia* mit *-u-* in der zweiten Silbe geschrieben,[27] und auch Silius scheint sich, soweit es die Überlieferung erkennen lässt, an allen übrigen Belegstellen an diese Regel zu halten.

An Plinius' bereits zitierten Passus (*NH* 4. 112) *Helleni*, *Grovi*, *castellum Tyde*, *Graecorum subolis omnia* erinnern die Verse 366–7 bei Silius; die *Helleni* des Plinius[28] kommen bei Silius zwar nicht vor, wohl aber die Stadt Tyde und die Grovier:

[24] Wenn es um die Suche nach einem würdigen ἥρως κτίστης ging (wie bei Strabo für die anderweitig nirgendwo erwähnte Stadt Ὠψικέλλα), griff man notfalls, hier wie bei den Asturern (s. unten zu *Astyr*) auch auf die Gefolgsleute der großen Helden zurück; ob diese aus uns heute verlorenen Quellen, z.B. den unter dem Titel Νόστοι zusammengefassten nachhomerischen Epen, bekannt waren oder frei erfunden sind, können wir nicht mehr ermitteln.

[25] Vielleicht aus den *Historiae Philippicae* des Pompeius Trogus, aus dem Iustinus 44. 3. 2 den Satz zitiert: *Gallaeci autem Graecam sibi originem adserunt*.

[26] Spaltenstein (1986: 219) versucht eine Rekonstruktion der Geschichte, die sich hinter den Worten *patrias oras fugit* und *non felix* verbirgt.

[27] In den zahlreichen Inschriften ist nur einmal Y (statt V) belegt: *CIL* viii. 2747 (Lambaesis in Afrika).

[28] Wahrscheinlich die gräzisierende Entstellung (bei Strabo 3. 4. 3 sogar mit griechischer

et quos nunc Gravios violato nomine Graium
Oeneae misere domus Aetolaque Tyde.

Die *Grovi* oder *Grovii* sind gut dokumentiert in Inschriften,[29] bei Ptolemaeus (2. 6. 44) und bei Pomponius Mela (3. 10); bei Silius werden sie zu *Gravii*, und er beschwert sich auch noch darüber, dass diese Form dadurch entstanden sei, dass man dem Namen *Graii* Gewalt angetan habe, der bei lateinischen Dichtern die Griechen bezeichnet.

Für den zweiten Vers muss man wissen, dass es im griechischen Aetolien den König Oeneus gegeben hat, den Vater des vor Troja berühmt gewordenen Tydeus: Tyde in Galicien war also—so Silius—eine aetolische Stadt und ihr Kontingent kam aus dem Hause des Oeneus. Dem Tydeus als ihrem Gründer zuliebe wird ihr Name von Silius mit dem griechischen *y* geschrieben. In Inschriften und in den Itineraren heißt die Stadt *Tude*, bei Ptolemaeus *Τοῦδαι*, es ist das heutige Tui am Unterlauf des Miño. Dass auch Plinius die gräzisierende Schreibung *Tyde* verwendet, entspricht seiner oben zitierten Notiz von der *Graecorum suboles*; dass er dabei ebenfalls an Tydeus gedacht hat, ist eher unwahrscheinlich—es wäre der einzige Fall einer solchen Heroen-Etymologie in seinen hispanischen Kapiteln; immerhin muss er, wie dieser Passus zeigt, etwas von dem Anspruch der Gallaeker auf eine besondere Beziehung zu Griechenland gewusst haben,

Ein Versuch, Absicht und Erfolg der hispanischen Heerschau in Silius Italicus' *Punica* in kurze Worte zusammenfassen: es scheint ihm darum zu gehen—und gelingt ihm aufs Beste—den fernen Westen der Oekumene, die iberische Halbinsel darzustellen als ein untrennbares Konglomerat von ursprünglicher Wildheit, wie die Kriegslust der Cantabrer und die barbarischen Gesänge der Gallaeker, und von allgegenwärtiger Einbindung in griechische Tradition, und damit ihrer unveräußerlichen Zugehörigkeit zur Alten Welt, wie diese sich im ersten nachaugusteischen Jahrhundert verstehen konnte. Dass er dies paradoxerweise in einen Aufbruch unter der Führung von Hannibal eingebunden hat, der am Trasimenischen See, *ante portas* und bei Cannae Rom an den Rand des Untergangs bringen sollte, werden die Leser—wenn sie es überhaupt realisiert haben—bald wieder vergessen haben.

Endung *Ἕλληνες*) eines gallaekischen Stammesnamen; am ehesten bietet sich die *Elaenii* an, die indirekt durch den Ortsnamen *Elaeneobriga* (*Année épigraphique* 1973: 299, Braga im Norden von Portugal) bezeugt sind; Tranoy (1981: 68) hält auch für möglich, dass *Helleni* aus dem im gleichen Gebiet gut bezeugten Stammesnamen *Cileni* abgewandelt ist.

[29] Belege bei Tranoy (1981: 67).

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PART FIVE

INDO-IRANIAN AND TOCHARIAN

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36

On Vedic Suppletion: *dāś* and *vidh*

José Luis García Ramón

1 Preliminary Remarks

Vedic *dāś* 'honour, worship, revere, offer' has three constructions in common with synonymous *vidh*: (*a*) with dative of the recipient and instrumental of the offering, (*b*) with dative of the recipient and accusative of the offering, and (*c*) with accusative of the recipient and instrumental of the offering. Of these constructions (*a*) is by far the most frequently attested in both roots as against (*b*) and (*c*), the occurrences of which are extremely rare (§§2–3). The overwhelming preponderance of construction (*a*) is exclusively restricted to both *dāś* and *vidh*, in sharp contrast with other verbs of offering and celebrating, which have types (*b*) and/or (*c*) (§4). Two facts allow us to take a further step and assume the existence of a suppletive pair *dāś* :: *vidh* in the Rig Veda: on the one hand, the perfect synonymy between both lexemes in constructions (*a*–*c*), as shown by minimal pairs (§5); on the other hand, the fact that *dāś* is attested only in the present stem (and perfect), whereas *vidh* builds a thematic aorist stem (*vidh-á-*), as recognized by Karl Hoffmann (1969).[1] In the present contribution, an attempt will be made to show that the pair *dāś* :: *vidh* fulfils all the conditions for acceptance as suppletive in pure Rig-Vedic synchrony: both verbs are defective and stay in complementary distribution in spite of three occurrences of *vindh-á-te* (§6), their semantics overlap perfectly and fit into the pattern of an opposition in terms of pres. *dā́ṣṭi* :: aor. *ávidhat* :: perf. *dadā́śa* (§7). The occurrence of 1st pl. opt. *dāśema* along with *vidhema* in RV VII 14. 2ab is no major problem, for it may be explained as a metrically conditioned variation, which

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[1] I basically follow his translations of those passages in which *vidh* occurs.

ultimately relies upon the apparent interchangeability of present and aorist stems with the moods (§8); an interesting Homeric parallel supports this assumption (§9). The case for suppletion is strengthened by the fact that the predominant construction (*a*), being exclusive to *dāś* and *vidh*, is actually incompatible with the original meaning of both. For *dāś* (IE **deḱ-* 'receive') a construction (*c*) 'receive someone (acc.) with something (instr.)' would have been expected, for *vidh* (IE **u̯idʰ-o/e-* from **u̯i-dʰh₁-o/e-* 'divide', whence 'dole out' by univerbation of **u̯i-dʰeh₁-*, as shown by Thieme 1949) a construction (*b*) 'offer something (acc.) to someone (dat.)' would have been appropriate (§§10–11). Construction (*a*) can therefore only be explained as a common specific development by contamination of (*b*) and (*c*) in the framework of a suppletive pair *dāś* :: *vidh* (§12). For the early stages of Avestan the existence of a suppletion *das* :: *vid* may be assumed in view of OAv. *vīd* 'take care of, dedicate oneself to (dat.)' and, especially, of the residual derivative OAv. *dasəma-* 'offering' and *vīd* 'dedicate oneself to' (dat.), the meaning of which is hardly conceivable without the semantic levelling of both lexemes in the framework of a former suppletive pair (§13).

2 Ved. *dā́ś* and its Construction Types; Contrast between *dā́ś* and *daśasyá-*

Let us first of all briefly recall the essential points of both roots. As for *dāś* 'honour, welcome, worship, offer' (subject = a person, beneficiary = a god),[2] it is attested in the present stem (*dā́ṣṭi* and them. *dā́ś-a-*, also subj. *dā́śat*(*i*) and opt. *dā́śema*) and in the perfect stem (*dadāś-*), which is practically synonymous with the present[3] (cf. also the participle forms *dadāśvā́ṃs*/*dadāśúṣ-* (4×) 'pious worshipper', also lexicalized *dāśvā́ṃs*/*dāśúṣ-* 'respectful' and 'merciful',[4] and the nominal forms *dā́ś-* 'offering', *puro-ḍā́ś-* 'sacrificial cake', *dāśv-àdhvara-* 'sacrificial worshipper'). It has basically three constructions to designate the recipient (animate) and the honour/offering (inanimate) respectively distributed according to the figures in Table 36.1,[5]

[2] With the exception of II 19. 4ab *só apratī́ni mánave purū́ṇī́ndro dāśad dā́śúṣe* 'many (enemies) . . . Indra offers to the offering man'.

[3] Delbrück, *Grdr.* iv/2. 212–13; Kümmel (2000: 242 ff.: 'präsentische Bedeutung mit Implikation einer vergangenen Handlung').

[4] From **da-dć-*; cf. Kümmel (2000: 242 ff.). For other terms with conversive meaning in the field of religious gift and exchange in RV, cf. Elizarenkova (1995: 50 ff.).

[5] When the verb is constructed with dative of the recipient only (14×), it is impossible to decide between construction (*a*) with omission of the instrumental, and (*b*) with omission of the accusative. The construction with the instrumental only may correspond either to (*a*) with omission of the dative, or to (*c*) with omission of the accusative (2×: VIII 4. 6d

TABLE 36.1. *Construction Types of* dāś

	Recipient	Offering	
(*a*)	dat.	instr.: *devā́ya námasā*	22×
(*b*)	dat.	acc.: *devā́ya námas*	5×[a]
(*c*)	acc.	instr.: *devám námasā*	2×[b] (plus 1×)[c]

[a] I 171. 6b; I 93. 3b; I 94. 15a; II 19. 4b; IV 5. 1b.
[b] V 41. 16a; VIII 19. 14a.
[c] VI 48. 2ab *ūrjó nápātaṃ . . . dā́śema havyádātaye* 'we would revere the son of force so that he grants the offerings'. When only the accusative of the receiver is attested, it is exclusively construction (*c*) that comes into consideration.

in which the recipient and the honour/offering are represented conventionally by *devá-* 'god' and by *námas-* 'reverence' respectively.

EXAMPLES

(*a*) VIII 19. 5 *yáḥ samídhā yá ā́hutī yó védena dadā́śa márto agnáye*
yó námasā s$_u$vadhvaráḥ

the mortal who has honoured Agni with firewood, (who) with an oblation, (who) with wisdom, (who) with obeisance (is) a good worshipper . . .

(*b*) I 93. 3ab *ágnīṣomā yá ā́hutiṃ yó vāṃ dā́śād dhavíṣkr̥tim*

Agni and Soma, whoever offers you a libation, who (dedicates) an offering performance . . .[6]

(*c*) V 41. 16ab *kathā́ dāśema námasā sudā́nūn evayā́ marútaḥ . . .*

How would we honour the generous Maruts with reverence . . .?

At all events, the constructions of *dāś* are not coincident with those of *daśas-yá-*, obviously a denominative of **dáśas-* 'honour'[7] belonging to the

dāśnóti námaüktibhiḥ '(who) reveres (you) with words of praise'; VIII 84. 5ab *dā́śema kásya mánasā yajñásya sáhaso yaho* 'with which thought on the sacrifice would we worship (you), youngest son of force' (sc. Agni, who is referred to in .4 as *ūrjo napād* 'son of force'). Passages in which *dāś* is attested with instrumental and an enclitic form of the pronoun (*te*, *vām*, *vaḥ*) which may be dative as well as accusative are not included in these figures. In such cases the only thing we may be sure of is that (*b*) is excluded, but it is not possible to decide between (*a*) or (*c*). Irrelevant at this point is the absolute construction in I 86. 6 *dadāśimá*.

6 Also with *anāgāstvá-* 'sinlessness' (I 94. 15ab *yásmai t$_u$váṃ dádāśo´ nāgāstvám*), plur. *purūṇi* 'many (enemies)' (II 19. 4ab *mánave purū́ṇī́ndro dāśad dā́śúṣe*), *bhā́ḥ* 'splendour' (IV 5. 1b *kathā́ dāśemāgnáye br̥hád bhā́ḥ* 'how could we offer to Agni a high splendour?'; cf. VII 14. 3c *túbhyaṃ devā́ya dā́śataḥ s$_i$yāma*).

7 From **dek̂es-i̯ó/e-*, cf. *dék̂es-* (: Lat. *decus*) respectively. The etymology is clear, but the

same root, the meaning of which is practically the same (cf. VIII 88. 6b *yád dāśúṣe daśasyási* 'if you are ready to gratify the pious worshipper'; I 61. 11 *dāśúṣe daśasyán*, cf. *dāśad dā́śúṣe* X 122. 3d). The figures in Table 36.2 make it clear that there is a significant difference in their constructions.

Table 36.2. *Construction Types of* dāś *and* daśasyá-

	dāś	vs.	*daśasyá-*
(*a*)	22		—
(*b*)	5		2 (+7)[a]
(*c*)	2 (+1)		1 (+9)[b]

[a] VI 26. 6c; VIII 5. 23c (plus 1× finite verbal with dative alone, and 6× participle *daśasyánt-*).

[b] VIII 20. 24a (plus 1× finite verbal form with accusative alone, 2× participle, and 6× with *ā́-daśasyá-*).

For (*b*) cf. VIII 5. 23 *yuváṃ káṇvāya nāsatyā ápiriptāya harmᵢyé* | *śáśvad ūtī́r daśasyathaḥ* 'you Nāsatyas always offer your help to Kaṇva, who was blinded in the house'.[8] For (*c*) cf. VIII 20. 24ab *yā́bhiḥ síndhum ávatha yā́bhis tū́rvatha yā́bhir daśasyáthā krívim* '(the help (pl.)) with which you support and help Sindhu, with which you attend Krivi'.

To sum up: construction (*a*) with dative of the recipient and instrumental of the offering is clearly predominant with *dāś*, as against (synonymous) *daśasyá-*, which has only (*b*) and (*c*). From a purely synchronic point of view, it is impossible to determine which of the three constructions is the original one for *dāś*, but comparison with *daśasyá-* would point to (*b*) or (*c*), not to (*a*). It is important to stress that there is no instance of *dāś* with a maximal contruction of the type (*a*) or (*b*) including also an accusative *rei* or an internal accusative (e.g. *dāś-* 'offering'), as happens with *vidh* (§3).

3 Ved. *vidh* and its Construction Types; Contrast between *vidh* and *vi-dhā*

As for the root *vidh*, its morphology and semantics have been elucidated by Karl Hoffmann in an insightful study (1969), the relevant conclusions of which may be briefly summarized here: (1) the basic meaning of *vidh* was

meaning of Ved. *daśas-yá-* presupposes for **dáśas-* a meaning 'honour, acceptance' which must be accounted for in terms of construction (*b*).

[8] VI 26. 6cd *tᵤváṃ rajíṃ píṭhīnase daśasyán ṣaṣṭíṃ sahásrā śácᵢyā sácāhan* 'you slew Raji for Piṭhīnas, showing your gratitude, and simultaneously six thousand (men) by your force'.

'einem genug, zu seiner Zufriedenheit zuteilen, einem (durch Zuteilung) Genüge tun, einen (Dat.) zufriedenstellen';[9] (2) the root builds a thematic aor. stem *vidhá-* (ind. *ávidhat*, also opt. *vidhema* and part. *vidhánt-* 'worshipper') with the exception of three attestations of a middle pres. *víndh-a-*^{te}, and has semantics and forms in common with *vi-dhā* (part. *vidhánt-*, opt. *vidhéma*, subj. **vidhā́ti*), which perfectly fits into the pattern of Paul Thieme's explanation of *vidh-á-* as a thematized univerbation of *vi°* and *dhā* (i.e. Indo-Iran. **u̯id^h-a-* from IE **u̯i-d^{h}h$_1$-o/e-*).

As for the constructions of *vidh*, types (*a*) *devā́ya námasā* and (*b*) *devā́ya námas* among those mentioned above for *dāś* are attested beyond any doubt; a possible instance of (*c*) is controversial. A fourth type with a threefold construction (dative of the recipient, instrumental of the offering, and an accusative *rei*), which is not attested for *dāś*, is labelled conventionally as (*d*) in Table 36.3 and the following discussion.

TABLE 36.3. *Construction Types of* vidh

	Recipient	Honour/offering	Object	
(*a*)	dat.	instr.	—	21×[a]
(*b*)	dat.	acc.	—	5×[b]
(*c*)	acc.	instr.	—	1×[c]
(*d*)	dat.	instr.	acc.	3×

[a] One instance (II 24. 1b) with instrumental only may belong either to (*a*) or to (*c*).

[b] I 189. 1d; III 3. 1b; VIII 19. 16d; VIII 61. 9a; IX 114. 1d.

[c] I 149.1. There is no compelling reason to assume that *vácaḥ* in VIII 61. 9ab *avipró vā yád ávidhad vípro vendra te vácaḥ* conceals an endingless variant of instr. *vácasā* (*pace* Haudry 1977: 353: 'si, avec ou sans éloquence, O Indra on t'a contenté du discours'). The text fits well into type (*b*): 'if one . . . has offered you, Indra, his speech/utterance' ('wenn einer, sei es nicht begeistert oder sei er begeistert, dir Indra, seine Rede zugeteilt hat', Hoffmann 1969: 1).

EXAMPLES

(*a*) V 4. 7ab *vayáṃ te agna ukthaír vidhema vayáṃ havyaíḥ pāvaka bhadraśoce*

Agni, we would worship you with songs and offerings.

(*b*) I 189. 1d *bhū́yiṣṭhāṃ te námaüktiṃ vidhema*

We would offer you the most powerful utterance of worship.

[9] Other interpretations: 'den Göttern (dat.) dienen, Ehre erweisen; sich hingeben; dienend oder ehrend hingeben, widmen' (Böhtlingk–Roth); 'huldigen, dienen, verehren, ehren, huldigend hingeben, weihen, widmen' (Grassmann); 'jmdem durch etwas etwas zuteilen' (Thieme 1949: 36–7).

(*c*) I 149. 1 *maháḥ sá rāyá éṣate pátir dánn iná inásya vásunaḥ padá ā́*
úpa dhrájantam ádrayo vidhánn ít

He, the house lord comes to great richnesses, the powerful one . . . the pressing stones honour the swiftly approaching one [sc. Agni].

This isolated occurrence of *vidh* with accusative (of the honorand) only may belong to (*c*) in spite of the omission of the instrumental.

Construction type (*d*), attested in three passages (VI 1. 10; VIII 23. 21; VIII 96. 8), deserves close consideration:

VI 1. 10ab *asmā́ u te máhi mahé vidhema*
námobhir agne samídhotá havyáiḥ

we would give you, the great one, great worship with reverences, with firewood and offerings, O Agni ['möchten wir dir diesem Großen, Großes zuteilen mit Verehrungen, Agni, mit Brennholz und mit Opfern': Hoffmann 1969: 1].

VIII 23. 21ab *yó asmai havyádātibhir ā́hutim mártó 'vidhat*

the mortal, who doled out the oblation to him with gifts of oblation.

Whereas in VI 1. 10a *máhi* is an internal accusative, the object *ā́hutim* in VIII 23. 21b designates the offering in construction (*b*) (cf. I 93. 3b with *dāś*), which is designated by instr. *ā́hutī* in type (*a*) (VIII 19. 5b *yá ā́hutī . . . dadā́śa*). This suggests that in the case of

VIII 96. 8d *śúṣmaṃ ta enā́ havíṣā vidhema*

under the assumption that *te* is a dative, the construction would be of type (*d*), i.e. 'we would dole out impulse to you with this oblation' ('möchten wir dir Ungestüm mit diesem Opfer zuteilen', Hoffmann 1969: 2).[10]

It must be stressed at this point that the meaning of *vidh* in the maximal construction (*d*), namely 'dole out' ('zuteilen'), is the 'etymological' one.

The pattern of (*d*) looks synchronically like an extension of (*a*) and/or (*b*) by means of an accusative *rei*, but the sense of the evolution is probably just the contrary: construction (*a*) may be the result of the deletion of one

[10] However, the construction fits into the pattern of (*c*) if *te* is interpreted as a genitive: 'we would favour (show respect for) your impulse with this oblation' (cf. the translations by Geldner 'bestimme uns einen Anteil; wir wollen deinen Mut mit diesem Opfer huldigen'; or by Haudry (1977: 353) 'puissions-nous contenter ton ardeur par cette offrande'), which fits well with the preceding pāda c . . . *kr̥dhí no bhāgadhéyam* 'make for us a portion'. In favour of an interpretation in terms of (*c*) is the parallel *tám . . . asya . . . śúṣmaṃ saparyá-* 'celebrate his impulse/boost' in VI 44. 5c (=VIII 93. 12b) *tám ín nv àsya ródasī devī́ śúṣmaṃ saparyataḥ* 'heaven and earth celebrate his impulse, both goddesses'.

of the arguments of an original maximal construction, with accusative of the offering, whether internal (as in VI 1. 10 *máhi*)[11] or not. According to this evolution pattern, a construction of the type

(*d*)	*vidh*	Acc.	Dat. of the recipient	Instr. of the offering
		máhi/*ā́hutim*	*te*	*námasā*

could give rise to (*a*) by deletion of the accusative:

(*a*)	*vidh*	—	*te*	*námasā*

The process has been convincingly set out by Karl Hoffmann, according to whom the deletion of the accusative was accompanied by the incorporation of the noeme 'enough, to full satisfaction' in the lexeme itself.[12]

Accordingly, type (*b*) may go back to the deletion of the accusative and the instrumental in (*d*):

(*a*)	*vidh*	Acc.	Dat. of the recipient	Instr. of the offering
		máhi/ā́hutim	*te*	*námasā*
→(*b*)		—	*te*	—

By contrast, construction (*c*) *vidh tvā́m námasā* cannot have originated by deletion, for it necessarily implies a transformation in the case of the recipient (dat.→acc.), which may be explained satisfactorily only as being caused by the influence of another verb or verbs of similar meaning. As we shall see, the best candidate turns out to be precisely *dāś*.

It must be stressed that, from a purely synchronic point of view, the meaning and, for the most part, the constructions of *vidh-á-* differ substantially from those of *vi-dhā*, in spite of the etymological connection between the two. In RV, *ví-dhá* has basically two meanings: (i) 'distribute' constructed with accusative of the thing doled out and dative of the beneficiary,[13] and (ii) 'separate, dispose, establish' (: 'dispōnere') with acc. *rei* (e.g. I 95. 3d

[11] An internal acc. *vi-dhā́na-* 'sharing out, distribution' (RV, cf. *nomen agentis vi-dhātár-*?) is theoretically possible, but the fact is that *vidh* and *ví-dhā* are synchronically two different lexemes in RV (cf. §4).

[12] According to Hoffmann (1969: 3), in construction (*a*) the meaning 'zuteilen' could be completed as 'einen genügend großen, zufriedenstellenden Anteil'. 'Da dieses Objekt aber usuell fehlt, inhäriert das Noem "zur Zufriedenheit, genug" der Bedeutung von *vidh* selbst.'

[13] With the omission/deletion of the acc. (which has a parallel in *vidh* too: II 24. 1b) cf. IV 6. 11ac *ákāri bráhma samidhāna túbhyaṃ śáṃsāty ukthám̐ yájate vy ū̀ dhāḥ hótāram agním mánuṣo ní ṣedur* 'An utterance has been prepared for you, O kindled one. The Hotr̥ shall utter the hymn; allot (reward) to the sacrificer. They have installed Agni as worshipper of Manus . . .'. With omission of the dative, cf. I 72. 7ab *vidvā́m̐ agne vayúnāni kṣitīnā́ṃ vy ā̀nuṣák churúdho jīváse dhāḥ* 'you who know the right norms for the peoples, distribute the gifts/drinks constantly for living'.

r̥tū́n praśā́sad ví dadhāv anuṣṭhú 'designating the times . . . he has established them correctly'), and eventually with the local adverb *purutrā́* (cf. X 125. 3c *tā́m mā devā́ vy àdadhuḥ purutrā́* 'gods have distributed me [*Vāc* speaks] in many places', which has obviously nothing to do with *vidh* synchronically and may be left aside at this point. For its part, construction (i) of *ví-dhā* is formally coincident with that of *vidh* (*b*), whereas types (*a*) and (*c*) are not attested at all:

	vidh	*vi-dhā*
(*a*)	19	—
(*b*)	5/6	+
(*c*)	(1?)	—

The contrast between the constructions of both lexemes being more than evident, the fact is that even in the case of construction (*b*) there are two differences. On the one hand, the subject of *ví-dhā* is always a god who doles out goods to men (VII 17. 7a; VIII 93. 26ab, also VII 34. 22d *et al.*), and occasionally to gods (II 38. 1c; X 85. 19c),[14] whereas in the case of *vidh* it is a human being who shows reverence to a deity.[15] On the other hand, the objects of *vi-dhā* (*bhā́ga-* 'portion', *ratná-* 'treasure, jewel', *rayí-* 'wealth', *śurúdh-* 'gift' , plur. *vásūni* 'goods') never occur with *vidh*, with only one exception.[16] The reciprocity between the doling out of goods (*ví-dhā*) by the god and the response (*dāś*!) by the worshipper is explicitly shown by the interesting passage

VII 17. 7ab *té te devā́ya dā́śataḥ s_iyāma mahó no rátnā ví dadha iyānáḥ*

we would be honourers/worshippers to you, god. Thou shalt dole out, being asked/at our request, great rewards to us,

and by

VIII 93. 26ac *ā́ te dákṣaṃ ví rocanā́ dádhad rátnā ví dāśúṣe stotŕ̥bhyaḥ . . .*

[14] Cf. also VII 34. 22cd *várūtrībhiḥ suśaraṇó no astu tváṣṭā sudátro ví dadhātu rā́yaḥ* 'Let Tvaṣṭr̥ be the granter of sure refuge along with the protector females; as the good giver let him dole out wealth to us'; VII 79. 3cd *ví divó devī́ duhitā́ dadhāty sukŕ̥te vásūni* 'heaven's daughter, the heavenly one, doles out treasures to the pious one'. With gods as beneficiaries cf. II 38. 1c *nūnáṃ devébhyo ví hí dhā́ti rátnam* 'now he (Savitr̥) will dole out the treasure to the gods'; X 85. 19ac *návo-navo bhavati jā́yamānó ´hnāṃ ketúr uṣásām ety ágram bhāgáṃ devébhyo ví dadhāti* 'again and again is (the moon) born anew; as the symbol of the days he goes ahead of the dawn. It [sc. the moon] determines their share/portion to the gods.'

[15] The situation of *dāś* is just the reverse (with the exception of I 94. 15a, where Indra grants sinlessness to a human; cf. n. 6).

[16] III 3. 1 *vaiśvānarā́ya pr̥thupā́jase vípo rátnā vidhanta* 'to Vaiśvânara, with broad shining surface, they offered their inspirations [i.e. songs] as presents'.

> I [Agni] (bring) power to you, doling out lights, treasures to the worshipper [*dāśúṣe*], to the singers

(cf. *dāśad dā́śúṣe* and *dāśúṣe daśasyási*).

To sum up regarding *vidh*: its original meaning 'dole out' remains intact in the threefold construction (*d*). By contrast, in the constructions *vidh* has in common with *dāś*, namely (*a*), which is largely preponderant, as well as the less frequent (*b*) and (*c*), both lexemes are synonymous: 'pay honour to someone (dat.) with an offering (instr.)', 'worship, offer an offering (acc.) to someone (dat.)', 'honour, revere someone (acc.) with an offering (instr.)'.

4 Construction Type (*a*) with Dative of the Recipient and Instrumental of the Offering

Comparison between the constructions of *dāś* and *vidh* and those of other verbs of honouring and/or offering (*yaj* 'sacrifice', *saparyá-* 'honour, offer as an honour', *hav/hu* 'libate, pour, sacrifice', *duvasyá-* 'present a gift (*dúvas-*)) makes it evident that construction (*a*) is not paralleled by other verbs,[17] with which it is practically never attested: *yaj* and *saparyá-* have predominantly (*c*) and sporadically (*b*), whereas the situation is the reverse with *hav*, and the type current with *duvasyá-* and *īḍ* is (*c*).

TABLE 36.4. *Construction Types of Verbs of Offering*

	dāś	*daśasyá-*	*vidh*	*yaj*	*saparyá-*	*hav*	*duvasyá-*	*īḍ*
(*a*)	22	—	19	(1)?	-	2??	—	—
(*b*)	5	2	6	+	3[a]	22	—	
(*c*)	2	1	1	++	+	2(2)[b]	+	+
(*d*)	—	—	3	1	—	1	—	1[c]

[a] III 54. 3d; I 93. 2b; X 37. 1b.

[b] X 79. 5b; X 191. 3d. With perfect passive participle: V 8. 7a t_u*vā́m agne pradíva ā́hutaṃ ghr̥taíḥ* 'you, Agni, poured over long ago with ghee' (also X 36. 6c *ā́hutaṃ ghr̥téna*). The current construction with *hav/hu* is (*b*) *ghr̥tám agnáye* (cf. V 5. 1b; VIII 39. 3b; *et al.*).

[c] For *yaj* X 63. 7a; for *hav/hu* III 18. 3b; for *īḍ* V 12 .6a.

The figures in Table 36.4 show beyond any doubt that construction (*a*) is specific to *dāś* and *vidh*. Some alleged sporadic occurrences of construction

17 It seems better to ignore here the instance of *ā-kar/kr̥* in IV 17. 18cd *vayáṃ hy ā́ te cakr̥mā́ sabā́dha ābhíḥ śámībhir maháyanta indra* ‖ 'for we have avidly made (the sacrifice) for you, by honouring you with these efforts, Indra', for *ābhíḥ śámībhiḥ* goes with the following *maháyantaḥ*.

(*a*) with *yaj* (II 16. 4) and *hav* (X 79. 5b; X 191. 3d) are not certain, and may actually be interpreted in terms of (*c*):

II 16. 4cd *vṛ́ṣā yajasva havíṣā vidúṣṭaraḥ* *píbendra sómaṃ vṛṣabhéṇa bhānúnā*

As the bull, sacrifice for yourself (middle!), you the wiser, with the oblation. Drink, Indra, the *soma* through your masculine glow.

In view of middle *yajasva*, an accusative of the honorand in the active, corresponding to the usual construction (*c*), is perfectly conceivable:

X 79. 5ab *yó asmā ánnaṃ tṛṣv ādádhāty* *ā́jyair ghṛtaír juhóti púṣyati*

who deposits dry food for him, (and) worships him with melting ghees, causes (him) to thrive.

In spite of *asmai* in pāda a., the omitted personal pronoun may be acc. *imám* (type *c*).

X 191. 3cd *saménám mántram abhí mantraye vaḥ* *samānéna vo havíṣā juhomi*

I offer you the same prayer; I worship you with the same oblation.

A construction of type (*c*) with *vaḥ* (acc.) . . . *havíṣā* is possible.

The maximal construction type (*d*) is attested once with *yaj* (X 63. 7a), with *hav/hu* (III 18. 3b), and with *īḍ* (V 12. 6a):

X 63. 7ab *yébhyo hótrām prathamā́m āyejé mánuḥ*
sámiddhāgnir mánasā saptá hótṛbhiḥ

to whom Manu, having a kindled fire, sacrificed the first worship with thought, with seven offerers/priests.

III 18. 3ab *idhménāgna ichámāno ghṛténa* *juhómi havyā́ṃ tárase bálāya*

With firewood, O Agni, full of desire I make you an oblation, with ghee for resistance and power/so that you will be enduring and powerful.

In view of the construction with instrumental of the substance offered and internal acc. *havyám*, the omitted beneficiary (voc. *agne*) must obviously be a dat. *agnáye*.

V 12. 6a *yás te agne námasā yajñám ī́ṭṭa*

who, with reverence, pours his sacrifice to you, O Agni.

To sum up: the construction (*a*) with dative of the honorand and instrumental of the offering, which is overwhelmingly predominant with *dāś* and *vidh*, is practically exclusive to these two verbs, as against other verbs of

offering, for which only (*b*) and/or (*c*), sometimes also (*d*), are attested. The contrast is particularly relevant in the case of *hav/hu*, for this verb co-occurs with some designations of offerings with *dāś* and *vidh* but expressed in the accusative, namely *gíras* (II 27. 1) and *ghṛtám* (I 110. 6 and elsewhere), and especially *havíṣ* (I 114. 3 *et al.*) and *havyám* (III 18. 3 *et al.*), which are very frequent.

5 Ved. *dāś* and *vidh* Fully Synonymous: Minimal Pairs

The evidence adduced in support of the full synonymy of *dāś* and *vidh* in the Rig Veda may be enlarged by some selected minimal pairs with the same word for designating the offering, which may be added to those with *samídh-* 'firewood' or *havíṣ-* 'oblation' already presented (§§2–3): *ā́huti-* 'oblation, poured offering', *gír-* 'praising song', *námas-* 'homage', and *námaükti-* 'words of homage', *yajñá-* 'sacrifice', *suṣṭutí-* and *stóma-* 'eulogy, praise'. The pairs speak for themselves:

With *ā́huti-* compare I 93. 3ab *ágnīṣomā yá ā́hutiṃ yó vāṃ dā́śād dhavíṣkṛtim* 'Agni and Soma, he who (offers) you an oblation, who offers you a ritual performance . . .' and VIII 23. 21ab *yó asmai havyádātibhir ā́hutim mártó 'vidhat* 'the mortal who offered the oblation to him with sacrificial gifts'.

With *gír-* compare IV 10. 4ac *ābhíṣ ṭe adyá gīrbhír gṛṇántó 'gne dā́śema* 'praising you with these praising songs we would celebrate you, Agni, today' and II 24. 1b *ayā́ vidhema návayā mahā́ girā́* 'We would celebrate you with this new, great praising song'.

With *yajñá* compare I 151. 7a *yó vāṃ yajñaíḥ śaśamānó ha dā́śati* 'whoever honours you [Mitra and Varuṇa] with sacrifices and as a wise Hotṛ sacrifices . . .' and II 35. 12ab *asmaí bahūnā́m avamā́ya sákhye yajñaír vidhema námasā havírbhiḥ* 'to him, the closest friend of many, we would offer worship with sacrifices, with homage, with oblations'.

With *námas-*, *námaükti-* compare VIII 4. 6cd *putrám prāvargáṃ kṛṇute suvī́r$_i$ye dāśnóti námaüktibhiḥ* 'he makes his son victorious in heroic power, he reveres (you) with words of praise' (cf. I 71. 6b [*túbhyam*] *námo* . . . *dā́śat* . . .) and I 189. 1d *bhū́yiṣṭhāṃ te námaüktiṃ vidhema* 'we would dole out to thee the most powerful utterance of worship'.

With *suṣṭutí-*, *stóma-* compare VII 14. 2b *vayáṃ dāśema suṣṭutī́ yajatra* 'we would celebrate you with eulogy, O you worthy of sacrifice' and VIII 43. 11c *stómair vidhemāgnáye* 'we would celebrate Agni with praises' (also VIII 54. 8a *vayáṃ ta indra stómebhir vidhema*).

6 Suppletion, Not Simply Synonymy

It has been stated that *dāś* and *vidh* share identical meanings and constructions (§§2–3), and that both verbs show a clear preference for type (*a*) with dative of the honorand and instrumental of the offering which is not shared by other verbs of honouring, sacrificing, and offering (§4). Given the fact that *dāś* is attested only in the present and perfect stem as against *vidh*, which is attested (with three exceptions: see below) only in the aorist, our enquiry can go a step further and try to determine whether both lexemes actually belong to a suppletive pair/paradigm in the Rig Veda, i.e. whether they are in a verbal-stem opposition in terms of present :: aorist:[18] in other words, let us ask whether *dāś* may be recognized as the present stem of a verb of which the aorist is *vidh*. In what follows an attempt will be made to show that *dāś* and *vidh* actually fulfil the conditions of suppletion proper, as defined by Strunk (1977):[19] they are attested in a synchronic corpus, both lexemes are defective (and synchronically synonyms), and they are in complementary distribution, namely pres. *dāś* :: aor. *vidh* :: perf. *dadāś*, so that the only semantic differences between them are those due to an opposition in terms of present :: aorist.

As for the defectiveness of the lexemes, that of *dāś* does not need further comment. For its part, *vidh* may safely be considered as a defective lexeme in spite of three attestations of a present stem *vindhá-*^{te} (I 7. 7c; VIII 9. 6c; VIII 51. 3a), which may be understood as a secondary, sporadic development built on the aorist stem. Its meaning has been elucidated as 'sich (zur Zufriedenheit) zuteilen, zur Genüge teilen' by Karl Hoffmann (1969: 5 ff.),[20] who adduces perfect parallels for the three instances. Two of them presuppose constructions (*a*) or (*c*) with instrumental of the offering, namely VIII 9. 6c *ayáṃ vāṃ vatsó matíbhir ná vindhate* 'dieser Vatsa tut sich für euch an (frommen) Gedanken nicht Genüge' (cf. VIII 23. 23ac *vidhema . . . matíbhiḥ*) and VIII 51. 3a *yá ukthébhir ná vindháte* 'der sich mit Liedern nicht Genüge tut' (cf. V 4. 7a *ukthá́ir vidhema*). A construction (*b*) with accusative of the offering is presupposed by RV I 7. 7c *ná vindhe*

[18] In spite of the coexistence of three verbal stems in Vedic, the opposition is not a strictly aspectual one and does not reflect the IE situation, as Greek basically does. For our purposes it is irrelevant whether the Vedic reflects a system of relative tenses (Tichy 1997) or an aspecto-temporal one (Mumm 2002).

[19] On the possibilities for enlargement of the conditions for suppletion cf. García Ramón (2002 and forthcoming).

[20] Actually *vidh* is attested only twice in the middle: *vidhanta* (III 3. 1b, like the active) and *vidhemahi* (VIII 19. 16d) with the same meaning as *víndh-a-*^{te}; cf. VIII 19. 16cd *vayáṃ tát te śávasā gātuvíttamā índratvotā vidhemahi* 'diesen (Lichtglanz) möchten wir . . . uns (zur Zufriedenheit) zuteilen' (Hoffmann 1969: 6).

asya suṣṭutím 'nicht teile ich mir zur Genüge (zu meiner Zufriedenheit) seine Lobpreisungen zu' (cf. I 189. 1d *te námaüktiṃ vidhema*). The isolated instances of *vindhá-*[te] may be safely understood as *Augenblicksbildungen* or as indicators of an isolated, frustrated attempt to create a present stem for a verb which was basically defective, and they can hardly rule out the existence of a suppletive paradigm in the following terms:

Present	*dā́ṣṭi*	(*vindhá-*[te]: 3×)
Aorist	—	*ávidhat*
Perfect	*dadā́śa*	—

7 Ved. *dāś* vs. *vidh*: An Opposition in Terms of Present :: Aorist

The generally accepted existence of only a present and a perfect stem of *dāś* does not need to be stressed at this point. Let us just remember that the two Rigvedic instances of impf. *ádāśat* express a past action not related to the present, which fits into the pattern of the Vedic verbal system:

IV 42. 9ab *purukútsānī hí vām ádāśad dhavyébhir indrāvaruṇā námobhiḥ*
áthā rā́jānaṃ trasádasyum asyā vr̥trahánaṃ dadathur ardhadevám

Truly, the wife of Purukutsa revered you, Indra and Varuṇa, with oblations and reverences. Therefore you gave king Trasadasyu to her, the killer of Vr̥tra, the half-god.

The same holds good for the imperfect of *ví-dāś* with the lexicalized meaning of 'cause expenses':

VII 19. 9cd *yā te hávebhir ví paṇī́m̐r ádāśann asmā́n vr̥ṇīṣva yúj$_i$yāya tásmai*

We who through your invocation caused expenses to the Paṇis, choose us for the same alliance.

For its part, the injunctive present *dāśat* (formally identical with a subjunctive form)[21] is used to express general states of affairs (e.g. I 70. 5b) and general qualities, actions of deities (e.g. II 19. 4b), and gnomic tenets (VII 100. 1b) (Hoffmann 1967: 113 ff.):

I 70. 5ab *sá hí kṣapā́vām̐ agnī́ rayīṇā́ṃ dā́śad yó asmā áraṃ sūktaíḥ*

since Agni is the protector of treasures (for the man) who honours him fittingly with hymns.

[21] It is not always discernible whether the form is injunctive or subjunctive. Indubitably injunctive are *dā́śat* (VI 16. 20b; VIII 19. 14a, 103. 4b; X 61. 25d, 91. 11b, 122. 3b, 138. 5b, 102. 3b, 152. 3d) and *dāśat* (I 158. 2a; X 65. 6d) as against subj. *dāśat* in I 68. 6a, 71. 6b, 93. 3b; II 23. 4b.

II 19. 4ab *só apratī́ni mánave purū́ṇī́ndro dāśad dāśúṣe hánti vr̥trám*

Many irresistible (enemies) offers Indra to the worshipper, he kills Vr̥tra.

VII 100. 1 *nū́ mártiy dayate saniṣyán yó víṣṇava urugāyā́ya dā́śat*
prá yáḥ satrā́cā mánasā yájāta etā́vantaṃ náryam āvívāsāt

'Sicherlich erhält ein gewinnstrebender Sterblicher seinen Anteil, der dem weitschreitenden Viṣṇu huldigt, der gesammelten Sinnes einen solchen Mannhaften verehrt und zu gewinnen sucht' (Hoffmann 1967: 238).[22]

As for *vidh-á-*, its aoristic character has been established by Hoffmann especially on the basis of the augmented form *ávidhat* (10 ×), which expresses anteriority or a general, atemporal state of affairs:[23]

VI 54. 4ab *yó asmai haviṣā́vidhan ná tám pūṣā́pi mr̥ṣyate*

which one honoured him with his oblation, Pūṣan does not forget him.

To sum up: the assumption of a suppletive paradigm *dā́ṣṭi* :: *ávidhat* :: *dadā́śa* seems fully justified in the light of the evidence adduced above. This is easily established in the light of significant instances of the constructions of type (*c*) with *agnáye samídhā* and with *agnáye havyádātibhiḥ/havyaíḥ*. As for *agnáye samídhā*, cf. pres. *dāśa-* (X 91. 11b) :: aor. *vidh-* (IV 4. 15a) :: perf. *dadāś-* (VIII 19. 5):

X 91. 11ab *yás túbhyam agne amŕ̥tāya mártiyaḥ samídhā dā́śad utá vā havíṣkr̥ti*

who, being a mortal, worships you, Agni, the immortal one, with firewood or with oblation . . .

IV 4. 15a *ayā́ te agne samídhā vidhema*

we would worship you, Agni, with this firewood . . .[24]

VIII 19. 5 *yáḥ samídhā yá ā́hutī yó védena dadā́śa márto agnáye*
yó námasā suvadhvaráḥ

the mortal who worships Agni with firewood, with an oblation, with his knowledge, who (is) a good worshipper with reverence.

As for *agnáye havyádātibhiḥ/havyaíḥ*,[25] cf. pres. *dāś* (VII 3. 7ab) :: aor. *vidh-* (VIII 23. 21ab) :: perf. *dadāś-* (VIII 23. 15ab):

[22] Note the occurrence of inj. *dā́śat* along with *dayate* (ind. pres.) and *yájāte* and *āvívāsāt* (subj. pres.).

[23] Hoffmann (1967: 157; 1969: 4–5); Delbrück (1888: 578).

[24] Also with accusative of the recipient *áditim samídhā*, in VIII 19. 14ab *samídhā yó níśitī dā́śad áditiṃ dhā́mabhir asya mártiyaḥ*.

[25] Also with quasi-synonym *haviṣā*, cf. VIII 48. 12c *tásmai sómāya haviṣā vidhema* 'to

VII 3. 7ab *yáthā vaḥ svā́hāgnáye dā́śema pári̇̄́ḷābhir ghṛtávadbhiś ca havyaíḥ*

so that we might honour Agni with the calling of 'Svāhā' with Iḍa-offerings and oblations filled with ghee.

VIII 23. 21ab *yó asmai havyádātibhir ā́hutim mártó ´vidhat*

who, being a mortal, doled out the pouring with oblation gifts to him.

VIII 23. 15ab *ná tásya māyáyā caná ripúr ī́śīta mártyaḥ*
yō agnáye dadā́śa havyádātibhiḥ

May no deceiving mortal with any magic power gain mastery over him who honours [*dadā́śa* 'habitual' perfect] Agni with oblation gifts.[26]

8 Style and Metrical Variations

The fact that both *dāś* and *vidh* are often attested in the 1st plural of the optative (*dāśema* 11×, *vidhema* 30×) without any appreciable functional difference does not speak against the existence of a suppletive paradigm *dāś* :: *vidh*, for the choice of present or aorist stem for the moods stubbornly defies reduction to a precise ratio. A major objection could be the occurrence of both *vidhema* and *dāśema* in contiguous pādas in RV VII 14. 2ab. The passage can hardly be more explicit as to the terms for offerings expressed by the instrumental with *dāś* and *vidh*:

VII 14. 1 *samídhā jātávedase devā́ya deváhūtibhiḥ*
havírbhiḥ śukráśociṣe namasvíno vayáṃ dāśemāgnáye
2 *vayáṃ te agne samídhā vidhema vayáṃ dāśema suṣṭutī́ yajatra*
vayáṃ ghṛténādhvarasya hotar vayáṃ deva havíṣā bhadraśoce
3 *ā́ no devébhir úpa deváhūtim ágne yāhí váṣaṭkṛtiṃ juṣāṇáḥ*
túbhyaṃ devā́ya dā́śataḥ s_iyāma yūyám pāta $s_u$vastíbhiḥ sádā naḥ

1 We, full of reverence, would celebrate Agni Jātavedas with firewood, the god with our divine invocations, the brightly flaming one with oblations.
2 We would celebrate you, Agni; with firewood; we would honour you with a song of praise, you worthy of offerings; we with ghee, you offering priest, we with an oblation, you god of auspicious glow.
3 Come hither, Agni, together with the gods up to our divine invocation, enjoying the cry of Vaṣat. We would be worshippers to you, the god. Protect us with your well-being for ever.

him, to Soma we would pay worship with an oblation' (≅.13), X 168. 4d *tásmai vā́tāya havíṣā vidhema* 'we would honour this wind with an oblation'.

[26] Cf. also IV 8. 5 *a té s_iyāma yā agnáye dadāśúr havyádātibhiḥ* 'we would be the ones who worship Agni with oblation gifts'.

In my opinion, the coexistence of the optatives *vidhema* and *dāśema* in 2ab is no compelling reason to assume that both lexemes were simply synonyms, not standing in a verbal-stem opposition proper in the framework of a suppletive paradigm pres. *dāś* :: aor. *vidh*. The co-occurrence of both modal forms may be satisfactorily explained in terms of stylistic variation based on metrically conditioned variants: *vidhema* is actually very common in the triṣṭubh cadence (13× out of 16 occurrences of the form in triṣṭubh stanzas)[27] and the sequence | × × *dāśema* | is very common in the verse segment between the opening and the caesura after the fifth syllable of the triṣṭubh (5× out of 8 occurrences).[28]

If one is ready to assume that *dāśema* and *vidhema* are respectively the present and aorist of one and the same verb, the situation would be no different from that of paradigms consisting of one single verb, in which similar variations are frequent in the modal stems.

9 A Homeric Parallel

An interesting parallel to the coexistence of modal forms of both lexemes of a suppletive paradigm is offered by the Homeric pair *ἕλκειν* (only present: 90×)[29] :: *ἔρυσαι* (only aorist: 127×, just 10 exceptions) 'draw, drag, pull'.[30] In spite of these exceptional cases, which deserve further precision,[31] it seems clear that both verbs are in a suppletive relationship, as is shown by

[27] I 189. 1d; V 4. 7a; VI 1. 10a; VII 63. 5c; VIII 54. 8a; IV 4. 15a (*samídhā vidhema*: also VII 14. 2a); VIII 48. 12c, 13c (*havíṣā vidhema*: also VIII 96. 8d; X 121. 1d = X 168. 4d).

[28] Apart from *vayáṃ dāśema* VII 14. 1d, 2b, cf. I 77. 1a (*kathā́ dāśema*: also IV 5. 1b; V 41. 16a).

[29] It is better to leave aside some instances of an intensive *ἑλκέω* (once: *Il.* 22. 336), with aorist *ἑ͂λκησα* (3×), with a different meaning 'tear apart, haul' (cf. *Il.* 17. 394 *ὣς οἵ γ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα νέκυν ὀλίγῃ ἐνὶ χώρῃ εἵλκεον ἀμφότεροι* 'even so they on this side and on that were hauling the corpse hither and thither in scant space'), 'drag violently' (e.g. *Od.* 11. 580 *Λητὼ γὰρ ἕλκησε, Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν*; *Il.* 6. 465 *πρίν γέ τι σῆς τε βοῆς σοῦ θ' ἑλκηθμοῖο πυθέσθαι* 'before I hear your cries as they drag you in captivity').

[30] The synonymy of both lexemes was already known to the ancients: cf. Hsch. *ἐρύοντα· ἕλκοντα* (*Il.* 4. 467). *κυρίως λύοντα, ἐρύσαι· καθελκύσαι* (*Il.* 17. 419), **ἐρύσάμενος· ἐκσπάσας* A, *ἑλκύσας* (*Il.* 12. 190) *et sim.*

[31] Some instances of *ἐρύω* (4×) are future (e.g. *ὠμησταὶ ἐρυουσι, περὶ πτερὰ πυκνὰ βαλόντες* | *αὐτὰρ ἔμ' εἴ κε θάνω, κτεριοῦσί γε δῖοι Ἀχαιοί* '[will not close your eyes in death,] but the birds that eat raw flesh will rend you . . . but, if I die, the noble Achaeans will give me burial'; or *Il.* 15. 351 *αὐτοῦ οἱ θάνατον μητίσομαι, οὐδέ νυ τόν γε* | *ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύουσι πρὸ ἄστεος ἡμετέροιο* (Hsch. *ἐρύουσι· ἐρύσουσιν. ἑλκύσουσιν*). The scantily attested forms of the present stem are used in the expression of durativity or distributive iteration, e.g. *Il.* 12. 258 *κρόσσας μὲν πύργων ἔρυον, καὶ ἔρειπον ἐπάλξεις,* | *στήλας τε προβλῆτας ἐμόχλεον* 'were dragging down the projections of the outworks and overthrowing the battlements, and prising out the prominent beams' (cf. Hsch. *πύργων ἔρυον· ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους εἷλκον*) or *Il.* 22. 493 *δευόμενος δέ τ' ἄνεισι πάϊς ἐς πατρὸς ἑταίρους,* | *ἄλλον μὲν χλαίνης ἐρύων, ἄλλον δὲ χιτῶνος* 'and in his need, he climbs up, the son, to the companions of his father, pulling

minimal pairs with objects such as a ship that is launched (*Il.* 9. 683; 1. 141), a sword that is drawn from its sheath (*Il.* 1. 190, 194), or a corpse that is taken away from the battlefield (*Il.* 17. 125, 127). See e.g. the minimal pairs:

Il. 9. 683 *νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους ἅλαδ᾽ ἑλκέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας*

draw the well-benched curved ships to the sea

and

Il. 1. 141 *νῦν δ᾽ ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν*

now let us draw/launch a black ship into the divine sea

or

Il. 1. 190 *ἢ ὅ γε φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ*
. . .
194 *ἕλκετο δ᾽ ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ᾽ Ἀθήνη*

[His heart was divided,] whether he, drawing his sharp sword from his side, [should break up the assembly . . . while he pondered this in his mind and heart,] and was drawing the great sword from its sheath, Athena came from heaven

or

Il. 17. 125–7 *Ἕκτωρ μὲν Πάτροκλον ἐπεὶ κλυτὰ τεύχε᾽ ἀπηύρα,*
ἕλχ᾽ ἵν᾽ ἀπ᾽ ὤμοιιν κεφαλὴν τάμοι ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ
τὸν δὲ νέκυν Τρῳῇσιν ἐρυσσάμενος κυσὶ δοίη

Once Hector had stripped from Patroklos his glorious armour, he was hauling him away to cut the head from his shoulders with the sharp bronze and, after hauling it, to give the corpse to the dogs of Troy

in which the aspectual opposition in terms of present and aorist stem of one and the same verb is clear.

It must, in any case, be noticed that subjunctives *ἕλκωμεν* and *ἐρύσσομεν* occur co-ordinated in a passage in which the perf. *εἰρύαται* is also attested, namely

Il. 14. 75–6 *νῆες ὅσαι πρῶται εἰρύαται ἄγχι θαλάσσης*
ἕλκωμεν, πάσας δὲ ἐρύσσομεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν.

one of them at his cloak, the other at his tunic' (a momentative action which is repeated). No other forms of the present stem *ἐρυο/ε-* are attested after Homer (and late poets), and even the aorist form fully disappears in Attic, being replaced by *ἑλκυσα-*. In Herodotus *ἑλκυσα-* and moribund *εἰρυσα-* still coexist as synonyms: cf. e.g. 7. 59. 3 *ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες, τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες* and 9. 97. 1 *ἐνθαῦτα τάς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν.*

> Let us drag the ships that are drawn up in the first line by the sea, and let us draw all forth into the divine sea.

In spite of the evident existence of a paradigm with ἕλκε 'was drawing/dragging' :: ἔρυσ(σ)ε 'drawn, dragged' :: perf. mid. εἰρύαται (νῆες) 'are drawn up', the lexical variation ἕλκωμεν . . . ἐρύσσομεν (cf. also θαλάσσης near εἰς ἅλα) offers a close parallel to that of *vidhema* and *dāśema* (also modal forms) in RV VII 14. 2ab, and strongly speaks in favour of a neutralization of the aspectual opposition present :: aorist in the subjunctive and optative moods, or, at least, suggests a rationale for distribution which still defies explication.[32]

10 A Comparative Approach

Once it has been stated that *dāś* :: *vidh* build a suppletive paradigm in the Rig Veda, a comparative approach will allow us to determine that construction (*a*), being the regular and specific one as against those of other verbs (§§2–4), is actually an innovative one. In fact, comparison shows that the construction types which may be considered inherited for *dāś* (IE **dēk̂-/dek̂-*) and for *vidh* (IE *$\underset{\frown}{u}$*id*^{h}*h*$_1$-) are (*c*) and (*b*) respectively, i.e. just those which are scarcely attested.

1. In the case of Ved. *dāś*, which is obviously to be traced back to IE **dēk̂-/dek̂-* 'receive' (and 'await someone/something' in the present stem, cf. Gr. δέκτο, (ἐ)δέξατο, pres. δέχομαι), one may safely assume a construction (*c*) 'something/ someone' (accusative, e.g. *Od.* 19. 316 ξείνους αἰδοίους ἀποπεμπέμεν ἠδὲ δέχεσθαι), sometimes 'with something' (instrumental), which evolved in Vedic to 'warmly receive, welcome'[33] and became a verb of revering and offering. In spite of its relatively infrequent occurrence in the Rig Veda (only twice),[34] the construction is the oldest one, as stressed by Haudry (1977: 356), and has precise parallels in Homeric Greek, which as a group have not received the attention they deserve, especially cases with the reduplicated stem δεδεξο/ε- (which presupposes δεδεκ- : Ved. *dadāś-*)[35] and with δειδεχ- 'warmly receive, honour' (δείδεκτο, δειδέχαται, and the like), which, irrespective of how it

[32] An interesting attempt to classify the distributional patterns according to lexeme types in Greek was sketched by Ruipérez (1954: 103 ff.).

[33] Harðarsson (1992: 199: 'herzlich aufnehmen'→'begrüßen'); Kümmel (2000: 243; preferable to Kümmel 1998: 199 'Ausschau halten, stetig wahrnehmen').

[34] Cf. §2. Both old passages according to Arnold (1905: 60, 312).

[35] Risch (1974: 350–1).

may be explained,[36] is not separable from δέκτο, δέχομαι in Homeric 'synchrony'.[37]

Construction (*c*) with both accusative of the person and instrumental of the object with which he is received is well attested:

Il. 5. 238 τὸν δε δ' ἐγὼν ἐπιόντα δεδέξομαι ὀξέϊ δουρί

I shall receive him when he approaches me with a sharp spear

and

Il. 15. 743–5 ὅς τις δὲ Τρώων κοίλης ἐπὶ νηυσὶ φέροιτο
. . .
τὸν δ' Αἴας οὔτασκε δεδεγμένος ἔγχεϊ μακρῷ

Whoever of the Trojans would rush upon the hollow ships . . . Ajax stabbed him, having received him with his long spear.

The difference between receiving an enemy, who is approaching, with a defensive weapon, as the Homeric hero does (cf. also *Il.* 4. 106–7 αἰγὸς ἀγρίου, ὅν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς . . . | πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα δεδεγμένος ἐν προδοκῇσι), and receiving (and celebrating) a god with an offering, as happens in the Rig Veda, is one of situation, not of syntactic structure, which is obviously the same in both languages. It is to be noticed that Ved. *vidh* has the same contruction in RV I 149. 1c *úpa dhrájantam ádrayo vidhánn íd* 'the pressing stones honour the swiftly approaching one'.

Particularly important are two instances with δειδεχ- in which the welcome person is compared to a god:[38]

Il. 22. 434–6 Τρωσί τε καὶ Τρῳῇσι κατὰ πτόλιν, οἵ σε θεὸν ὣς
δειδέχατ'· ἦ γάρ καί σφι μάλα μέγα κυδος ἔησθα
ζωὸς ἐών· . . .

. . . (and a dream) for all Trojan men and women in the city, who greeted you as a god. You were in fact for them a great glory when you were alive . . .

Od. 7. 71–2 καὶ λαῶν, οἵ μίν ῥα θεὸν ὣς εἰσορόωντες
δειδέχαται μύθοισιν, ὅτε στείχῃσ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ.

[36] Probably from intensive **dek̂-dok̂-/dek-dk-*; cf. R. Lipp, *LIV* s.v. **dek̂-*, with reference to other possibilities.

[37] Cf. Σ *Od.* 7. 72 δειδέχαται μύθοισιν· ἐκδέχονται ἐπαίνοις, or Hsch. δείδεκτο· ἐδεξιοῦτο. διὰ φιλίας ἠσπάζετο καὶ λόγων (*Il.* 9. 224). Cf. also the gloss δειδέχαται· ἤσπασται. διαδέχεται (in Call. fr. 87). Other glosses make it clear that the Greek grammarians assumed a gesture of greeting (δειδέχατο· ἐδεξιοῦντο, ἐφιλοφρονοῦντο Σ *Il.* 4. 4); δειδεγμένοι· δεξιούμενοι).

[38] The parallelism with Vedic has been rightly observed by Haudry (1977: 356).

> . . . of people, who greet him with words, looking at him as a god, when he advances up to the city.

The construction with the instrumental is also found in *Il.* 4. 3–4 *τοὶ δὲ χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι* | *δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλους* 'and they with golden goblets pledged/greeted each other'; 9. 670–1 *τοὺς μὲν ἄρα χρυσέοισι κυπέλλοις υἷες Ἀχαιῶν* | *δειδέχατ(ο)* 'the sons of the Achaeans greeted them with golden cups' (also implicitly in 9. 223–4 *νόησε δὲ δῖος 'Οδυσσεύς,* | *πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλῆα*).

We can therefore conclude that for IE **deḱ-* 'receive, accept' a construction (*c*) 'receive someone (acc.) with something (instr.)' is what one may expect in the light of comparison, and, consequently, that this was the original one for Ved. *dāś*, with a semantic shift to 'greet, welcome'. A further conclusion may be drawn: constructions (*a*),[39] the regular one, and (*b*) of *dāś*, which have in common that the recipient is expressed in the dative, must be secondary and may only have arisen at a time when *dāś* had already become a verb of honouring.

It is important to stress that this conclusion does not depend at all on a concrete answer to the complicated questions the root **deḱ-* involves (type of lexeme, original verbal stems, voice) and imposes itself whatever the function of the 'Narten' present Ved. *dā́ṣṭi*, *dāśati* (active) and its relation to Gr. *δέχομαι*, Hom. *δέγμαι** (middle) might be.[40]

2. Ved. *vidh*, the etymology of which has been safely established by Paul Thieme (1949: 36–7) as univerbation of *u̯i*° and *dhā* (i.e. IE **u̯id*^{h}*-o/e-* from **u̯i-d*^{h}*h*$_{1}$*-o/e-* 'divide, distribute': Lat. *dī-uidere*, Toch. B /*wətk-*/),[41] evidently

[39] The same applies even if one were ready to assume that Ved. *dāṣṭi*, *dāśati* is a factitive formation 'make someone accept'→'offer' (Tichy 1976). Apart from the fact that Narten presents are not recognizable as specifically causative, one would have expected in this case construction (*b*), not (*a*).

[40] In my opinion, IE **deḱ-* 'receive, accept' is a momentative lexeme, not a durative one (*pace* Tichy 1976: 83: 'zögernd (nicht sofort) nehmen, was einem gegeben wird'), with root aor. **déḱ-t*, **dḱ-to* and acrostatic present of the Narten type *dḗḱ-ti*, *déḱ-toi̯* (Hom. 3rd pl. *δέχαται Il.* 12. 147, part. *δέγμενος passim*). The latter could be explained *ex Homero ipso* (Debrunner 1956), but the Vedic evidence puts its existence beyond doubt; an explanation in terms of an inherited form preserved—but not created—for metrical reasons is the most plausible (Narten 1968: 15 n. 43 = *Kl. Schr.* 103). The real existence of a Narten present with the meaning 'expects, waits', often (but not exclusively) attested in the present stem, relies upon a conative aspectual realization (*[is ready to receive]', ['ist dabei, anzunehmen']). In Vedic, the inherited present is preserved, originally with construction (*c*), whereas the aorist simply disappears and is replaced by *vidh*. In Greek, the generalization of the middle voice causes a restructuring of the paradigm: creation of a thematic present **déḱ-e-toi̯* and recharacterization of the inherited root aorist as **deḱ-s*(*a*)-. I shall deal with this topic in detail elsewhere.

[41] From **u̯id*^{h}*-sḱ-o/e-*; cf. Melchert (1977: 112–13). The verb is recharacterized as /*wətsāsk-*/ and develops a secondary meaning 'command, order'.

points to an original construction of the type (*b*) 'dole out something (acc.) to someone (dat)', as well as to the maximal type (*d*), with an additional intrumental (§3). Construction (*b*) is sporadically attested for *vidh*, as well as for *vi-dhā* (type *nūnáṃ devébhyo ví hí dhā́ti rátnam* RV II 38. 1c, 'now he will distribute the treasure to the gods': §3) and for Lat. *dīuidere* (cf. Cato *Agr.* 23. 4 *mustum . . . suo cuique dolio diuidito* 'one has to dole out the must . . . to each earthenware vessel'; Livy 6. 36. 11 *cum bina iugera agri plebi diuiderentur* 'when two *iugera* each of land were distributed to the people'). Another certainly inherited construction of *$*u̯id^h$-o/e-* 'divide, separate' (only with an accusative and, sometimes, with a local determination), which is safely attested for Ved. *vi-dhā* (type (ii) §3) as well as for Lat. *dī-uidere* (e.g. Lucr. 5. 1110 *pecus atque agros diuisere*) and Toch. B */wətk-/* 'separate' (cf. also *wetke* 'away'), is less relevant for our purpose.[42] In any case, the construction with accusative *rei* points also to construction (*b*).

TABLE 36.5. *Inherited and RV Constructions*

	Inherited types		Attestations in RV	
	dāś	*vidh*	*dāś*	*vidh*
(*a*)	—	—	22	21
(*b*)	—	*+	5	5
(*c*)	*+	—	2	1
(*d*)	—	*+	—	3

To sum up, the contrast between the inherited constructions of *dāś* and *vidh* and the actual situation in the Rig Veda may be represented as shown in Table 36.5. The figures could hardly be more explicit. The most frequent construction is exactly the unexpected one in the light of the comparative material.

11 Origins of Construction (*a*) of *dāś* :: *vidh*

Once it has been stated that (*c*) was inherited for Ved. *dāś*, and (*b*) and (*d*) were for *vidh*, we may try to determine whether each of the lexemes could have developed by itself (i.e. outside a suppletive framework) the construc-

[42] The construction is continued in Latin and in Greek by means of lexical renewal, namely *dis-pōnere* (Sen. *Dial.* 11. 6 *ex tuo arbitrio diem disponere*; cf. RV V I 95. 3c) and διατίθημι (Hdt. 1. 132. 3 πάντα ⟨τὰ⟩ κρέα. διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστεὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην; 7. 39. 3 τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὸ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀριστερά.

tions which originally did not belong to it. In other words, are there good reasons for assuming that *dāś* developed (*a*) and (*b*), and *vidh* developed (*a*) and (*c*), independently? It seems to me that the answer is in the negative.

As for *dāś*, it is true that the construction (*c*) could in theory be transformed into (*b*), as is shown by the evolution of Lat. *mactāre*, for which a transformation from (*c*) *mactāre*[43] *deum uictimā** 'magnify/worship a god with a sacrifice' to (*b*) *mactāre uictimam deō** 'offer a sacrifice to a god' is to be assumed. Cf. e.g.

(*c*)	Cic. *Resp.* 1. 67	*... eosque priuatos ferunt laudibus et mactant honoribus.* . . . and they take those private citizens (to the skies) through praises and magnify them with honours.
→ (*b*)	Verg. *Aen.* 3. 118–19	*sic fatus meritos aris mactauit honores,* *taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo.* Having spoken so, he offered the due sacrifices on the altars, a bull to Neptune, a bull to thee, fair Apollo.

Accordingly, (*b*) Cato *Agr.* 134. 2 *fertum Ioui ⟨om⟩moueto et mactato sic* 'then make a cake for Jupiter and offer it to him so' may result from the transformation of a sentence **Iouem ferto mactatō* of type (*c*).[44] A similar evolution being in itself possible in the case of Ved. *dāś*, the fact is that construction (*b*) occurs only five times with this verb. This is also shown by the behaviour of *maháya-*$^{ti/te}$ 'exalt' (denominative of *mahá-* 'great'),[45] which has construction (*c*), e.g. VII 96. 1c *sárasvatīm ín mahayā suvr̥ktíbhi stómaiḥ* 'exalt Saravatī by songs of praise, by eulogies', but not (*b*).

Furthermore, an evolution of *dāś* from (*c*) to (*a*) is hardly conceivable without a previous semantic shift from 'expect, receive (someone: a god or a human being)' to 'offer, sacrifice (something to someone)', which is actually excluded by the fact that *dāś* took only animate objects. The evolution from maximal type (*d*) to (*a*) by deletion of the accusative is easily conceivable, as seen in the case of *vidh* (§3), but not for *dāś*, for the reason given above.

As for *vidh*, the evolution from construction (*d*) to (*a*) is easily conceivable by deletion of the accusative (§3), as often seen with verbs of offering

[43] Denominative of *mactus* 'magnificent' (*magis auctus* Paul. Fest.), *macte estō* (with instrumental); cf. Cat. *Agr.* 132. 2 *Iuppiter dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte uino inferio esto* 'Jupiter Dapalis, be thou honoured by the offering of the feast, and be thou honoured by the wine placed before thee'.

[44] Cf. also Varr. ap. Non. 341. 34 *fabatam pultem dis mactant* (**mactare Iouem pulte*); Arnob. *Nat.* 7. 22 *si Mineruae conuenit uirgines hostias immolari . . . ergo et musicis Apollo . . . debet mactari.*

[45] The form is to be separated from *maṃháya-*^{ti} (*maṃh-* 'be ready, liberal', with aor. *mahe*, perf. *māmahe*), as shown by Jamison (1983: 87, 130–1).

and sacrificing, e.g. with Lat. *facere* (*sacrum*) 'sacrificāre' (type *facere* [*deō*] *uitulā*[46] → *facere deō uitulam*) or with Hitt. *šipand-*, once the verb has acquired the meaning 'sacrifice', as has been shown by Cr. Melchert (1991: 251–2), e.g. in

KBo V 1 iii 3–4 *nu addaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš zēyantit* Ì-*it šipandanzi*
they sacrifice to the father-gods with cooked fat,

which results from the deletion of the accusative (SISKUR.SISKUR = *aniur* 'sacrifice') in a sentence such as KUB XXIX 4 iii 56 *nu* SISKUR *zurkii̯aš IŠTU* MAŠ.TUR *šipandanzi* 'they perform the sacrifice of *zurkii̯aš* with a kid'. Needless to say, the shift from *facere* (*sacrum*) *deō uitulā* (type *d*) to *facere uitulam deō* (type *b*) is perfectly conceivable, and well attested in Latin and Hittite. However, the fact is that the scarcity of the attestations of type (*d*) in the case of *dāś* and *vidh* excludes the possibility that the evolution, being after all possible, has actually ever taken place in Vedic.[47]

In my opinion, the difficulties disappear if we assume that *dāś* and *vidh* were part of the same paradigm, as proposed above (§§6–7). In the framework of a suppletive pair, *dāś* and *vidh* interchanged their respective inherited constructions (and meanings) and developed, moreover, the original construction (*a*), with dative of the recipient/honorand and instrumental of the offering, which is specific to the suppletive verb *dāś* :: *vidh*. The new, complex meaning 'honour, worship, revere, offer' is also recognizable in the nominal derivatives: cf. e.g. *dā́ś-* 'offering' (I 127. 7c *mathnánto dāśā́ bhŕ̥gavaḥ* 'the Bhr̥ghus whirling around with an offering'). The assumed evolution of the constructions of both verbs turns out finally to be a further argument in favour of the interpretation in terms of suppletion.

[46] e.g. Plaut. *Stichus* 251 *Iamne exta cocta sunt? quot agnis fecerat?* 'Is dinner ready? With how many lambs did she make the sacrifice?'; Cato *Agr.* 139 *porco piaculo facito*; Verg. *Ecl.* 3. 77 *cum faciam uitula pro frugibus*; *CIL* vi. 2065 *PERFECTO SACRIFICIO OMNES TURE ET UINO FECERUNT*. For further examples in other languages of verbs of sacrificing with dative of the recipient and instrumental of the animal sacrificed cf. Haudry (1977: 342 ff.); Melchert (1981).

[47] It seems unclear to me whether a transformation of construction (*d*) into (*c*) would also be possible for *vidh*. A similar transformation has been recognized in Hittite for *eku-* 'drink' and *šipand-* 'libate' by Melchert (1981: 248); cf. KUB II 13 i 43–44 GEŠTIN-*ann-a tapišanit* GIR_4 *kēdaš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš šipanti* 'and he libates wine for these gods with a *tapiša*(*n*) of burnt clay' (type *d*: accusative of the liquid, dative of the god's name, and instrumental of the vessel) as against type (*c*) in KBo II 14 iii 10–11 EGIR-*ŠU-ma* ^{d}UTU-*un* GUB-*aš* 3-ŠU SI-*it akuu̯anzi* 'then standing they drink (to) the Sun-god (acc.) three times with a horn (instr.)'.

12 Suppletion in Indo-Iranian?

On the assumption that Vedic had a suppletive paradigm *dāś* :: *vidh*, the question arises whether a similar situation may also be assumed for Iranian. The question may be answered only on the basis of a few forms of Av. *das* and *vīd* (: Ved. *dāś* and *vidh*) which, in view of their isolation, may be understood as residual. Given the absence of verbal forms of Av. *das* and the extremely scarce occurrences of *vīd* (three verbal forms, and the extremely obscure *vīduš*), it goes without saying that the interrelation of both lexemes in Avestan may not be stated as safely as in the Rig-Veda.

Indo-Iranian **dāś-* (IE **deḱ-*) is actually represented in Avestan only by the derivative OAv. *dasəma-* 'praise, honour' and by the ppp. *dāšta-**, which underlies the proper names YAv. *parō.dasma-* and *dāštāyni-* (father of *parō.dasma-*). The meaning of *parō.dasma-*, in spite of its being a name, can hardly be separated from those of Ved. *puro-ḍā́ś-* 'sacrificial cake' , with which it shares the preverb too, or from Ved. *dā́ś-* 'offering' (RV I 127. 7), *dāśv-àdhvara-* 'performing a sacrificial act' . Even more interesting is the hapax OAv. *dasəma-* in

Y. 28. 9 *anāiš vā̊ nōit̰ ahurā mazdā aš̩.əmcā yānāiš zaranaēmā*
manascā hiiat̰ vahištəm yōi vā yōiθəmā dasəmē stūtąm

may we no longer anger you . . . nor Truth or Thought which (is) the Best, (we) who are standing at the offering of praises to you (Humbach 1991: 119).

As observed by Émile Benveniste (1964: 22), OAv. *dasəmē stūtąm* reflects the same phraseological pattern as *dāśema suṣṭutī́* (RV VII 14. 2b) and points to an Indo-Iranian collocation. Under the assumption that the meaning 'offer' of Av. *das* (like that of Ved. *dāś*) can hardly be inherited and came into being only after the etymological one 'await, expect, accept' (above, §10) was given up in the framework of the suppletive pair, with subsequent adoption of the common meaning 'honour' or 'offer' (: Ved. *vidh*!), we are led to conclude that OAv. *dasəma-* 'offering' points to a suppletive relation of the type of Vedic *dāś* :: *vidh*.

Less clear is the situation with *vīd* 'care for, devote oneself to (dat.)'.[48] The meaning of the three attested verbal forms[49] may be understood as a

[48] Humbach (1959: ii. 40); 'servir' (Kellens and Pirart 1989–91: ii. 305).

[49] It seems better to ignore here the much-discussed form *vīduš* in Y. 45. 8bc *vaŋhə̄uš mainiiə̄uš š́iiaoδanahiiā uxdax́iiācā vīduš aṣ̌ā*, on the interpretation of which I have nothing to suggest. The text has been interpreted as '(qui lui rendons) un culte par l'acte et la parole par le divin état d'esprit' by Kellens and Pirart (1989–91: i. 157, iii. 193), who assume that *uxdax́iiācā vīduš* reflects the same collocation as Ved. *ukthā́ir vidhema* and connect OAv. *vīduš* with Ved. *vidhú-* (with reference to Haudry 1977: 67). *Aliter* Humbach ad loc.: 'a witness with truth to the action and statement of good spirit'.

variant of that of Ved. *dāš* :: *vidh* 'honour', but the construction exclusively with dative may fit into the pattern of the etymological one:

Y. 33. 3b *airiiamnā vā ahurā vīdąs θβaxšaŋhā gauuōi*

(that one) who is best to the truthful one by family . . . or (by) caring for the cow with zeal.

Cf. also Y. 51. 6c *yə̄ hōi nōit̰ vīdāitī apə̄mē aŋhə̄uš uruuaēse* 'who will not care for Him at the final turning point of (his) existence'; 53. 4ab *tə̄m zī və̄ +spərədā+ niuuarānī yā fəδrōi vīdāt̰ |paiiθiaēcā vāstriiaēbiiō* 'for I want to encompass him with (that) eagerness with which (a woman) shall care for (her) father and husband, for (their) herdsmen' (Humbach 1991: 136, 187, 193).

One can in fact assume for Av. *vīd* 'dedicate (oneself) to' a construction (*b*) as the starting point ('dedicate something to someone') with subsequent deletion of the accusative and incorporation of its noeme into the meaning of the verbal root, as happened in Vedic with *vidh* (§4). However, the construction of Av. *vīd* with dative alone is coincident with the type Ved. *dāś dāśúṣe* :: *vidh dāśúṣe* and the like, which actually reflects (*a*) with deletion of the instrumental. Consequently, I see no major difficulty in assuming that Av. *vīd* ultimately reflects the same type of construction as Ved. *vidh* with slightly different semantics.

To sum up, the semantics of OAv. *dasəma-* 'offering' and the semantics and construction of OAv. *vīd* with the dative may best be explained if we assume that the attested forms are relics of a phase in which both roots stand in the same suppletive relationship as Ved. *dāś* :: *vidh*. This seems to speak in favour of the existence of a suppletive pair **dāć* :: **u̯id^{h}-* in Indo-Iranian.

13 Conclusions

Ved. *dāś* and *vidh* 'honour, worship, revere, offer' fulfil all the conditions necessary to be considered as a suppletive pair in the Rig Veda: they are defective and synonymous (as shown by minimal pairs) and they are in complementary distribution in terms of pres. *dā́ṣṭi* :: aor. *ávidhat* (and perf. *dadā́śa*). The fact that both verbs regularly have the (etymologically unexpected) construction with dative of the recipient and instrumental of the offering, which, moreover, is not found with other verbs of offering and honouring, speaks strongly in favour of the assumption that both verbs actually form one single paradigm and that their regular construction was created by contamination of those inherited by each of the verbs.

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37

Tocharian B *päst* and its Vocalism

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In Tocharian B, there is an adverb *päst*, functioning also as a quasi-preverb in combination with certain verbs, with a basic meaning 'away'. There are various contextual nuances, so that, for instance, in combination with the verb 'give' *päst* can also mean 'back'.[1] There is no attested cognate in Tocharian A, where the corresponding adverb is *lo*, clearly unrelated.[2]

The meaning of *päst* presents no major problems, but the form of the adverb is troublesome since there is a variant *pest*, and some explanation is required for the different vocalisms, which will then have implications for the etymology of the word. A third variant *päs*, with a simplification of the final cluster that is characteristic of texts that seem to show features of everyday language (see Stumpf 1990), will not be treated separately from *päst* in what follows here, where vocalism is the main concern.

One view is that *pest* is the basic form and *päst* its unstressed variant: see e.g. Krause and Thomas (1960: 44–5), van Brock (1978: 228), and Adams (1999: 382). There are two difficulties with this: the first is that it cannot be shown that the distribution of *pest* and *päst* corresponds to any such accentual conditions (see pp. 517–18 below); the second is that such an alternation between stressed *e* and unstressed *ä* is otherwise unknown. There are plenty of examples of unstressed *e*, as for instance (where Toch. B *e* continues IE **o*) in thematic nouns, e.g. *yakwe* 'horse', or the undoubtedly enclitic particle *ṅke*. The only really plausible example of *ä* continuing an Indo-European vowel that would normally be expected to give Toch. B *e* is in the middle 3 sg. and 3 pl. primary endings *-tär* and *-ntär*, matching the Tocharian A endings and no doubt reflecting IE **-tor* and **-ntor* (cf. Hitt. -(*n*)*ta*(*ri*), Lat. -(*n*)*tur*, etc.); the endings are indeed unaccented in

[1] Cf. Thomas (1964: 210) 'weg, fort'; Hackstein (1997: 45 ff.), with emphasis on the value 'back'; Adams (1999: 382), who gives as a translation 'away, back', but adds that *päst* is also 'used with verbs with a perfectivizing force' (the only value assigned to *pest*, pp. 400–1).

[2] A *lo* belongs with the B adverb *lau* 'far'; for further possible connections, see Adams (1999: 562).

Tocharian B, but so are the corresponding secondary endings *-te* and *-nte* < IE **-to* and **-nto*, where the expected *e*-vocalism is found, so that it seems clear that appeal must be made to a special treatment of final **-or* (already in Proto-Tocharian), rather than to an accentual rule.[3]

An alternative approach is essentially etymological: *pest* and *päst* are derived from different, though related, proto-forms. This has been argued recently by Hackstein (1997: 46), who suggests that *päst* continues *e*-grade **pe-sth*$_2$*-u* (so also Pinault 1994: 366), while *pest* reflects *o*-grade **po-sth*$_2$*-u̯*. In this latter form, consonantal **u̯* is required, because a form with final **-u* should have resulted in ***post* by a regular umlaut-rule, and Hackstein suggests that this is a sandhi-variant; the lack of parallelism in this regard between the two proto-forms is disquieting. The main problem, however, is that a sequence **pe-* should have given Toch. B *pi-* not *pä-*, as in **penk*^{w}*e* 'five' > *piś*, **h*$_2$*pelos* 'wound' (cf. Gr. ἄπελος) > *pīle*, and with parallel treatment after the labial nasal **medhu* 'honey, mead' > *mit* (see Martinet 1974: 130; Ringe 1996: 102, 108; the problem in relation to *päst* is noted already in van Brock 1978: 228). It is also unclear that such an assumption of inherited variants really does justice to the actual distribution of *pest* and *päst* within the Tocharian B corpus (see pp. 516–17 below).

What all discussions have in common is the idea that *päst* must be unstressed. This is because in most Tocharian B texts a rule applies by which *ä* and *a* alternate according to the position of the word-accent: so we find e.g. *lakle* 'sorrow' with plural *läklenta*, or *āśäṃ* 'he leads' but *aśan-me* 'he leads them', the accent falling on the penultimate syllable in each case. (The

[3] See Ringe (1996: 86) for suggestions as to how the vocalism of these endings might be explained, with a special treatment for word-final **-or*. Adams (1988: 17) prefers a more general rule whereby PIE **o* gave Proto-Tocharian *ä* before a word-final resonant when unstressed, which enables him to include also some problematic demonstrative pronouns, such as B *su* < **so* + *u*. It is not clear that the demonstratives would have been unstressed—see Stumpf (1971)—and alternative accounts (e.g. Pinault 1989: 113–16) seem preferable.

Van Brock (1978: 228) cites as an example of alternation the imperative prefix, which shows up in B usually as *pä-* but in one verb, 'to give', as *pe-*, cf. 2 sg. *pete*. In A this same verb also has irregular imperative forms, e.g. 2 sg. *pas*, with *pa-* (the expected correspondent of B *pe-*) instead of usual *pä-*, so that one might be tempted to recognize a Proto-Tocharian alternation. It is far from clear, however, that there is any justification for invoking different patterns of accentuation here; an alternative would be to start from different proto-forms, perhaps ablaut variants, but the origin of the prefix is obscure. Since the imperatives of 'give' do not readily lend themselves to derivation from Indo-European forms (a valiant but unconvincing attempt to explain them as ultimately continuing **po deh*$_3$, etc. in Hackstein 2001: 30–1 well illustrates the difficulties), it is not even clear that the unusual vowel is to be attributed simply to the prefix.

second pair also illustrates a comparable alternation between stressed *ā* and unstressed *a*.) Toch. B *a/ä* has various etymological sources (IE **e*, **i*, **u*, the nasal and liquid sonants, anaptyxis); it basically corresponds to Toch. A *ä*, so that there is not much doubt that historically the rule is that stressed Proto-Tocharian *ä* gives B *a*. It would appear then to follow that *päst* cannot be accented, since ***past* would be expected, and even in the work of those who believe in separate starting points one finds formulations such as that of Hackstein (1997: 47): 'ein proklitisches Atonon'.

The distribution of the forms *pest* and *päst* within the surviving corpus of texts is interesting. It appears that *pest* is found only in a limited range of manuscripts, and among the Berlin texts these form a consistent group. They all have MQ or MQR numbers, indicating that they come from the western region, and they show characteristic peculiarities. One important feature is that in these texts the distribution of *a* and *ä* according to the position of the word accent does not apply, so that *ä* can occur in accented syllables. Comparison with Tocharian A suggests that in this respect the language of these manuscripts is closer to Proto-Tocharian than that of the main body of Tocharian B material. These discrepancies of vocalism might be ascribed simply to geographical variation (a 'western dialect') but the likelihood is that these manuscripts (many of which are noted by the editors to be written in 'alter Duktus') actually preserve older forms, as has been convincingly argued by Stumpf (1990).[4] All the Berlin manuscripts showing the form *pest* (at least where enough of the manuscript survives for classification to be possible) fall within Stumpf's group IA, the group showing the most archaic forms, and within this group there are no manuscripts with attestations of *päst*. Whether one favours the literal interpretation that these are indeed older texts or one prefers to say that they are written in a dialect showing more archaic survivals, the same conclusion is indicated: *pest* is the older form and *päst* the later one. On any theory it is a striking fact that *pest* occurs in precisely those Berlin manuscripts that generally allow stressed *ä*, while *päst* occurs in those that normally follow the later *a/ä* alternation rule (Stumpf's groups IC and II).

Given this, it would seem arbitrary and unnecessary to appeal to two different Indo-European starting points rather than supposing a development within Tocharian B that would accompany a number of other

[4] On the question of Tocharian B regional dialects, see especially Winter (1955); on the interpretation of differences as geographically or historically determined, see also Winter's remarks in his introduction to Stumpf (1990), and Ringe (1996: xxiv).

vocalic changes, such as the establishment of the accentually determined alternations of *a/ä* and *ā/a*.

Hackstein (1997: 46 n. 21) argues that *pest* is both a dialectal and also a stylistic variant of *päst* since the occurrences of *pest* all come from metrical passages; but *päst* is frequently attested in metrical passages in other manuscripts, and there is certainly no clear division between poetry and prose here.

A curiosity is the occurrence of *pest* in the Paris manuscript of the *Karmavibhaṅga* (K; edited in Lévi 1933, but see also Sieg 1938), a verse text. Most of the linguistic features in this would suggest putting the manuscript within Stumpf's group IC, but there are occasional problems with the writing of vowels, e.g. *tärkänam* twice for expected *tärkanam* 'he leaves', with older *ä*, which might perhaps allow one to argue for a transitional dating, on the verge of IC. At all events this one text does not seem sufficient to counteract the clear picture that emerges from the Berlin texts.

As has been noted, it is generally supposed that *päst*, whether or not it is taken to be in origin the unstressed variant of *pest*, is always an unstressed element. It is not easy to determine such matters in written texts, but there is enough evidence to raise doubts as to whether this is necessarily the case.

In prose, the most frequent position for *päst* is immediately before a verbal form, where a prima facie case might be made for taking it to be proclitic: cf. 337b1 *kampāl mā päst kalatar, temeñce pästä lyutem-cä* 'if you do not bring back [*päst kalatar*] the garment, then we shall send you away [*päst lyutem-cä*]'; 337a3–4 *sū naumiye päs(t) tärkanalle ste* 'that jewel is to be returned [*päs(t) tärkanalle*]'; PK DA M. 507 (32), 8–9 Pinault (1984) *ce sem kamāte, päs aiy-ñ* 'what he took, he should give back to me [*päs aiy-ñ*]', *ce peri nesem, tu päs aiskem-ne* 'what we owe, that we give back to him [*päs aiskem-ne*]'; 83a4 *ñake päst rinastä[r]-c[i]* . . . 'now [your first father] is letting you go'. Notice, however, that alongside 85b4 *ñake ṅke cai ñ[i]ś pä[st śu]waṃ* 'now they will eat me up [*päst śuwaṃ*]' one also finds 83a6 *päst ṅke śuwaṃ* 'they will eat me up', where *päst* is separated from the verb and placed before the enclitic *ṅke*, in what seems to be a more emphatic position: one may well have doubts as to whether *päst* here is proclitic. One may also question whether *päst* is proclitic when it forms, together with the copula, the predicate of a sentence; cf. 331a5–b1 *cey śwer meñi päs takāre* 'those four months were over [*päs takāre*]', 331b5 *preke päs ste* 'the time is over [*päs ste*]'.

In verse texts, position immediately before a verbal form is again very common, but *päst* may also follow the verbal form; cf. 25a8 *śaul ñi l[ā]re*

päst rinaśle 'my dear life is to be given up [*päst rinaśle*]'; 44a1 *rintsate päst su tarya śpālmem* [*n*]*au*[*miyenta* 'he gave up [*rintsate päst*] the three preeminent jewels'. These positions are certainly compatible with clitic status, and the emphasis one might think to detect in such examples as 23b6 *päst paṡ ñy ostameṃ* 'go away [*päst paṡ*] from my house!' must inevitably be a subjective matter. Sometimes, however, *päst* occurs separated from the verb, and here clitic status seems rather doubtful; e.g. 26b1 *tärknaṃ samvar päst* 'he abandons [*tärknaṃ . . . päst*] restraint' 31b3 *tārkaṃ spelke ṡamāññ=attsaik päst* 'he will completely abandon [*tārkaṃ . . . päst*] his zeal as a monk'.

It should be pointed out that *pest* patterns in essentially the same way: it is found before a verbal form, cf. 514a8 *akruna pest lyelyuwormeṃ* 'having wiped away [*pest lyelyuwormeṃ*] his tears'; after a verbal form, cf. 273a5 *pātär mātär rīntsāmte pest* 'we have left behind [*rīntsāmte pest*] father and mother'; or in tmesis, cf. K 7a5 *tumeṃ no pest yāmor śaul ṡpä aran-me* 'but then action and life will cease for them [*pest . . . aran-me*]'. There is no evidence here to support an opposition between stressed *pest* and unstressed *päst*.

In the verse passages, one might hope to look to metre for some help in determining stressed elements, but there is too little certainty for secure conclusions. It is acknowledged that Tocharian metre involves lines with fixed numbers of syllables, and that a line will be made up of smaller units or cola; what is less clear is whether there is any sort of verse ictus, and if so what patterns can be recognized.[5] Unmistakably enclitic elements frequently occur in colon-final position, but Stumpf (1971) points out that this is also true of demonstratives, and that furthermore the usual word order, established from prose, is often deliberately switched in verse to allow this to happen, which allows no certain conclusion to be drawn from the fact that *päst* can occur in this position (cf. 81a3 | *srukor aiśaumyepi* | *olypo* [*ri*]*toyt*(*ä*)*r päst* | . . . 'death might rather be sought by the wise man . . .'). On the other hand, *päst* occurs quite frequently in colon-initial position (cf. 23b6 | *päst paṡ ñy ostameṃ* | 'go away from my house!')—the one place where shortened poetic forms like *tne* and *ñke* for *tane* and *ñake* cannot occur (Thomas 1979), which might suggest a higher degree of prominence: but need that involve ictus? There are also, however, occurrences of *päst* in the middle of a colon (cf. 81a3 | *lyautsa-ñ päst sañ ypoymem* | 'he sent me

[5] See Stumpf (1971) and Thomas (1979), with further references. These works are particularly helpful for the question of division into cola.

away from his country'), so that until Tocharian metre is better understood, there seems little hope of illumination from this quarter.

If *päst* were indeed a (pro)clitic preverb, we might expect to find others. Certainly there are other adverbs that are supposed to function in this way (for a list, see Krause and Thomas 1960: 170), but there is no reason to believe them to be proclitic. In many cases the vocalism gives no clues, but in the case of *parna* 'out, outside', related to A *pärne*, the vowel of the first syllable must show *a* arising from Proto-Tocharian **ä* under the accent, so we have a stressed form. It is clear that *parna* can function as a postposition governing the perlative case, meaning 'except'; it is also found after the ablative, meaning 'out from'; and it appears as an adverb, possibly to be taken as a preverb, when it appears immediately before a verbal element (the most usual position for *päst*); cf. in a prose text 81b4 *alyek-poysi brāhmani parna klyenträ* 'foreign brahmins are standing outside [*parna klyenträ*]'.[6] The related form *parra* 'outside, beyond, past' (see Adams 1999: 359 for discussion of the formal connection) has a clearly adverbial/preverbal use, occurring, for instance, in the formulae of the caravan passes (Pinault 1987): *X parra yaṃ* 'X is going past', *te parra tārka yatsi* 'let this (group) go past', or simply *te parra tārka* 'let this (group) past'. This last usage is reminiscent of *päs*(*t*) *tärkanalle* 'to be returned' (cited at p. 517 above), and there are no evident grounds other than the vocalism for believing the adverb/preverb to be stressed in one case but not in the other. In so far as there are parallels, therefore, for *päst* as a preverb, they do not support the idea that it must be a 'proklitisches Atonon'.

There is another monosyllable in B that raises a similar problem of vocalism, namely *ñäś*, the nominative and oblique of the first person singular pronoun, 'I, me'.[7] This can also appear as *ñiś*, with a vowel change that occurs in other words too and is generally ascribed to a palatal environment; the fullest statement of the basic rule is given by Stumpf (1990: 68–9), who notes that the change operates in unstressed syllables. Stumpf recognizes

[6] For the overlap of functions for Tocharian adverbs, see Penney (1989), where the ambiguity of some instances is noted, e.g. 88a1 *kantwo koynameṃ parna lnaṣṣi-ne*, lit. 'tongue from-mouth out was hanging for him' = 'his tongue was hanging out of his mouth', where it is unclear if *parna* is to be taken as a postposition with the ablative (in *-meṃ*), as a preverb with *lnaṣṣi-* 'was hanging', or as an independent adverb. See also Adams (1999: 359) for a classification of the uses of *parna*.

[7] The origin of *ñäś*, as of other forms in this paradigm in both A and B, is still a matter for debate: see Jasanoff (1989) for a thorough discussion and some interesting proposals (cf. also Adams 1999: 265–6). The problem should therefore be first considered within Tocharian.

that *ñäś*, 'bei dem die Annahme eines Wortakzentes naheliegt', appears to be an exception. One might perhaps allow that the doubly palatal environment conditioned the vowel change here, regardless of the accent, but there remains the problem of how to account for the basic *ä*-vocalism if the word is accented. One would, according to the usual rules, expect *ñaś*, which is actually found, and is cited as the lemma for this pronoun in Adams's *Dictionary* (1999: 265); but the only attestations that I can locate come solely from 241, written 'in älterer, unschöner, bisweilen undeutlicher Schrift, mit vielen Schreibfehlern' (Sieg, Siegling, and Thomas 1953: 143), and *ñäś* appears in the same text, so that this seems an insecure base for establishing *ñaś* as a true form.

This will mean that we cannot claim to have evidence for an original opposition between stressed *ñaś* and unstressed *ñäś*, and besides there is the question of whether we would want to claim that *ñäś* was always unstressed. Krause and Thomas (1960: 44–5) seem to assume something of the sort when they claim that the vocalism appears in certain words 'bei schwachem Satzakzent', but there is room for doubt, especially with regard to the nominative. Subject pronouns are not obligatory in Tocharian, so the very use of the nominative implies some element of emphasis, and there are clear instances of contrastive use of the pronoun. Even if one were inclined to argue for an unstressed form in a passage such as the following (a combination of 1b2 with 2a5): *maiwe* [*ne*]*sau, māwk ñäś sruka*[*l*]*l*[*e*] 'I am young, I am not yet going to die', where the pronoun follows (and could arguably be enclitic on) the negative, yet the inversion of this same argument, in a case where the pronoun precedes the negative, coupled with the evident contrastive emphasis, surely rules out an unstressed form in the following: 23b4–5 *yes no śakeññi snai keś onolmeṃ tserenträ . . . . . . ñäś mā yesaññe wase yokalle rekaunaṣṣe* 'you followers of Śākya deceive persons without number . . . . . . I am not going to drink the poison of your words'.

It seems, then, that we must accept that there is a second monosyllabic form in which stressed *ä* occurs. Unfortunately the parallelism with *päst* is not complete. There is no trace of an older form with different vocalism in those MQ texts that show *pest*, nor even an absence of forms that might allow speculation on this score: *ñäś* is found in 142, a leaf from one of the manuscripts that provide instances of *pest* (in leaves 133, 135).

It is difficult to believe that in *päst* and *ñäś* we simply have a generalization of unstressed forms at the expense of stressed ones. Given the wide prevalence of the *a/ä* alternation, speakers would have had no difficulty in identifying alternating forms such as ****past** and *päst*, just as in the case of the adverb

tane a metrical variant *tne* is perfectly acceptable (see Thomas 1979). Nor, given the consistency of usage and what would be a curious restriction to two items, is this likely to be just a matter of generalizing a single orthography.

It seems, then, that despite the usual pattern whereby stressed *ä* becomes *a* in Tocharian B, in two monosyllables at least stressed *ä* survives. In the case of *päst*, there is evidence that this is not the original vocalism and that this form replaces earlier *pest*; it cannot be shown that *ñäś* has a similar history, as it appears in this form even in what one might take to be the earliest texts, but one may well suspect that a derivation of the *ä* of this form from IE **e*, as usually assumed, may be too simple.

At this point etymological speculation beckons, but with so few forms available, the establishment of any rule must be precarious. One might, however, suggest that we are dealing with a vowel which began as something that could be written as ⟨e⟩ but was not identical to the *e* that survived intact, and which at the time of the reordering of the Tocharian B vowel system (introducing the *a/ä* and *ā/a* alternations) shifted to fill the slot left vacant by the move of earlier stressed *ä* to *a*; but the source of such a vowel is still not clear to me. The one thing which does seem clear, however, is that there is a problem here that cannot be solved simply by a glib dismissal of *päst* and *ñäś* as invariably unstressed elements.

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38

Promising Perspective or Dead End? The Issue of Metrical Passages in the Old Persian Inscriptions

Rüdiger Schmitt

Since 1928 several scholars have put forward the theory that the Achaemenid royal inscriptions in the Old Persian language, or at least parts of them, are written in verse. The first to claim this was Johannes Friedrich (1928) who posited a metrical structure such as that assumed for the Younger Avestan texts by Johannes Hertel (1927), viz. verses of eight, ten, or twelve syllables. Friedrich had a predecessor, however, in Paul Tedesco (1923: 44), who regarded the (obviously inherited) phrase *avam ubr̥tam abaram* 'him I treated well' (DB I 21–2 etc.)[1] as a metrical octosyllabic line, but was ignored more or less completely. Research in this field was then carried on in various different ways by Ernst Herzfeld (1930: 7 n. 1; 1931: 83 and 123–4), Hermann Weller (1938: 15–16 and 59–60), F. W. König (1938: 84–92), H. F. J. Junker (1967), and János Harmatta (1982). Other scholars referred briefly to this question and to some of the authors just mentioned, remarking that here and there one might admit the presence of fragments of verse[2] or at least a general impression of rhythmical structure.[3]

Criticism of this theory (or theories) has never been worked out in detail,[4] although Lommel (1934: 182), who saw various plausible and attractive elements in it, had already indicated that this was a desideratum; and indeed important questions are involved (Harmatta 1982: 84–5), rang-

[1] References to the Old Persian inscriptions are according to the system used by Kent (1953); the texts themselves, however, are not faithfully transliterated here, but are given in a phonemic-phonetic transcription as in the text editions published by me as part of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum.

[2] See Morgenstierne (1939: 238); Brandenstein and Mayrhofer (1964: 25–6); Hinz (1965: 395); Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1980: 107–8); Malandra (1996: 145–6).

[3] Cf. Oranskij (1960: 129–30), where the name of M. Muʿīn is also mentioned in this connection (without full citation); Dandamaev (1976: 84).

[4] See Meillet and Benveniste (1931: 17–18 §25); Schmid (1964: 264); Hinz (1965: 395).

ing from the pronunciation of the texts and their performance[5] to the history of Persian (epic) poetry in general and metrics in particular. The general objections raised by Meillet and Benveniste (1931: 17–18 §25), that a metrical structure does not suit the clumsiness of the texts as such and that their dull and formal expressions lack any artistic aspect, seem to me quite exaggerated. Stylistic features like asyndeton, anacoluthon, chiasmus, and the like[6] are well in evidence, and perhaps even rhyme, though the latter is only the consequence of parallel sentence patterns and of the *parallelismus membrorum*. But all such phenomena are equally at home in prose texts and do not require or prove that we have to do here with metrical structures.

Following Hertel,[7] Friedrich (1928: 238) proposed a syllable-counting system (rather than one based on quantitative rhythm), consisting of octosyllabic, ten-syllable, or twelve-syllable verses (the latter two containing an extra caesura) alternating at will and characterized by their disregard of the word accent as well as their iambic rhythm ending in a stressed syllable. Friedrich realized that his was merely a first attempt to determine the nature of Old Persian verses and conceded that it was often possible to scan them in a different manner. An important advantage of his theory, he maintained (1928: 243), was that the stereotyped and constantly repeated phrases that give the texts such a monotonous appearance could now be accounted for in terms of their metrical structure.

The sample verses given by Friedrich[8] repeatedly show his arbitrary procedure in reducing the continuous text to verse-lines by assuming at will the presence or absence of contraction, synizesis, etc., by positing the presence of svarabhakti vowels or the slurring of vowels, and in general by frequently treating the same word or phrase in a metrically different way without external justification. The sequences written as ⟨C-i-y, C-u-v⟩ are interpreted by him alternately, to suit the metrical analysis aimed at, as /Ciy, Cuv/ or /Cy, Cv/ in a view contradictory to today's *communis opinio* that these Old Persian vowels were actually pronounced. The same treatment is accorded the stems ⟨h-y-, t-y-⟩ of the relative pronoun, as a result of the earlier reading /hya-, tya-/, which has long since been superseded by /haya-, taya-/.

For Friedrich the beginning of the Bīsutūn text (DB I 1–3, §1) is structured as follows:

[5] Junker (1967: 35) went so far as to maintain that these texts were 'to be sung, in a psalm-like manner'.

[6] See Kent (1953: 99–100 §§315 ff.).

[7] It is not possible here to examine Hertel's views on Avestan metrics in detail.

[8] For convenience the various authors' individual modes of transcribing the Old Persian forms will be simplified (with regard to stress-marks and the like) and adapted to modern practice.

adám | *Dāráyavaúš* | *xšāyáθya vázr̥ká*	12
xšāyáθiyá | *xšāyáθyānā́m*	8
xšāyáθiyá Pārsaí | *xšāyáθya dáhyūnā́m*	12
Vištá-|*aspáhiyā́ puçá*	8
R̥šā́mahyā́ | *napā́* | *Haxā́maníšiyá*	12

To this scheme it may be objected that the king's name *Dārayava.uš* was originally a five-syllable form,[9] similar in this respect to the theonym *A.uramazdā*, which Friedrich scanned with four syllables only in a few special cases. Another objection relates to a point symptomatic of Friedrich's entire analysis, viz. that *xšāyaθya* and *xšāyaθiya* are juxtaposed in a disorderly and arbitrary manner. But most startling of all is 'verse' 4, which in order to achieve the required eight syllables had to be stretched excessively, as it were, by assuming the uncontracted form of *Vištāspa*'s name as well as the 'vocalized' genitive ending *-ahiyā*;[10] and to crown it all, the caesura had to occur in the middle of this name.

One could continue listing inconsistencies, errors, and oddities of various kinds, apart from those cases where the situation has changed since Friedrich's day since the form in question is nowadays read differently.[11] I shall confine myself to a small selection of awkward and objectionable items of Friedrich's metrical analysis.

1. The linguistically real anaptyctic *i* and *u* vowels within original **Ci̯*, **Cu̯* clusters (see above) have sometimes been suppressed even in proper names, e.g. in *Aryāramna-*, *Br̥dya-* instead of *Ariya*° and *Br̥diya-*.

2. The genuine diphthongs have sometimes been split up into two syllables, e.g. in *ta.umāyā* (DB I 9, §4) contrary to *taumā* (DB I 8, §3) 'family' or in *Hara.iva* (DB I 16, §6; = Av. *Harōiuua-*) 'Aria'.

3. The relation of the syntactic structure given and the metrical analysis presumed by Friedrich is often patently absurd, e.g. in the case of the sentence-initial resumptive pronoun following an anacoluthic naming construction (as in DB I 29, §10 '*hauv-am*',[12] being in verse-final position

[9] Basing himself on Friedrich's four-syllable reading of *Dārayavauš*, Schaeder (1930: 71 = 269) was to establish the four-syllable structure of Xerxes' name *Xšaya.r̥šā* (instead of *Xšayāršā*) in verse-lines parallel to those containing Darius' name. Even if the result is correct (in that *Xšaya.r̥šā* indeed had four syllables), the method by which it was achieved was not in itself reliable.

[10] Apparently Wüst (1966: 26) was using the same trick when he analysed the phrase DNa 43–5 *Pārsahyā martiyahyā* ‖ *dūrai r̥štiš parāgmatā* 'The spear of the Persian man has gone forth far away' as two octosyllabic verses.

[11] I am thinking of cases such as '*Uvaja*' 'Elam' (correctly *Ūja*) or '*Zaranka*' 'Drangiana' (to be read as *Zranka*).

[12] The reading of this hapax form has in the meantime been superseded; the correct reading is *hau paruvam* 'he formerly' (Schmitt 1990: 13–17).

according to Friedrich) or of a demonstrative pronoun (as e.g. DB I 38–9, §11 *hau* || *kāráhyā ávaθā́ adúrujyá* 'he lied to the people thus' with *hau* in sentence-initial, but at the same time verse-final, position).

4. The closely connected phrase *hayā amāxam* || *taumā* 'my family' has been assigned to two 'verses' in DB I 8, §3.

5. The metrical alternation assumed by Friedrich for two successive twelve-syllable lines of §10 (DB I 32–3) is nonsensical:

pasā́va | *Kámbūjyá* | *Mudrā́yam ā́šyavá*
yaθā́ Kambū́jya | *Múdrāyám ašíyavá*

Afterwards Cambyses went off to Egypt; when Cambyses had set out for Egypt . . .

If this text really were metrical and formulaic in the style of oral poetry, the poet would have 'stretched', as it were, the first metrical foot of the second line, making it equivalent to the three syllables of *pasāva* so that he could keep the remaining part of the line unchanged and thus easily compose two parallel verse-lines.

6. The two-syllable word *brātā* 'brother' is scanned by Friedrich with svarabhakti vowel in DB I 39–40, §11 as trisyllabic '*bə́rātā́*' in a way which is unknown in Vedic or Old Avestan poetry and would be a 'metrical licence' unheard-of elsewhere; he assumed the same phenomenon for '*párəsā́*' 'punish!' in DB IV 38, §55, which is actually to be read as *pr̥sā* with a syllabic *r̥* (at least on the phonemic level).

7. Even the bare list of countries enumerated in §6 (DB I 12–17) is said to have a metrical structure, and furthermore, for the first two names mentioned there, *Pārsa Ūja* (which Friedrich erroneously has in the three-syllable form *Uvaja*),[13] synizesis is postulated.

This short list is only a small selection of the objections one could think of. It is sufficient, however, to make it clear that Friedrich's attempt has failed, because he had 'bloss Silben gezählt'[14] and kept tinkering with the text until the words recorded were arranged in groups of eight, ten, or twelve syllables. For Friedrich completely disregarded the fact that this text shows a word order quite 'natural' in Old Persian; apart from some cases of emphasis justified by the content, it gives no evidence of any 'marked' positioning of words, such as we should expect to find in metrical texts. Any other phenomena characteristic of metrical texts are also absent, and particularly those we usually find in oral poetry: lengthened word-forms in verse-final position or superfluous padding such as ornamental epithets,

[13] See n. 11.
[14] This is the judgement of König (1938: 84).

unnecessary for expressing the actual message. Already this striking contrast with the metrical texts composed in Vedic or Old Avestan, and it alone, is proof enough that the assertion that the Old Persian inscriptions are written in verse has to be rejected categorically.

Independently, or at least without reference to Friedrich, Herzfeld (1930: 7 n. 1) proposed the existence of metrical passages, but only in connection with loanwords, i.e. archaic (or archaizing) lexemes of Median origin (cf. Herzfeld 1931: 83 n. 1): e.g. DPd 8–9 *hyā naibā uvaspā umartiyā* '(Persia,) which (is) good, with good horses (and) good men' (10 syllables) or DZc 4 *tya vazr̥kam tya uvaspam umartiyam* '(the kingdom,) which (is) great, which (is) with good horses (and) good men' (4 + 8 = 12 syllables). OPers. *uvaspa-* in fact exhibits a non-Persian, specifically Median, phonetic development (*-sp-*), whereas the same assumption cannot be substantiated in the case of *vazr̥ka-* 'great', though this word is mostly used as a stock epithet. It should be remarked at any rate that there are severe doubts regarding the restoration of the form *uva*[*spa*]*m* in DZc 4, since there is insufficient space for it and the only form attested in the single completely parallel passage DSf 11–12 is the genuinely Persian counterpart *uvasa-* (instead of 'foreign' *uvaspa-*).[15] In the style of his age Herzfeld read the relative pronoun as *hya-*, *tya-* (instead of disyllabic *haya-*, *taya-*), as Friedrich had done (see above).

Herzfeld denied, however, that the inscriptions could be regarded as metrical in general. It seems that he was thinking only of traditional formulae or phrases in metrical shape which found their way into the Achaemenid inscriptions.

In the following year Herzfeld's statements sound more confident. By then it was clear to him (1931: 123) 'daß es große Teile gibt, die tatsächlich Verse sind, andere die es ebenso sicher nicht sind', and that we find here the same 'Mischung von Poesie und Prosa' as is attested or at least assumed for several other Indo-European peoples. This impression had been conveyed to him by texts like the royal 'protocol' at the beginning of DB §1 (I 1–3, with 'clear octosyllabic verses' according to Herzfeld), the famous building inscription DSf of the Susian palace, or the early Persepolitan foundation inscription DPe, in §3 of which he saw 'die ersten zweifellosen altpersischen verse' (1935: 129 n. 2). The examples taken from DSf which Herzfeld (1931: 124) adduced as cases of 'rhythmical' passages leave much to be desired, since both the forms of the relative pronoun and the verbal forms of the passive are read erroneously.

Another major obstacle to any metrical interpretation of these texts is the use of logograms. The relevant forms are resolved and written in full

[15] Several remarks on Darius' Suez inscriptions will be published elsewhere.

by Herzfeld, so that a reader could easily pass over them without noticing the problem involved. The difficulty consists in the very presence of the logograms in the first place, since they are a most unpractical medium for writing a metrical text in view of the fact that they do not represent the full and real pronunciation of the words in question. Latin epigraphy provides a good parallel: it is no accident that in ancient Latin verse inscriptions, such as those of the Scipios, the *praenomina*, which are usually abbreviated, are written in full (e.g. *CIL* i^2. 7, in contrast to i^2. 6).

As a prerequisite for an investigation of the issue of metrical content Herzfeld maintained that a number of questions concerning the Old Persian writing system and its ambiguities in general, and the relation of writing and pronunciation in particular, should be resolved—in a word, many questions fundamental from the point of view of historical linguistics. He started with the introductory formula[16] *θāti Dārayava.uš xšāyaθiya* (read by Herzfeld as '*θanhati Dāreyavoš xšāyaθya*') 'Proclaims Darius, the king'. In general he often held views which have long since been abandoned, among them those concerning the pronunciation of *Ciy* and *Cuv* sequences, or the two verbal roots *θā* 'to proclaim, make known' and *θanh* 'to say', the distinction between which was not recognized in his day. Another point is the name of Darius. Although Herzfeld knew that it was originally a five-syllable form (*Dārayava.uš*), he still put it (1931: 96–7) into the aforementioned formula in what he termed its 'vulgar' four-syllable guise purely because in his view the formula had already been created under Ariaramnes, whose name, Herzfeld thought, had four syllables (*Aryāramna*).[17] He assumed that later expressions were constructed under the constraint of pre-existent formulae, which thus affected the form to be chosen. Herzfeld (1931: 98–100) saw a similar 'metrical problem' (which in my opinion is also illusory) in the name of *A.uramazdā* (originally pentasyllabic) or *Auramazdā* (with four syllables).[18] Though in principle both these variants may be considered viable in metrical texts, Herzfeld (1931: 100) thought that only the longer one was admissible in archaic formulae.

[16] This formula, which in my opinion has eleven syllables, is scanned by Herzfeld as a ten-syllable verse (1931: 84 and 98), as it was by Friedrich (1928: 239), though the two scholars differed in several details and thus also in the placement of the caesura (6 + 4 vs. 7 + 3 syllables).

[17] It is known that Herzfeld (1938: 1–2) regarded the only Ariaramnes inscription on a gold tablet (AmH), where this formula is found in lines 4 and 9–10, as an authentic text; see most recently Schmitt (1999: 106–9).

[18] Here Herzfeld supposed—in a manner difficult to comprehend—two different dialectal developments, Med. '*Ahurmazdā*' (with syncope) and OPers. '*Auhramazdā*', then '*Ohramazdā*' (with metathesis and, at some time, subsequent monophthongization of the secondary diphthong).

Some years later Herzfeld (1938: 11) stated that the beginning of Darius' lower tomb inscription DNb (§1, lines 1–5) was also written in verse. Assuming that the stems of the relative pronouns are monosyllabic—all previous metrical analyses suffer from this defect—and that the *Cy* and *Cv* clusters (in '*šyātim*', '*arvastam*', and '*xšāyaθyam*') have no vowel, he identified mainly eight-syllable and ten-syllable lines. These results were modified by Wüst (1943–4: 58–9), who, starting from the verbal form *adadā* 'he created', realized that its Vedic counterpart *ádadhāt* is found only in (eleven-syllable) *triṣṭubh* lines. He thus asked whether or not it is by chance that the Old Persian lines with *adadā* can also be scanned in the same way, namely with '*šiyātim*', as having eleven syllables: e.g. DNb 2–3, '*hya adadā šiyātim martiyahyā*' '(Auramazdā,) who created blissful happiness for man'. Yet if we adopt the correct reading *haya* of the relative pronoun, we have twelve syllables—and thus no parallel to the Vedic *triṣṭubh* lines.

Weller (1938: 15–16 and 59–60) also thought he had found a metrical structure in certain traditional fixed phrases repeated again and again in Old Persian inscriptions otherwise considered to be written in prose. On the one hand he quoted (1938: 15–16) the well-known naming constructions introducing, for example, a toponym not previously mentioned. The metrical rhythm he saw here is not a regular alternation of short and long syllables, however, but only an intonation with constantly recurring catchwords which constitute a framework for the bulk of the text. In order to get the standard rhythm of four stressed syllables, Weller was forced to assume a large number of contractions, slurring of syllables, and the like.[19] So it is easy for the reader to agree with his statement: 'Ob in solchen Fällen bewußte Gestaltung vorliegt oder der Zufall mitspielt, ist im einzelnen schwer zu entscheiden' (Weller 1938: 14).

On the other hand, Weller discovered passages in which periods of lines with four stressed syllables are interrupted by others containing only two (or sometimes six) stresses (1938: 59–60); for the most part their rhythm is said to be falling, rising only occasionally. For those passages, which he obviously imagined as being recited in a sing-song voice and forming part of an age-old heritage, Weller (1938: 50) introduced the term *periodus popularis*. The first Old Persian example he gave (1938: 59) is the 'solemn announcement' of DB I 11–12, §5:

[19] It may suffice to cite just two 'lines' of DB §45 (III 60–1) in the form presented by Weller (1938: 15):

kāpiškāniš nāmā didā
avadā hamaranam akunava.

Such a method of metrical analysis can hardly be considered reliable.

θahati[20] *Dārayava.uš*
xšāyaθiya:
vašnā A.uramazdāha
adam xšāyaθiya ami.
Auramazdā
xšaçám manā́ fra.ábará.

Proclaims Darius, the king: 'By the favour of Auramazdā I am king; upon me Auramazdā bestowed the kingship.'

The last line is expressly stated to be written in verse with rising rhythm. But in particular Weller pointed to the emphasis laid on *xšāyaθiya* in line 2 and, still more, on the four-syllable *Auramazdā* (its diphthong contrasting with the genitive form two lines before). It is entirely implausible, however, to assume that the stereotyped introductory lines (with their verb in the third person) are to be included in the 'solemn announcement' proper (which is voiced in the first person), all the more so since Weller quite reasonably supposed that there was an alternating pattern of prose and verse. The arbitrary nature of his approach thus again becomes self-evident.

In the same year König (1938: 84–92) published his bold conjectures on the metrics of Darius' great Bīsutūn inscription, although he considered that the bulk of the text was written in prose. Viewing the text as an extract from the 'royal records' (*βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι*), he assumed that 'nur bestimmte Partien, die wörtlich aus dem Original abgeschrieben worden sind, oder bestimmte altertümliche Wendungen und Phrasen metrisch sein können' (1938: 84). Among those metrical sections[21] he counted first the summarizing remarks added to the accounts of the king's individual campaigns, such as DB IV 1–2 '*imá tya*[22] *manā́ kr̥tám Bābiráu*' 'This (is) what has been done by me in Babylon'. And in this metre with its four stressed syllables—elsewere he even spoke of iambic tetrameters (1938: 63)—he recognized the Arabo-Persian *mutaqārib*, the ancient common metre of Persian epic poetry, which according to König is found also in the Younger Avestan remnants of old epic songs. For König it was in this metre that the old 'royal records' were composed,[23] the same verse form employed 1,500 years later in Firdausī's *Šāhnāma*. The differences between Old and New Persian *mutaqārib* are played down and alluded to only in

[20] Instead of *θāti*; see above.

[21] In passing König (1938: 63) indicated that the list of countries given in DB I 12–17 (§6) is also metrically arranged in eight verse-lines.

[22] The relative pronoun has to be read as *taya*: see above.

[23] Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1980: 108) rightly objected that metrical formulae would be much more appropriate to the oral tradition than to royal annals.

a footnote (1938: 92 n. 1). But it is not possible here to go into the issues surrounding the origin of *mutaqārib*, its relations to Arabic varieties, and its possible pre-Islamic models (e.g. the metre of the small contest-poem *Draxt ī asūrīg*).

König (1938: 85 ff.) also saw the same metrical structure in several legal stipulations and sentencing regulations, appearing sporadically in the continuous account of a particular legal case that is otherwise written in prose. For example:

DB I 21–2, §8	(prose)	(verse)
	haya agriya āha,	*avám ubr̥tam ábarám,*
	haya arīka āha,	*avám ufrástam ápr̥sám.*
	(the man) who was loyal,	him I treated well,
	who was disloyal,	him I punished severely.
DB IV 65 ff., §63	*haya hamataxšatā manā viθiyā,*	*avám ubr̥tam ábarám,*
	haya viyanāθaya,	*avám ufráštam ápr̥sám.*
	who strove for my house,	him I treated well,
	who did harm,	him I punished severely.

It was only later that Harmatta (1982: 85) expressly drew attention to the fact that the formula reflected in *ubr̥tam abaram* has Avestan parallels, and in metrical texts; and he concluded from this that for just this reason 'müssen sie auch in den altpersischen Königsinschriften eine metrische Funktion haben'. Such an inference, however, is far from being convincing or conclusive.

Another passage interpreted by König as showing such an 'einfaches und leicht erkennbares Metrum'[24] became notorious, viz. the description of the mutilation of the Median pretenders:

DB II 74–6 (§32)	*utā́ nāhám utā́ gaušā́*
	utā́ hizā́nam frā́janám . . .

I cut off his nose, ears, and tongue . . .

Similarly DB II 88–90 (§33). But here König has simply left out the beginning of the sentence, *adam-šai* 'I (cut off) his . . .', as well as the numerical symbol for '1' in the text that follows, viz. before the word for 'eye'.[25] We could go on to examine the other passages presented by him in the same way, e.g. those

[24] These are the words of Brandenstein, in Brandenstein and Mayrhofer (1964: 26).

[25] This example was taken over as the clearest and most convincing one by Brandenstein and Mayrhofer (1964: 26). With some modifications it won the approval of Malandra (1996: 145–6), who even spoke of a 'fairly consistent octosyllabic verse', which he regarded as 'the common narrative, it is tempting to say "epic", meter of Old Persian' (1996: 146).

blessing and cursing future people depending on whether they conceal Darius’ relief and inscription (DB IV 52–9, §§60–1) or those containing the king’s admonition to future kings and to readers of his record, both in general and with regard to keeping the Bīsutūn monument in good repair. König (1938: 88–9) saw metrical elements in the address lines

DB IV 67–8, §64 *tuvám kā, xšā́yaθiyá*
hayá[26] *aparám āhí*

You, whosoever shall be king hereafter . . .

or in the judgement

DB IV 69, §64 *ávai mā́ dauštā́ biyā́*
úfraštādíš pr̥sā́

to those may you not be friendly, (but) punish them severely.

König even went so far as to posit strophic pairs, e.g. DB IV 72–6, §66:

(strophe)
yádi ímām dípim vaínāhi
ímaivā́ patíkarā́,
naídiš víkanā́hi utā́tai
yā́vā taúmā áhatí
páribárāhidíš,
[*páribárāhdíš* König]

If you shall look at this inscription or these sculptures, (and) shall not destroy them and, as long as there is strength to you, shall care for them,

(antistrophe)
Aúramazdā́ θuvām daúštā biyā́
[‘thwām’ (i.e. *θvām*) König]
útātai taúmā vásai biyā́,
útā dargám jīvā́,
útā taya kúnavā́hi,
ávatai Aúramazdā́
úcāram kúnautú.

may Auramazdā be friendly to you, and may offspring be to you in great number, and may you live long! And what you shall do, may Auramazdā make that successful for you!

The inconsistencies in reducing the continuous text to separate lines[27] and in stressing parallel forms and formations quite differently—e.g. first *ímaivā pátikarā́*, then here *ímaivā́ patíkarā́*—are most striking. Morgenstierne (1939: 238) quickly pointed out König’s arbitrary alternating readings of *avám*/*ávai utā́*/*útā* and the like. And he quite rightly observed that if the addition or deficiency of one syllable were not deemed important, then one could indeed discover *mutaqārib* verses or even lines in the same

[26] I have ‘modernized’ the forms of the relative pronoun and several other matters here and in the following example.

[27] The line division after the first *utātai* is erroneous in my opinion: compare verse-initial *utātai* some lines later.

metrical pattern as Greek tragic lyric. The allusion to Greek drama was no gratuitous criticism since König himself (1938: 89–90) actually matched his Old Persian metrical patterns with those of Aeschylus' *Persians*[28] and even maintained for Aeschylus 'eine bewusste Anlehnung an die persische Dichtkunst seiner Zeit'! There is no point in dwelling here on those figments of König's imagination.

König himself admitted (1938: 92 n. 1) that vowel quantity is of no importance, in contrast to the alleged later continuant, the *mutaqārib*; and Harmatta (1982: 84) added the further objection that the actual accent of the Old Persian words is not taken into consideration by König. One need only recall augmented verbal forms (*ábarám*, *áp̥rsám*, but *akúnavám*), subjunctives like *víkanā́hi*, *kúnavā́hi*, but *vaínāhi*, or even the verb 'to be' with the 3rd-person form *áhatí*, against 2nd-person *ā́hi* or *āhí*. What we see here is the same as we observed earlier, viz. that all these would-be metricians deal with the text as a whole and with individual words in a purely arbitrary way.

The connection of the alleged Old Persian metre with the *mutaqārib* met with the approval of Junker (1967: 32–3), though he nowhere refers to König by name. After a short discussion of Avestan metrical problems and an explanation of rising and falling rhythms, Junker turns abruptly to Old Persian, which he describes as 'epic' in character. Junker assumed that Friedrich's theory of a metrical element in the Old Persian inscriptions and his assertion of their foundation upon the royal archive records were correct in principle; and he accordingly asked whether the *mutaqārib* metre of later Persian epic poetry might be the rhythm of the Achaemenid inscriptions too. He claimed that there were two varieties of this epic rhythm, a shorter octosyllabic and a longer eleven-syllable form; and in spite of all the differences he drew a parallel between those two forms and the Vedic *anuṣṭubh* (eight syllables) and *triṣṭubh* (eleven syllables) lines. In his opinion the text can be divided into eight-syllable and eleven-syllable lines composed of two (or three) trisyllabic entities and a shorter one, which looks like the catalectic form of the other.

The metrical analysis of DNa 1–8 (§1),[29] which Junker (1967: 33–4) presented as a quite perfect example, once more makes it completely clear that the metre does not come out unless one is prepared to resort to a large number of unfounded assumptions. Apart from the long-running problem

[28] He explicitly compared the two lines mentioned above, *yádi ímām dípim vaínāhi* ‖ *ímaivā́ patíkarā́*, with Aesch. *Pers.* 155 *ὦ βαθυζώνων ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη*.

[29] The close parallel in DZc 1–3 was also rhythmically analysed by Oranskij (1960: 129–30), but in a quite different manner and (such slackness being somewhat symptomatic of the approach) with an extract mutilated at the end.

of the relative pronoun (with only one disyllabic case and four instances of monosyllabic '*hya*' in his sample) and syncopations like *Aurmazdā* (with only three instead of the original five syllables), there is a most serious offence in several supposed cases of a lento (as it were) pronunciation with a drawl, particularly in *mar*^{ə}*tiyam* (in order to get 6 + 2 syllables for the line *haya martiyam adā* 'who created man') vs. *martyahyā* in the following '*hya šyātim*' *adā martyahyā* (with supposedly 5 + 3 syllables). Such a scansion of *martya-* 'man' as a two-syllable stem is absolutely out of the question, however, because the standard spelling ⟨m-r-t-i-y-⟩ does not show the 'orthographic' *-i-* usual in old **Cy* clusters (present in *šiyāti-* < **šy-*), but a linguistically real, inherited *-i-* in the old three-syllable stem *martiya-* (= Ved. *mártiya-*).

But the height of arbitrariness is reached with the allegedly emphatic extension of four-syllable *framātāram* 'master' to six-syllable *fəramātáàram* in the last line: *aivam parūnām framātāram* 'the one master of many' (with 2 + 3 + 6 syllables). By assuming such 'a *variable manner of recitation*' (Junker 1967: 34, emphasis original) it is indeed possible to make out 'a historical rhythmical scheme which is still living at present' (1967: 35).

Harmatta (1982: 85) advanced yet another metrical type by comparing Avestan verses with some lines of ancient Vogul and Ostiak epic songs. This type of rhythm, which he considered ancient, consists in an alternation of lines with three and those with four stressed syllables. But in his short specimen text, three lines of Yašt 10, 112 that are supposed to prove that the lines with three and those with four stressed syllables are functionally identical, we find without exception the finest eight-syllable verses, so that it at least remains an open question whether we have to assume in this sample a syllable-counting system with octosyllabic lines (of Indo-Iranian origin) or, with Harmatta, a metrical scheme based on three to four stressed syllables.

Be that as it may, Harmatta (1982: 86) maintained that this same type of rhythm is also applicable to the Old Persian inscriptions. By this means he purported to reveal a metrical character even in those passages which König had considered as prose. In all seriousness Harmatta (1982: 86) then presented the king's orders to his general Vidr̥na/Hydarnes (DB II 20–1, §25), albeit without an exact metrical analysis, as a short poem in this arrangement:

paraitā,	Go forth, defeat that Median army
avam kāram	which does not call itself mine!'
tayam Mādam	
jatā,	

haya manā
nai gaubatai

But are we really supposed to imagine a king quoting his own marching orders in verse in the official account of his military campaigns? This seems to me completely out of touch with reality.

Furthermore, Harmatta's enquiry was confined to the relations between those royal *Res gestae* in verse and Persian epic poetry and its ancient Near Eastern models, this topic being his main concern in the article in question. As a result of his wide-ranging general considerations he stated that it is the characteristic features of oral poetry that are reflected in the Bīsutūn text.

All in all we must conclude that neither any syllable-counting verses similar to Vedic or Avestan metrics nor any quantitative metrical system nor any other freer verse structure like the one advocated by Harmatta can be established for the Old Persian royal inscriptions with any degree of certainty. Not only the metrical and rhythmical models that have been proposed for these inscriptions, but also the arguments advanced in favour of the theory of their metrical fashioning as such, lack the necessary cogency to convince us of its sound basis.

In addition to this there are objections of a more fundamental nature. It is known that the Old Persian inscriptions as a rule are part of a trilingual ensemble of texts and that in this ensemble, if the sequence is a clear chronological succession (as at Mount Bīsutūn), it is the Persian texts that were written down last. One should therefore ask whether or not the two other versions (in Elamite and Babylonian respectively) show any traces of a metrical or rhythmical structure. In view of the many close parallels within this inscriptional triad there is every likelihood that they would behave in the same manner on this point too. The Bīsutūn monument is of particular importance in this connection, because its genesis and the successive stages of its creation are quite clear.[30] Thus it is certain that the Elamite text (of DBa and then successively of the minor and finally the major inscriptions) preceded the other two at Bīsutūn. It is an exact, slavish, word-for-word rendering of the initial royal dictation in Old Persian, but exhibits no features deviating from the normal matter-of-fact form of language. No one has ever proposed a metrical content in these other versions.

Caution is in all events advisable in cases of alleged metrical or rhythmical formulae. This is clear from one well-known instance, the inherited formula *dahyāušmai duruvā ahati* 'Let my country be consolidated!', attested in DB IV 39–40 (§55). Friedrich (1928: 241) scanned this sentence as an octosyllabic

[30] A short summary may be found in Schmitt (1991: 18–19).

verse *dahyāúšmai* | *drúvā áhatí* with disyllabic *druva-* agreeing with Avest. *druua-* and Ved. *dhruvá-* (1928: 245 n. 25). Now in the Elamite version this formula is not translated but rendered in the Old Persian wording, though with a divergent verb form, as v.*da-a-ya-ú-iš-mi tar-ma aš-du*, i.e. OPers. *dahyāušmai *durvā*[31] *astu*. This clear evidence of an original formulation with the imperative form of the verb (instead of the subjunctive)—which is also one of the most obvious cases testifying to a revision and change of the original text when it was set in order, if not retranslated into Old Persian, for engraving—also has implications for the problem discussed here of a possible metrical interpretation of the formula, since the subjunctive form is longer than the other by one syllable.

Finally, one must also take into consideration the major difficulty that the Old Persian writing system itself causes, with its manifold ambiguities. In each particular case there are, as is well known, a number of different possibilities for interpreting the sequence of written signs,[32] evidently because the introduction of the script was somewhat over-hasty. Only this assumption can explain the fact that those concerned with developing this new system were more concerned with ease of writing than with convenience and clarity in reading the script. And such obstacles to the quick and unambiguous decipherment of the written word are particularly important when the text concerned is in verse. With poetry one would rather expect reading to be made easier, e.g. by separating the individual verses and so on.

To sum up, we must conclude that it is not worth our while to continue pursuing this notion: the Old Persian texts as such are in prose. On occasions when some phrases seem to be reminiscent of a metrical structure, this is mere chance. This particular area of research into the Old Persian inscriptions holds out no prospect of yielding useful results.

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[31] Elam. *tar-ma* seems to reflect, prima facie, a two-syllable form without any vowel between *r* and *v*; the rendering by Elam. *tar* is roughly comparable to the case of the toponym *Kunduruš*, which in Elamite is h.*Ku-un-tar-ri-iš*.

[32] This difficulty has the consequence that even today the correct reading of a word must be achieved on the basis of a thorough philological and linguistic (in particular, etymological) analysis.

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The Parthian Abstract Suffix *-yft*

Nicholas Sims-Williams

1 The Problem

It is universally accepted nowadays that the Middle Persian denominal abstract suffix *-īh*, New Persian *-ī*, derives from Old Iranian **-iya-θwa-*, a conglomerate ending with an abstract suffix equivalent to Old Indian *-tvá-*, Avestan *-θβa-*;[1] the preceding **-iya-* is either another abstract suffix (Gauthiot 1916: 74) or the common suffix forming denominal adjectives (Bartholomae 1915: 45; Henning 1958: 97).

Though the Manichaean Parthian suffix *-yft* [-iːft] has long been recognized as functionally equivalent and etymologically cognate with Middle Persian *-īh*, its derivation from **-iya-θwa-* has been seen as problematic. A hundred years ago Carl Salemann (ap. Müller 1904: 34 n. 1) apparently took it for granted that *-ft* is a direct outcome of Old Iranian **-θw-*, and this view has been accepted by Wolfgang Lentz (1926: 253) and Philip Huyse (2003: 85 n. 125), both of whom refer to the development as a 'metathesis'. On the other hand, Paul Tedesco (1921: 199–200) pointed out that **θw* becomes *f* in Parthian *cf'r* [tʃafaːr] 'four' < **čaθwārah* and therefore regarded only *-yf-* as cognate with Middle Persian *-īh*; the final *-t*, he suggested, might represent an additional abstract suffix, Old Iranian **-tā-*.

The publication in 1924 of the first substantial Parthian inscription, that of Paikuli, in which the abstract suffix was represented by the spelling *-py*, possibly to be vocalized as [-iːf], seemed to confirm the adventitious nature of the final *-t*.[2] As a result, it was essentially Tedesco's view that was adopted by W. B. Henning (1958: 96–7) in his authoritative survey of the Middle Iranian languages. However, while Henning believed that the regular Parthian outcome of **θw* was *f* and dismissed the *-t* of *-yft* as 'unetymological', he also drew attention to a Parthian word-family in which Old Iranian **θw* does not develop to *f* (nor to *ft*) but to *ðf*: Manichaean

[1] Cf. also Inscriptional Middle Persian *mgwh* < **magu-θwa-* 'office of the magi' (Sundermann 1989: 362).

[2] See Herzfeld (1935: 52 ff.) (where the Inscriptional Parthian suffix is interpreted as [-if] < **-θwa-* rather than [-iːf] < **-iya-θwa-*).

nydf'r [niðfaːr] 'haste' < **ni-θwāra-* and the associated verb *nydf'r-* (Inscriptional *nytpr-*) 'to hurry', past stem *nydfwrd*; cf. Manichaean Middle Persian *nyxw'r-*, Zoroastrian *nswb'l-* [nixwaːr-] < [nihwaːr-] 'id.', and (with a different preverb) Sogdian *pδβ'r* [pθfaːr/pθvaːr] 'haste' etc., all of which belong to the root of Old Indian *tvarate* 'hurries'.[3]

Henning's explanation—if I have correctly interpreted his remarks, which are so concise as to be somewhat cryptic—is that the development of **θw* to *ðf* was originally limited to initial position and that *ni-ðfaːr-* has suffered phonological interference from a form without prefix (presumably to be reconstructed as **ðfaːr-* or, with later prothesis, **iðfaːr-*). Given that neither **(i)ðfaːr-* nor any other example of the Parthian treatment of initial **θw* is actually attested,[4] this scenario is quite hypothetical. It also seems implausible from a phonetic point of view: if the cluster *ðf* was felt to be awkward and therefore liable to simplification, it would surely have been even more so at the beginning of a word than it was in internal position, where the two consonants could be split between two syllables (*nið.faːr*). Moreover, the development envisaged by Henning is the exact converse of that attested in the case of Old Iranian **dw*, which is simplified to Parthian *b* [b] in initial position, e.g. *br* 'door' < **dwar-*, *bdyg* 'second' < **dwitīya-ka-*, but maintained in internal position as a cluster written *db*, probably representing [ðv], e.g. *hz'r-'db'g* 'thousandfold' (Henning 1965*a*: 32 n. 1, cf. Choresmian (')*δβ'γ*), *wydby'g* 'extensive'.[5] It therefore seems worthwhile considering the hypothesis that *niðfaːr* and its cognates display the regular, unconditioned Parthian outcome of postvocalic **θw* and that the development to *f*, and perhaps *ft*, is conditioned by special factors.

Evidence in support of this hypothesis will be provided below. In §2 I shall examine the development of Old Iranian **θw* in three Middle Iranian languages spoken in areas adjacent to that of Parthian, namely Sogdian, Bactrian, and Choresmian, and attempt to show that the special treatment of the word for 'four' in all these languages makes it likely that Parthian *cf'r* [tʃafaːr] 'four' is a secondary development from **tʃaðfaːr*. In §3 I shall discuss some facts which suggest that *-iːf* and *-iːft* could be dialectal variants and that both may result from special treatments of word-final *-ðf*.

3 Henning (1958: 97 n. 2) (cf. already Henning 1939: 105 n. 3).

4 I would like to thank my Berlin colleagues Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst and Werner Sundermann for kindly checking the accuracy of this statement.

5 Thus Boyce (1977: 95). This translation, which corrects the 'wunderbar(?)' of Andreas and Henning (1934: 884 [m9], 908b), is already implied by the comparison with Sogdian *wyδβ'y-* 'to extend' in Boyce (1954: 197b, s.v. *wydbd-*). The Parthian form, which must represent **wi-dway-āka-*, shows that its numerous Sogdian cognates derive from **wi-/*fra-/*ham-dway-* (rather than **-θway-* as proposed by Henning ap. Gershevitch 1954: §293).

2 The Development of **θw* in Middle Iranian

SOGDIAN

The regular outcome of Old Iranian **θw* in Sogdian is a two-fricative cluster written *δβ* in Sogdian script: cf. *pδβ'r* 'haste' < **upa-θwāra-* and the associated verb (')*pδβ*(')*yr* 'to hurry' (trans. and intrans.);[6] (')*δβ'nk* 'grain' < **θwanga-* (Lazard 1982); *δβ'yz/δβ*(')*xšt-* 'to acquire' < **θwājaya-/* **θwaxšta-*; and *rypδβh* 'noon' < **ra-piθwā-*. Since the Sogdian letters *β* (=[v] or [f]) and δ (=[ð] or [θ]) are both ambiguous, the writing *δβ* can be interpreted in several ways. Gershevitch (1954: §293) read it as [θv], which appears to be justified by the Christian Sogdian spelling *pθb'r* [pθvaːr] 'haste' (Sundermann 1981: 199, line 22) and by Manichaean *δβxšṭyy* [θvaxʃte(ː)] 'acquired' (both *hapax legomena*). On the other hand, the reading [θf] is supported by a rather larger body of material: Christian *pθf'r*, Manichaean *pδf'r* [pθfaːr] 'haste',[7] Christian *θfng* 'grain' (Sims-Williams 1995: 301) and *θfyž/θfxšt-* 'to acquire'. Clearly, both types of pronunciation were current. However, if *θv* is the older form, from which *θf* derives by assimilation, it is hard to see why the common verb *δβr-*, Christian *θbr-* [θvar-] < **fra-bara-* 'to give' and its derivatives never undergo the same treatment. It is therefore simpler to assume that *θf* is the primary outcome of Old Iranian **θw* in Sogdian and that the variant *θv* results from a later dissimilation.

In Christian Sogdian texts one sometimes finds a further dissimilation of *θf* or *θv* to *tf* or *tv*, as in *tfyž* [tfeːʒ] or *tbyž* [tveːʒ] 'to acquire' (Gershevitch 1954: §296). This late and sporadic change, which also affects words in which *θf* and *θv* derive from some source other than Old Iranian **θw*,[8] cannot be used to explain the early and consistent development of **θw* to *tf* in *ctβ'r* [ʧtfaːr] 'four', Manichaean and Christian *ctf'r*, and its derivatives. The exceptional nature of the development of **θ* to *t* in this word was recognized by Gershevitch (1954: §§173, 295), who plausibly attributed it to direct contact with the affricate *ʧ*. The syncope of the first syllable of **čaθwārah*, which

[6] Imperfect *p'δβyr* (so to be read for †*p'δβ'r* in the Rustam fragment: Sims-Williams 1976: 55, line 28).

[7] Gershevitch (1954: §294) (followed by Sundermann 1982: 105) implies that *pδf'r* should be read as [pðfaːr], but this seems an unnecessary complication now that we know of Christian *pθf'r* and other forms with an unambiguous *θf*.

[8] Cf. Christian *tbr-* 'to give' (Schwartz 1967: 125) and possibly *tb'r* 'gift' (if we may trust Olaf Hansen's reading of a lost manuscript cited in Sims-Williams 1995: 293, line 7). Similarly Manichaean *ptfr-*, which translates Middle Persian *pdxšr* 'honour' in M172 i v13 (Müller 1904: 103; MacKenzie 1994: 185), must be a later form of *pδβr-* 'honour, rank, degree', Christian *pθfr-* (C3, unpublished), itself probably a loanword from Bactrian *πιδοφαρο* [piðfar] 'honour' < **pati-fšarV-*, the cognate of Middle Persian *pd*(*y*)*xšr* and Parthian *pdyfšr* 'id.' (cf. Sims-Williams 2000: 219).

Gershevitch inferred from the Yagnobi ('Neo-Sogdian') form *tifār* 'four', is now confirmed by the Christian Sogdian variant *štf'r* [ʃtfaːr], which exemplifies a common reduction of *ʧt* to *ʃt* (Sims-Williams 1985*a*: 50 n. 4).

Another exceptional development of **θw* is found in the enclitic pronouns of the 2nd person, which are based on a stem *-f-* (Manichaean and Christian *-f-*, in Sogdian script *-β-*) < **-θwā* (acc. sg.), **-θwad* (abl. sg.).[9] The reduction of **θf* to *f* here conforms to a well-known tendency towards phonological simplification or 'weakening' in words and morphemes of particularly frequent occurrence (cf. Turner 1975: 310–18, 357–67, etc.). An additional contributory factor in this case may be the effect of direct contact with the final consonant of a preceding word, especially the particle *-t-* < **uti*, which regularly functions as a host for enclitic pronouns in Sogdian (Sims-Williams 1985*b*: 111–12).

To sum up: the regular outcome of Old Iranian **θw* is Sogdian *θf*, which develops sporadically to *θv*, later also to *tf* or *tv*. Special developments due to particular phonological conditions are found in derivatives of **čaθwar-* 'four' and the enclitic **θwa-* 'thee'.

BACTRIAN

Old Iranian **θw* is represented in Bactrian both by *φ* and by *λφ*. Each development is attested by two forms of unimpeachable etymology: *φ* by *-φαγο* [-fag], the form of the 2nd person singular pronoun suffixed to prepositions, and *σοφαρο* [ʦufaːr] or [ʦəfaːr] 'four', *λφ* by the verb *αλφανζ-* [əlfanʣ-] 'to acquire' < **θwanǰa-* (cognate with Sogdian *θfyž* etc.) and the rare abstract suffix *-ιλφο* [-iːlf], later *-ιλαφο* [-iːləf], as in *ραþτιλαφο* [raːʃtiːləf] 'righteousness' < **rāšt-iya-θwa-*, cf. Parthian *r'štyft*, Middle Persian *rāstīh*.

Frequency of occurrence clearly does not help us to decide which of the two treatments is to be regarded as 'regular' in this case. However, since *φ* is limited to the very same words which show abnormal treatments of **θw* in Sogdian, it seems likely that *λφ* represents the normal outcome of Old Iranian **θw* and that *φ* has arisen under much the same conditions as Sogdian (*t*)*f*. Since Bactrian *λ* generally derives from *ð, one may assume that **θw* developed to *λφ* via **ðf* (as in Parthian).[10] The simplification of the cluster, at least in the word for 'four', probably took place at this

[9] Gershevitch (1954: §297). Two alleged examples of an occasional development of **θw* to *š* [ʃ] (ibid., §298) may be disregarded, since both are now explained differently (see Henning 1965*b*: 246; Weber 1975: 91–4; Sundermann 1982: 105).

[10] Similarly in the only other instances of Bactrian *λ* < **θ*: the names of the god *ορλαγνο* (< **vr̥θragna-* via a form with **-rδ(r)-*) and of the city *βαχλο* (< **bāxδī-* [as attested in Avestan] < **bāxδrī-* < **bāxθrī-*).

earlier stage, by dissimilatory loss of the dental against the initial affricate: **tsəðfaːr > tsəfaːr/tsufaːr*.

CHORESMIAN

Old Iranian **θw* gives Choresmian *θf* in the verb (')*θfnc-* 'to acquire' (=Bactrian *αλφανζ-*) but *f* in the stem of the 2nd person enclitic pronoun *-f-* and in *cf'r* [tsifaːr] 'four' and its derivatives. Henning naturally explained the discrepancy in the same way as he did that between *ðf* and *f* in Parthian: **θw* gives *θf* in initial position but *f* internally.[11] However, one can account for the data just as well by assuming that *θf* is the normal, unconditioned development and explaining the reduction to *f* in *cf'r* and *-f-* in the same way as in Bactrian.

PARTHIAN *cf'r* 'FOUR'

As we have seen, the presence of an initial affricate in the word for 'four' has led to a special treatment of **θw* in several Middle Iranian languages. In particular, the Bactrian and Choresmian development of **θw* to *f* in this word probably results from the loss of a preceding dental fricative by dissimilation against the initial affricate. Since this explanation is equally applicable to Parthian *cf'r* [tʃafaːr] < **tʃaðfaːr*, the latter need not be regarded as contradicting our hypothesis that the regular development of Old Iranian **θw* in Parthian was to *ðf*.

3 Old Iranian **θw* in Final Position

FINAL **-ðf* > *-f(t)*

If Old Iranian **θw* gave Parthian ðf in the first instance, the two forms of the abstract suffix *-iːf(t)* would seem to display two different treatments of word-final **-ðf*. Since we have no other example of the Parthian outcome of Old Iranian **θw* in final position, the hypothesis that it might have developed via **-ðf* to *-f* or *-ft* cannot be proved or disproved. However, it is possible to find parallels in closely related languages both for the phonological development involved and for the coexistence of *-iːf* and *-iːft* as dialectal variants of a single form.

KILIF AND KILIFT

One of the recently discovered Bactrian documents (Sims-Williams 2000: 80–1) contains the statement that it was written in a place named Kalf or

[11] Henning (1955: 432 with n. 1) (p. 431 [495] in the reprint).

Kālf (*καλφ*). Since it appears from the context that Kalf is in the kingdom of Gōzgān, later Gūzgān or Jūzjān, there is little doubt that it is to be identified with the Kālif or Kēlif of early Islamic sources, an important crossing point on the River Oxus, which formed the northern boundary of Jūzjān. The name survives to the present day: the town in Turkmenistan, on the northern bank of the Oxus, is known as Kelif, while the village on the Afghan side bears the name of Kilif or Kilift. The relationship between the two forms of the name seems to be exactly the same as that between the Inscriptional and the Manichaean Parthian forms of the suffix *-iːf(t)*; here too, the form in *-f* is attested earlier. In the case of the place name, however, we can rule out the explanation of the final *-t* as an additional suffix: Kilif and Kilift are evidently dialectal variants of a single name. We do not know the etymology of the name, nor to what language it belongs, though the place so named is not far distant from the heartland of Parthia and would have been well within the Parthian sphere of influence. But whatever their origin the forms Kilif and Kilift provide support for the suggestion that Parthian *-iːf* and *-iːft* could be dialectal variants of a single form.

BODHISATTVA

A plausible rationale for the development of final **-ðf* to *-f* or *-ft* can be seen in the fact that final *-f* and *-ft* are common in Parthian (e.g. *koːf* 'mountain', *raf* 'attack'; *haft* 'seven', *kaft* 'fell') while *-ðf* is attested only in the loanwords *sdf* [saðf] 'being' < Sanskrit *sattva-* and its compound *bwd(y)sdf* 'bodhisattva'.

There is no reason to doubt that Parthian *bwd(y)sdf* derives directly from Buddhist Sanskrit *bodhisattva-*, perhaps in a pronunciation in which *tv* had undergone assimilation to *tf* (as attested by the form *βωδοσατφο* in an unpublished Bactrian Buddhist text). As Parthian does not admit postvocalic *t*, *tv*, or *tf* in native words, but only *ð*, *ðv*, *ðf* (at an earlier stage also *d*, but probably not **dv* or **df*), it would have been natural for the Sanskrit form to be adapted as *boːðisaðf* or (earlier) *boːdisaðf*, either of which could be represented by the Manichaean Parthian spelling *bwd(y)sdf*.

In Buddhist Sogdian the word for 'bodhisattva' is attested in a remarkably wide range of spellings, at least some of which may be due to transmission via Parthian, as suggested by Werner Sundermann (1982: 106–7). The spelling to which this explanation applies most clearly is *pwtysδβ* (Kudara and Sundermann 1988: 177, line 25; adjective *pwtysδβ'n'k* or °*'n'y*, ibid., line 3, and P6, lines 22 and 75, in Benveniste 1940: 83, 86).[12] As Sogdian has no [b] or [d] (except after nasals), *pwtysδβ* was the best available representation of

12 The importance of these spellings was not recognized by Sundermann (1982: 106), who

Parthian *boːdisaðf*; and since there is apparently no other form of the word with a fricative *ð* or *θ* for Sanskrit *t*(*t*) in any Indian or Iranian language, Parthian seems to be its only possible source. The most common Sogdian forms are *pwtystβ* and *pwδystβ*, which probably result from Sanskritization (restoration of the original [tv]).[13] Less common, but nevertheless securely attested, are forms with simplification of the final cluster to *-β* (*pwtysβ*, SCE 284, *pwtsβ*, SCE 555, in MacKenzie 1970: 16, 32) or metathesis to *-βt* (*pwtysβt*, Vim. 66, 121, in MacKenzie 1976: 22, 26; *pwδysβt*, *passim* in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* fragment edited by Utz 1976: 9–15). The forms in *-β* and *-βt* are also indirectly attested by Manichaean New Persian *bwdysf* and Uygur Turkish *pwδysβ* and *pwδysβt*, all of which were almost certainly transmitted via Sogdian.[14]

The preservation of final *-ðf* in Parthian *sdf* and *bwd*(*y*)*sdf* suggests that these words were borrowed from Sanskrit at a time when the change of **-ðf* to *-f*(*t*) had already run its course. It is therefore likely that Sogdian *pwtysβ*, *pwtysβt*, etc. arose independently within Sogdian rather than being borrowed from Parthian forms such as **boːdisaf* or **boːdisaft*. Even so, the Sogdian series *pwtysδβ*, *-sβ*, *-sβt* (beside Sanskritized *pwtystβ*) provides a close parallel to the postulated Parthian development of the abstract suffix from **-iːðf* to *-iːf* and *-iːft*.

4 Conclusion

In internal position, Old Iranian **θw* develops to *ðf* in Parthian *nydfʾr* 'haste' < **ni-θwāra-* but to *f* in *cfʾr* 'four' < **čaθwārah*. While the *f* of Parthian *cfʾr*, like that of Choresmian *cfʾr* and Bactrian *σοφαρο*, can be explained as the result of dissimilatory loss of a dental fricative after a dental affricate, the only plausible explanation for the *ðf* of *nydfʾr* is that it represents the regular, unconditioned treatment of internal postvocalic **θw*; cf. also the development of **θw* to *θf* in Sogdian and Choresmian

set aside the two examples in P6 as scribal errors. (The other two instances were evidently not known to him at that time.) It is noteworthy that the 'Parthian' spelling *pwtysδβ* is attested only once in Sogdian for the frequent noun 'bodhisattva', while the much rarer adjectival derivative in *-aːne*(*ː*) occurs three times in the spelling with *-δβ-*. P6 consistently distinguishes *-δβ-* in the adjective (2×) from *-tβ* in the noun *pwtystβ* (8×), which suggests that *ðf* was found to be easier to articulate in non-final position.

[13] These spellings are too early and too widespread to be attributed to the operation of the late Sogdian change of *θf* to *tf* (above, p. 541).

[14] Sundermann (1982: 101, quoting Henning on Persian *bwdysf*; 107, quoting Peter Zieme's analysis of the Turkish data, for which see also Laut 1986: 94–5). In later Uygur texts the usual form is the Sanskritized *pwδystβ*.

and (via **ðf*) to *λϕ* [lf] in Bactrian. The two forms of the Parthian abstract suffix, Inscriptional *-py* [-iːf] and Manichaean *-yft* [-iːft], both derive from Old Iranian **-iya-θwa-* and display two alternative treatments of final **-ðf*. The coexistence of the dialectal variants *-iːf* and *-iːft* is paralleled by the two forms of the place-name Kilif/Kilift and by Sogdian *pwtysβ*/*pwtysβt* 'bodhisattva' beside *pwtysδβ* < Parthian *bwd(y)sdf*.

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Denominative Verbs in Avestan: Derivatives from Thematic Stems

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1 Introduction

Denominative verbs are not plentifully attested in Avestan, but there is a small amount of evidence from all periods of the corpus. The accounts found in the standard reference works, such as Bartholomae (1895) and Kellens (1984), describe all the formations from a diachronic viewpoint, establishing comparisons with Vedic wherever possible. However, this has obscured some features that are peculiar to Avestan, and may reflect significant differences even from early Vedic.

Both Old Avestan (OAv.) and Younger Avestan (YAv.) provide evidence for denominatives built with the inherited suffix *-*yá*- (< IE* -*yé*/*yó*-) which are clearly inherited as they have exact counterparts in early Vedic, e.g. OAv. *nəmax̌iiāmahī* 'we reverence' (Y 36. 5; 38. 4; 39. 4) from *nəmah*- n. 'homage, reverence' : Vedic *namasyā́mas* 'we reverence' (RV 3. 17. 4), etc., from *námas*- n.; YAv. *bišaziiāt̰* 'may he heal' (Vd 7. 44; 21. 3), etc. : Vedic *bhiṣajyátam* 'heal' (2 dual, RV 8. 22. 10), *bhiṣajyáthaḥ* (RV 8. 9. 6) from *bhiṣáj*- m. 'doctor'.

Just as in the RV, there is a preponderance of derivatives from **s*-stem neuters (> Iranian *h*-stem neuters). On the other hand, derivatives from vocalic stems are less well represented, and frequently present problems of analysis. This paper will re-examine the synchronic evidence for Avestan denominatives based on thematic stems and conclude with a brief diachronic discussion.

I was privileged to write my doctoral thesis on a related Greek topic under AMD's supervision, and even more privileged to teach at Oxford throughout her period of tenure as Professor of Comparative Philology. This paper is a very humble tribute to the unique scholar who showed me, along with many other students, how to think about the history of languages, how to enjoy the subject, and how to work. For years of patient personal encouragement I am also deeply grateful.

Bartholomae (1895: 85) distinguished without comment two types of verb stem derived from thematic nouns:

(α) '*a* bleibt': type YAv. *arəzaiia-* 'to fight' from *arəza-* 'battle'.
(β) '*a* fällt': type YAv. *baēšaziia-* 'to heal' from *baēšaza-* 'medicine, remedy'.

Type α appears to represent the same formal derivational process that is found in early Vedic, where the suffix **-yá-* is added after the thematic vowel of the nominal stem: cf. e.g. RV *devayá-* 'to worship the gods' from *devá-* m. 'god', or *kṣemayá-* 'to rest' from *kṣéma-* m. 'resting place, home'. But type β, where the suffix **-yá-* replaces the thematic vowel, is unparalleled on the Indic side.[1] The latter type will be discussed first.

2 Denominatives Where the Thematic Vowel is Lost

This group is composed of a small number of Younger Avestan forms:

baēšaziiaiti Yt 8. 43; *baēšaziiāṯ* Yt 3. 6; *baēšaziiōiš* Vd 22. 2, 9: verb stem *baēšaziia-* 'to heal' from *baēšaza-* m./n. 'medicine'.
vāstriiaēta Vd 14. 17; *vāstriiaθa* Vyt 11; *vāstriiaṇta* Vyt 14: verb stem *vāstriia-* 'to pasture' from *vāstra-* n. 'fodder, pasture'. (But *vāstraiiaŋᵛha* F 8: verb stem *vāstraiia-* also from *vāstra-* n.)
haomanaŋ́himna Yt 10. 34: verb stem *haomanaŋ́ha-* (< **haumanahya-*) from *haomanaŋha-* n. 'good-spiritedness, happiness' (discussed p. 550 below).
nauuiθiią̇n Yt.10. 113: verb stem *nauuiθiia-* from ?*nauuiθa-* or *nauuita-*.[2]

The account of the Avestan denominatives given by Kellens (1984: 130–3) attempts to explain away the first two examples as corrupt manuscript readings which have to be corrected. However, although the inherited stem *bišaziia-* (Vedic *bhiṣajyá-*) appears as a variant for *baēšaziia-* in the later passages, at its earliest attestation, Yt 8. 43, there is no manuscript support for anything other than *baēšaziia-*, and we have this reading from all the best Yašt manuscripts, including F1 (cf. Panaino 1990: 67 and 134). For the verb based on *vāstra-* 'pasture', it seems more logical to correct the one passage where there is a reading *vāstraiia-* to agree with the other three where there is only *vāstriia-*, rather than vice versa.[3]

[1] Some of the older Vedic grammars, e.g. Macdonell (1911: 399–400), indicate that such a process exists in Vedic, but all the cited examples (*adhvaryá-*, *taviṣyá-*, *turaṇyá-*, *damanya-*, etc.) are now known to have other explanations.

[2] A denominative origin is the only possibility for this hapax. Gershevitch (1959: 264) conjectures that it is based on a noun related to Khotanese *nūha*, *nauhä* 'point' and that the derived verb, whose subject at Yt. 10. 113 is 'sharp arrows', means 'to dart'.

[3] However, in this case it cannot be ruled out that the forms in *-iia-* may have arisen

The reality of Bartholomae's type *β* appears to be confirmed by the third case, where there is no question of manuscript fluctuations between *-iia-* and *-aiia-*. The thrice repeated formula at Yt 10. 34 *yaθa vaēm humanaŋhō framanaŋhasca uruuāzəmna haomanaŋ́himna vanāma vīspā̊ harəθā̊*, etc. 'So that we, being in good spirit, cheerful, joyful and optimistic, may overcome all opponents' (trans. Gershevitch 1959: 91) contains a middle participle *haomanaŋ́himna*, which has been compared to RV *sumanasyámānāḥ* (RV 6. 74. 4; 7. 33. 14; etc.) derived from the adj. *sumánas-*. However, as Kellens observes (1984: 133), 'on attend **humanaŋ́ha-*' (cf. Av. adj. *humanah-* 'having good thoughts, good-spirited'). But if it is accepted that *haomanaŋ́himna* is based on the YAv. thematic noun *haomanaŋha-* n. 'good-spiritedness' (Bartholomae 1904: 1734–5), this not only explains the difference from Vedic (*hao-* < **sau-* instead of *hu-* < **su-*), but also avoids the assumption of a tautology at Yt 10. 34, as it means 'making/bringing about good-spiritedness for ourselves' and does not merely repeat the sense of *humanaŋhō*.

From a morphological point of view a participle in *-imna-* points to a present stem where **-yá-* followed a consonant (cf. e.g. *aŋ́himna-* from *ah-* 'to throw', pres. active *aŋ́hiieiti* : Skt. *as-*, *asyáti*), since YAv. has middle participles in *-aiiamna-* from *-aiia-* presents, e.g. *paitipaiiamna-*, *fraš́āuuaiiamna-*. It is unlikely that *haomanaŋ́himna* could be a corruption of **haomanaŋhaiiamna*.

Additional evidence for this type of denominative may be provided by the YAv. 'ahuric' verb *vaša-* 'to speak', or more precisely the compound *frauuaša-* 'to speak forth'. The connection with the OAv. hapax *vašiietē* (Y 44. 11) and RV *vacyáte* 'surges, springs' from root *vañc-* 'to move crookedly' (Hoffmann and Narten 1989: 65 n. 96) is unconvincing from a semantic point of view. An explanation via the inherited root **vak-/vac-* 'to speak' encounters the obstacle that a deverbative present in **-ya-* with middle endings should be intransitive or passive in value. The proposal by Kellens (1984: 132) that *vaša-* represents a denominative from the inherited root noun *vāk-/vac-* f. 'speech' is attractive but may be modified slightly on the basis of some textual observations: the earliest attestations of the YAv. verb are represented by *frauuašata* in two early Yašts (Yt 14. 54; Yt 17. 18, 21, always the univerbated form). At Yt 14. 54 *frauuašata* introduces the speech

in the manuscripts under the influence of the secondary noun *vāstriia-* m. 'pastoralist, herdsman', or even that the verb's stem has undergone haplology **vāstriia-iia-* > *vāstriia-*. But an original derivative from an adjective/masculine appellative is a priori unlikely, since all other denominatives created within Avestan are based on neuter action nouns or common nouns.

of the god of victory Vərəθraγna, who in the same Yašt is worshipped by Zaraθuštra (Yt 14. 28) for victory in *frauuāka-* and *pāitiuuāka-* 'Speaking Forth and Answering Back'. The noun *frauuāka-* n. is inherited (cf. Vedic *sóma-pravāka-*), and if a denominative were created at an early date in Iranian by substituting **-yá-* for the thematic vowel, **fra-vāk-yá-* would have developed to **fravācya-* > OAv. **frauuāś́iia-* > YAv. **frauuāś́a-* (assuming that the manuscripts have *-š-* is for *-ś́-*, an assumption that is often necessary in cases where the diachronic explanation is certain; cf. Hoffmann and Narten 1989: 62–6). But in forms such as 3 sg. imperfect middle **frauuāś́ata* the root syllable could have been shortened by the Avestan rhythmical rule which affects the quantity of the antepenultimate syllable of polysyllabic words (e.g. OYAv. *yazamaide* : Skt. *yajāmahe* 'we worship'; YAv. *dātārō* : *dātarasca* 'givers'; *nmānāt̰* : *nmānat̰ haca* 'from the house': cf. Hoffmann and Forssman 1996: 59–60). This shortening would have produced the form *frauuašata*, and the simple verb stem *vaša-* attested in the late Avesta (*vašaŋhe* Vd. 5. 17, 21) could have been backformed from the compound. The only other preverb employed with *vaša-* (but in tmesis) is *paiti* (*paiti . . . auuašata* Vd 19. 6 ff.; 22. 6), and this recalls the other nominal stem *paitiuuāka-* at Yt 15. 28. If this explanation is correct,[4] *frauuaša-* is perhaps significant for the chronology of this subgroup, and this question will be discussed further in the conclusion below.

3 Denominatives Where the Thematic Vowel Remains

Formations of this sort are attested in both Old Avestan and Younger Avestan:

OAv.: *vādāiiōit̰* Y 29. 2 : verb stem *vādaiia-* (see p. 553 below); cf. YAv. *vaδa-* (*vada-*) m. 'wedge, axe'.

YAv. Yašts: *arəzaiieiṇtīš* Yt 13. 33: verb stem *arəzaiia-* 'to do battle' from *arəza-* m. 'battle'.

vāṣ̌aiieṇte Yt 17. 12: verb stem *vāṣ̌aiia-* 'to draw a chariot' from *vāṣ̌a-* m. 'chariot, waggon'.

YAv. Vidēvdāt, etc.: *kāšaiieiti* Vd. 18. 4; *kāšaiiāt̰* P 37 : verb stem *kāšaiia-/kāṣ̌aiia-* '?to hold' from ?**kāṣ̌a-* 'poignée' (Kellens 1995: 16).

[4] This derivation from Iranian **fravāka-* can explain all the YAv. forms, but it may then be impossible to connect YAv. (*fra*)-*vaša-* with some later Iranian verbs of speaking, Chorasmian *ws* and Baluchi *gwaš-* (cf. Elfenbein in Schmitt 1989: 353). Just as Chorasmian *ps* 'to be cooked' continues **pac-ya-* (cf. Humbach in Schmitt 1989: 193), so *-s-* of *ws* 'to speak' could reflect **-c-ya-*. But could the vowel of **(fra)-vācya-* have been shortened here too? Chorasmian shares the shortening in e.g. *sy'k* < **sāyā-ka-* with Avestan and Sogdian, but this is a different phenomenon.

vīmāδaiiaṇta Vd. 7. 38–40; *vīmāδaiiāṇte* Vd. 7. 38 : verb stem *vīmāδaiia-* 'to take measures, to treat medically' from ?**vīmāδa-* (Bartholomae 1904: 1450; Kellens 1995: 55); cf. root noun nom. pl. *vīmāδas(cit̰)* 'doctors' Vd 7. 38–40.

ā.baoδaiiaēta Vd 9. 32; 19. 24; *upa.baoδaiiąn* Vd 7. 14; Vd 8. 2 : verb stem *baoδaiia-* 'to fumigate', from ?*baoδa-* m. 'odour, scent'; cf. *baoδi-* f. 'scent, fumigation'.

Bartholomae (1895: 85) did not include here YAv. *aṣ̌aiieiti*, etc., beside *aṣ̌a-* n. 'truth', which has often been compared to RV *ṛtāyán*, *ṛtáyan*, etc., beside *ṛtá-* n. 'order, truth', and it will be shown below that the stem *aṣ̌aiia-* has a different explanation.

If *aṣ̌aiia-* is excluded, it is striking how the *-aiia-* verbs listed above all have a structure which appears identical to that of the Avestan reflexes of IE **-o*-grade *-éye/o-* presents, cf. the inherited types Av. *yātaiieiti* 'marshalls, arrays', Vedic *yātáyati*, and Av. *raocaiieiti* 'lightens, makes light', Vedic *rocáyati*, OLat. *lūcēre*, etc. Even their root ablaut conforms to the synchronic pattern of Indo-Iranian **-áya-* presents: there are lengthened grades in the cases where the synchronic 'root' ends in a single stop or spirant (*vād-*, *vāṣ̌-*, *kāš-*, *māδ-*), but full grades where there is a medial resonant (*arəz-* < **arź-*, *baoδ-* < **baudh-*).[5]

On the other hand, the lengthened vocalism of *vāṣ̌aiia-* or *kāšaiia-/ kāṣ̌aiia-*, where the sibilant must reflect an inherited cluster **-rt-* or **-ks-*, proves that these two stems at least cannot represent inherited **-áya-* presents,[6] as the 'Brugmann's Law' lengthening did not operate in closed syllables in Indo-Iranian. Opinions have differed concerning the analysis of some of the forms. For instance, *vīmāδaiia-* is considered a denominative from **vīmāδa-* by Bartholomae and Kellens, but according to Emmerick (1993: 73–4) it is more simply explained as an iterative from *vī-mad-* 'to take measures, to treat medically' (IE root **med-*). *baoδaiia-* has usually been equated with the Sanskrit Class 10 present *bodháya-* (cf. Jamison 1983: 149; Kellens 1995: 39). On the other hand, Bartholomae (1904: 917–19) assigned one form *baoδaiieiti* (Yt 10. 90) to the inherited **-áya-* present,

[5] This is true even of the inherited Indo-Iranian denominative *varəzaiiaṇtō* 'refreshing, invigorating' Y 45. 4, cf. *ūrjáyan* (RV 2. 35. 7), etc., which represents an irregular derivative from non-thematic *varəz-* f. (cf. Vedic *ūrj-*). But from a diachronic point of view *varəz-* probably continues a zero-grade form **wṛHg-*.

[6] Hoffmann (1986: 182 n. 24) envisages that in the *figura etymologica* at Yt 17. 12 *vāṣ̌əm vāṣ̌aiiaṇte* 'they draw the chariot' *vāṣ̌aiia-* might have replaced the inherited present **vaṣ̌aiia-* < **vart-áya-* 'to turn' (cf. Vedic *vartáyati*), but its form is consistent with derivation from the more frequently attested noun *vāṣ̌a-* 'chariot' < **várta-*, whose lengthened vocalism is problematic but is paralleled by that of e.g. *θβāṣ̌a-* 'quick' < **tvárHta-*, or *x^{v}āṣ̌a-* 'food' < **hvárta-*.

but interpreted all the forms with preverbs as denominatives because of their sense ‘to fumigate’.

The fact that appears to have escaped notice in the controversy over individual cases is that *all* of this subgroup of putative denominatives from thematic stems conform to the same synchronic morpho-phonemic pattern, and there are no securely attested Avestan denominatives similar to e.g. RV *vasnayá-* ‘to bargain’ from *vasná-* ‘price’, *kṣemayá-* ‘to rest’ from *kṣéma-* ‘home’, or *amitrayá-* ‘to be hostile’ from *amítra-* m. ‘enemy’, where the nominal character of the base is immediately obvious because of the suffix *-na-*, *-ma-*, *-tra-*, etc.

In the most straightforward cases this resemblance to the reflexes of the **-áya-* class results merely from the addition of *-iia-* < **-yá-* to a simple thematic verbal noun (*arəza-* ‘fight, battle’ : *arəzaiia-* ‘to fight’). Others involve an ablaut alternation. OAv. *vādāiiōit̰* (3 sg. optative active) represents a stem *vādaiia-*.[7] All recent editors have followed Humbach (1957: ii. 14) in interpreting this stem as a denominative,[8] but the base is represented by YAv. *vaδa-* (< **vada-*) ‘a tool for chopping wood’ Vd 14. 7,[9] which in spite of its late attestation appears to be an Indo-Iranian inheritance cognate with RV *vadhá-* m. ‘weapon’. If this derivation is correct, the root vocalism of the noun has been lengthened in the derived verb.

Additional evidence that Avestan could create denominative verbs that were identical in form to inherited **-áya-* presents is provided by a series of late YAv. *figurae etymologicae*:

Vd 17. 6 *pairi.karəm pairi.kāraiiōiš* ‘you should scatter around a scattering around’.
Vd 3. 18 *pairi.daēząn pairi.daēzaiiąn* ‘let them wall around surrounding walls’.
Vd 18. 74 *θrisatəm frascimbananąm frascimbaiiōit̰* ‘he should bridge thirty bridges’.

Kellens (1984: 134) points out that such verb stems occur only in phrases of this sort, and so they must have been created on the basis of the nouns.

7 Hoffmann and Forssman (1996: 56–7) list sporadic cases of unexplained lengthening of **-a-* to *-ā-* in initial syllables, but do not include this form. A morphological explanation is clearly preferable. On the other hand, the long *-ā-* of the second syllable cannot be taken at face value as **-āya-* regularly shortens to *-aiia-* in Avestan. It must represent one of the variant spellings that occur for OAv. *-āiia-* < **-aya-* (Hoffmann and Forssman 1996: 68).

8 The meaning is not precisely assured by the context at Y 29. 2, but the general semantic area (an action directed against the demon of fury, *Aēšəma-*) is certain. Translations, e.g. Bartholomae (1904: 1410, comparing Gk. ὠθέω) ‘zurückstossen’; Insler (1975: 29) ‘destroy’; Kellens and Pirart (1988: ii. 302) ‘chasser’; Humbach (1991: ii. 33) ‘break through’.

9 Vd 14. 7 may even preserve an OAv. form if Geldner was right to read *vadəm* with L4 (also accepted by Bartholomae), rather than expected YAv. *vaδəm* with L1, M2, O2.

He calls them 'un type particulier et instantané de dénominatif', but (apart from their preverbs) they are in no way different from the formations listed at the beginning of this section. *pairi.daēza-* : *pairi.daēzaiia-* shows the same pattern as *arəza-* : *arəzaiia-*, while *pairi.kara-* : *pairi.kāraiia-* parallels *vada-* (*vaδa-*) : *vādaiia-*. If the root of *kāraiia-* is to be identified with the Vedic root *kṝ- kiráti* 'scatters, sows',[10] the stem with lengthened vocalism cannot be inherited as it is an Indo-Iranian *seṭ* root.[11]

This evidence opens the possibility in the more debatable YAv. cases that a verb stem with lengthened vocalism could have been created on the basis of a noun with full-grade vocalism. Accordingly, it may be suggested that the verb *kāšaiia-*, which is traditionally translated 'to hold', could be linked with the YAv. noun *kaša-*, attested in the meaning 'armpit', cf. Vedic *kákṣa-*, Latin *coxa*, etc.,[12] however unlikely this may seem from a semantic point of view at first sight. The study by Jamison (1987: 81–91) of this 'body part' term in Vedic has (*a*) shown that it has a wider meaning than 'armpit', and (*b*) drawn attention to Vedic passages where the basic noun *kákṣa-* and its derivatives (especially *apikakṣyá-*) refer to a place of concealment, hiding. Evidence for the latter sense in Iranian may be provided by MPers. *dastkaš* 'respectful, making salutation', where the compound is more likely to have originally meant 'with hand(s) in concealment' (a Persian gesture of respect mentioned by Xenophon, *Hell.* 2. 1. 8, and seen in Sasanian iconography, where subordinate figures often have their hand hidden by their sleeve) than 'with hand(s) in the armpit'! In both passages where the Av. verb *kāšaiia-* occurs a meaning 'to conceal, keep hidden' would make good sense.[13]

[10] There is some semantic confusion between this root and the root *karš-* (cf. Skt. *kṛṣ-*, *kṛṣáti* 'to till, plough'). (*fra*) *kāraiia-* also appears with *karša-* as its object in similar figures of speech.

[11] Some problematic unique occurrences of YAv. presents in *-aiia-*, such as Yt 13. 30 *āzaraiieṇte* 'they anger, they provoke' or Vd 7. 51 *vīkānaiiāṯ* 'let him dig away', may also be built on thematic nouns. *zāraiia-* may be based on *zarəm* (Y 44. 17), if the latter is thematic and belongs with *zar-* 'to be angry' (cf. Insler 1975: 251). For *vīkānaiia-* a nominal base **vīkana-* might be reconstructed parallel to *auuakana-* m. 'digging down, ditch, hole'. Both these examples involve *seṭ* roots where, as in *kāraiia-*, the lengthened vocalism must have an analogical explanation.

[12] Both the verb *kāšaiia-* and the noun *kaša-* are regularly written with the '*a*ṣ̌*a-* ṣ̌' in the manuscripts. But just as this spelling cannot be original for *kaša-*, so it may be ignored for *kāšaiia-*.

[13] Vd 18. 4 concerns a priest who has unorthodox attire and tools of trade. The three previous sections employ the verb *baraiti*, including one about his *xrafstragan-*, his swatter for dispatching noxious insects, daevic creatures, etc. The fourth reads *aštrąm mairīm kāšaiieiti*, where the verb must indicate a different action from simply holding, which is

In the case of *vīmāδaiiaṇta* the reconstruction of a lengthened-grade thematic noun **vīmāδa*- is plausible, especially in view of the evidence for other lengthened-grade forms from the IE root **med*- (Rix 1998: 380); but it could alternatively represent a denominative from an inherited Indo-Iranian verbal noun **vi-mada*-, for which perhaps a fragment of evidence exists in the name of the RV Ṛṣi *Vimadá*- (RV 1. 112. 19, etc.), who is associated with the Aśvins, the physician gods (cf. Hintze 2000: 166).[14]

All of this subclass of denominatives have transitive value, and this is obviously another important link with the Indo-Iranian *-*áya*- class. Accordingly, *ā.baoδaiia*-, *upa.baoδaiia*- 'to fumigate' may represent derivatives from the frequent Av. *i*-stem noun *baoδi*- 'scent', which has cognates in many Iranian languages, and is employed in contexts to do with fumigation in Avestan (at Vd 19. 24 along with this verb stem), rather than the poorly attested thematic stem *baoδa*-. This type of denominative is paralleled in Vedic, cf. AV *kīrtáya*- 'to mention, announce' beside *kīrtí*- 'fame'.[15]

expressed by *baraiti* with the insect-swatter, etc., as object. Since here the object is an *aštrā*- 'whip' which is *mairiia*- 'evil, villainous' (rather than the proper priestly instrument of chastisement, the *aštrā sraošō.caranā*, cf. Vd 14. 8; P 9), he may be concealing it.

P 37 is about the sin of thinking too highly of oneself. While one does so *vīspəm aētəm paiti zruuānəm astarəm uruua kāšaiiāṯ* 'for all this time the soul will conceal sin'. In other words, it is a sin which harms the soul but it is not an obvious sin.

14 However, yet another possibility would be an irregular process of derivation from the root noun *vīmād*-, which appears in the *figura etymologica* at Vd 7. 38, 40 *pascaēta mazdaiiasna vīmādasciṯ vīmādaiiaṇta* 'afterwards let them as doctors doctor Mazda-worshippers'. A denominative is more likely than a genuine inherited *-*áya*- present. YAv. *vāδaiia*- 'to lead', suggested by Emmerick (1993: 73) as a parallel, stands beside *vadəmnō* (Y 53. 5); but in the case of *māδaiia*- this sort of evidence for a typical Indo-Iranian pattern of verb stems is lacking.

15 The transitive value of this Vedic verb and the fact that the root syllable *kīrt*- conformed to the same phonological pattern as that of other Vedic -*áya*-verbs (*īkṣáyati*, *gūrdháyati*, etc.) resulted in the replacement of 'regular' -*īyá*- by -*áya*- (Jamison 1983: 72, 180). In Avestan the same factors apply to *ā.* and *upa.baoδaiia*-. *fšaonaiiehe* 'you rear, you fatten' Y 11. 1 beside the *i*-stem *fšaoni*- 'sheep, small animal' may represent a similar YAv. case. Bartholomae (1895: 85) reconstructed a thematic **fšaona*- 'fat' as the base (for the morphological alternation, cf. Av. *yaona*-, Ved. *yóni*-), but it is quite possible that *fšaonaiia*- was created on the basis of *fšaoni*- to express the transitive sense 'to rear, to fatten animals'. A side effect may have been to weaken the association between *fšaonaiia*- and the word for 'sheep', since in the one passage where this verb occurs a cow is being fattened! From a synchronic point of view *fšaonaiia*- fits into the pattern of the other denominatives in -*aiia*-, since *fšaon*- could be interpreted as a sort of full-grade root (cf. Av. *fraoθ*-, *xraos*-, *xraod*-, etc.) even though diachronically the nasal belonged to a suffix.

4 The Late Avestan Denominatives *aṣ̌aiia-* and *aŋhuiia-*

The verb stem *aṣ̌aiia-*, which is traditionally compared to the RV denominative *rtāyá-/ṛtáya-* appears only in late Avestan texts: A 4. 4 *aṣ̌aiieiti* (+*aṣ̌aiiāite*);[16] P 18 *aṣ̌aiiāiti*; Vyt 11 *aṣ̌aiiata*. It stands beside not only *aṣ̌a-* n. 'truth' (cf. Vedic *ṛtá-* n. 'cosmic order, truth') but also a secondary nominal stem *aṣ̌aiia-* f. (Y 3. 4; Vr 22. 2; Vd 3. 33) which has a technical religious meaning 'performance of truth (good deeds)', hence 'acquisition of religious merit, entitlement to enter Paradise' (cf. Bartholomae 1904: 244–5). The once attested denominative *aŋhuiia-* (A 4. 4 *aŋhuiiāite*) likewise stands beside both *ahu-/aŋhauu-* m. 'existence, life, world' and another noun *aŋhuiiā-* f. (hapax Y 3. 4), which possesses a similar technical religious meaning 'acquisition of religious merit for this life'.[17]

The morphology of the set of forms *aṣ̌a-*, *aṣ̌aiiāiti*, *aṣ̌aiiā-* has traditionally been explained by comparison with RV *ṛtá-*, *ṛtāyán/ṛtáyan*, *ṛtayā́*. Although the primary nouns Avestan *aṣ̌a-* (< Indo-Ir.* *árta-*), Vedic *ṛtá-* cannot be traced back to exactly the same proto-form (cf. Hoffmann 1986: 166–7), they both possess some secondary derivatives (e.g. *aṣ̌āuuan-*, *ṛtā́van-*, fems. *aṣ̌āuuairī-*, *ṛtā́varī-* 'truthful, righteous'), which show parallel suffixes and function. However, the sets of forms in question here show important differences. The RV denominative *ṛtāyá-/ṛtáya-* is attested mostly by participle forms, which are close in meaning to *ṛtā́van-* 'truthful', and in this respect it is typical of a subgroup of denominatives which originate as participles, function as adjectives, and are confined to the RV (cf. Tucker 1988: 95–6). *ṛtayā́* (hapax RV 2. 11. 12) is an adverb 'in the right way', to which Bartholomae (1904: 244) compared the YAv. adverb *aṣ̌aiia*, not the noun *aṣ̌aiiā-*.

The Av. noun *aṣ̌aiiā-* and the verb *aṣ̌aiia-* are clearly related in meaning, e.g. P 18 *tanu.mazō aṣ̌aiiāiti yō tanu.mazō ⟨d⟩rao⟨x⟩šat̰* 'He shall perform truth to the extent of the (whole) body, who tells lies to the extent of the (whole) body'. *tanu.mazō zī aēt⟨ą⟩mcit̰ aṣ̌aiiąm p⟨a⟩fre* 'For he has fulfilled

[16] *aṣ̌aiiāite* appears at Bartholomae (1904: 110) (without any mark of emendation), whereas at 244 he accepts Geldner's *aṣ̌aiieiti* (based on Lb5, K19) but also prints *aŋhuiiāiti*. This is an unusual example of inconsistency in Bartholomae, but clearly he believed that at A 4. 4 two subjunctive forms must be read to parallel following *aŋhat̰*.

[17] It may be suggested on the basis of passages such as Y 68. 2 and Yt 10. 33, which contain a related pair of nouns *hauuaŋ^{v}ha-/aṣ̌auuasta-*, that *aŋhuiiā-/aṣ̌aiiā-* refer to acts that bring merit with regard to this world and the next respectively. The pair reflect the well-known religious diathesis whose most famous occurrence is in the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, XPh: 46 ff. However, cf. Kellens (1996: 56) for a slightly different interpretation of *aŋhuiiā-*.

the performance of truth to the extent of the (whole) body' (ed. Jamaspasa and Humbach 1971).

Likewise the juxtaposed verbs +*aṣ̌aiiāite* and *aŋhuiiāite* (A 4. 4) reflect the juxtaposition of the two nouns *aṣ̌aiiā-* and *aŋhuiiā-* in a Yasna passage (Y 3. 4), and *aṣ̌aiiata* Vyt 11 paraphrases *aṣ̌aiią̄m* Vd 3. 33. Hence the meanings and textual evidence indicate that +*aṣ̌aiiāite/aṣ̌aiiāiti* and *aŋhuiiāite* were created on the basis of the secondary noun stems *aṣ̌aiiā-* and *aŋhuiiā-*, not the primary nouns *aṣ̌a-* and *ahu-*. Either **aṣ̌ayā-ya-ti*> **aṣ̌ayayati*> **aṣ̌ayati* (*aṣ̌aiieiti*) through the regular Avestan shortening of **āya-*> *-aya-* and then haplology of **-ayay-*,[18] and *aŋhuiia-* represents a nonce-formation on the model of *aṣ̌aiia-*;[19] or alternatively, the two verbs represent direct verbalizations of the same type as *fiiaŋhuṇtaēca* Yt 5. 120 'they hail', derived from the *u*-stem noun *fiiaŋhu-* m. 'hail' simply by thematicizing the noun's stem and inflecting it as a verb. In either case the verb *aṣ̌aiia-* shows nothing about Avestan processes of derivation from original thematic noun stems.[20]

5 Conclusion

According to the traditional view, the Vedic class of denominatives in *-a-yá-* directly continues the inherited Indo-Iranian and Indo-European process

[18] This explanation assumes that Avestan denominatives from fem. *ā*-stems were built with the inherited suffix **-yá-*. The only other possible example is OAv. *maēkaiiaṇtīš* (v.l. *maēkaiṇtīš*) 'sparkling, glistening' Y 38. 3, for which Narten (1986: 210–11) reconstructs an inherited denominative stem **moikā-yé/yó-* parallel to **mikā-yé/yó-*> Lat. *micare*.

[19] *aŋhuiiaoš* (Y 24. 5; 16.3) is a compound (like following *aṣ̌acinah-*) composed of *ahu-*+ (*ā*)*yu-* 'life', not an adjective in *-yu-*. Adjectives in *-yú-* connected with verbs in **-yá-* are peculiar to early Vedic.

[20] If the verb derives from the secondary noun *aṣ̌aiiā-* rather than vice versa, what is the origin of *aṣ̌aiiā-*? The Pursišnīhā passage quoted above makes it difficult to accept Hoffmann's suggestion (ap. Kellens 1996: 57) that *aṣ̌aiiā-* means 'Streben nach Aṣ̌a-', comparable to the Vedic type *vīrayā́-* 'desire for heroes', *vasūyā́-* 'desire for goods'. However, this problem can be solved within Avestan as the noun *aṣ̌aiiā-* could have been created on the basis of the frequently attested adverb *ašaiia* 'in the right way', which like Vedic *ṛtayā́* is employed to indicate ritual correctness (cf. e.g. Y 66. 1 *aṣ̌aiia daδą̄mi imą̄m zaoθrą̄m* . . . *aṣ̌aiia uzdātą̄m* 'I dedicate in the right way this libation . . . prepared in the right way' and RV 2. 11. 12 *vanema ṛtayā́ sápantaḥ* 'we would win worshipping in the right way'). In the Vidēvdāt and one Afrīnagān passage *aṣ̌aiia* is accompanied by *vaŋhuiia*, which Bartholomae (1904: 1350) interpreted as another **-yā́* adverb (from *vaŋhauu-/vohu-* 'good'), and translated the pair 'rite (et) bene, wie es recht und gut ist'. However, *vaŋhuiia* could also represent the YAv. instrumental sg. fem. of the adjective 'good' (cf. OAv. *vaŋhuiiā* Y 33. 12; 51. 10). If so, this would indicate that *ašaiia* had by now been reinterpreted as the instrumental singular of a feminine noun and the whole phrase *aṣ̌aiia vaŋhuiia* was understood as 'by good performance of truth'. Since the instrumental singular of feminine *ā*-stems in YAv. has both the form *-a* and *-aiia*, it would have been possible to backform a noun **aṣ̌ā-* or *aṣ̌aiiā-* (cf. acc. *vaŋuhīm aṣ̌aiią̄m* Vr 2. 22).

of derivation from thematic stems. If this is correct, a split in the inherited class must have occurred in Iranian or Avestan itself, as a result of which one subgroup was assimilated to the inherited class of presents in **-áya-*, and the other subgroup was remodelled so that **-a-yá-* was replaced by *-iia-*.

A partial merger of denominatives with the reflexes of the IE *o*-grade **-éye/éyo-* class is found in Vedic, where many formations with transitive value which are of clear denominative origin show a retracted accent, e.g. *mantráya-* 'to recite' from *mántra-* 'spell', *kāmáya-* 'to love' from *kā́ma-*, *mṛgáya-* 'to hunt' from *mṛgá-* 'wild animal' (cf. Jamison 1983: 179–81). However, cases such as *nīḍáya-* 'to nest' from *nīḍá-* 'nest', *īṅkháya-* 'to swing', cf. *preṅkhá-* 'swing', point to a merger within the Indic branch, as **-áya-* presents built on roots with long medial resonants do not occur in Old Iranian.

At first sight it appears that Avestan may show a parallel but independent innovation. However, as none of the individual *-aiia-* denominatives appears to be inherited (except for the irregular *varəzaiia-*), and as there are no denominatives in *-aiia-* which are not formally identical to **-áya-* presents, this Avestan group may be explained more simply as follows: with the loss of the inherited Indo-Iranian accent, old *-áya-* presents could be reanalysed as denominatives based on thematic stems, e.g. *vaxša-iia-* 'to increase' (cf. Vedic *vakṣáya-*) from *vaxša-* n. 'growth', *raēša-iia-* 'to harm' (cf. Vedic *reṣáya-*) from *raēša-* m. 'harm, injury'. The model for this reanalysis could have been supplied at an early date by denominatives based on non-vocalic stems, e.g. OAv. *išūid-iia-* from *išūd-*, or the numerous *h*-stem derivatives, *nəmax́-iia-* from *nəmah-*, etc. It would then have become possible to create new *-aiia-* presents with the same phonological structure on the basis of simple thematic stems, such as *arəzaiia-* beside *arəza-*, *pairi.daēzaiia-* beside *pairi.daēza-*. The long vowel of *vādaiia-* beside *vada-*, or *pairi.kāraiia-* beside *pairi.kara-*, can be explained by the regular lengthening found in open root syllables in the class of verbs which served as models. That inherited **-áya-* presents could be interpreted as denominatives in Avestan and supply a model for new denominative verbs is also suggested by rare 'irregular' formations such as YAv. *t̰baēšaiia-* 'to hate' beside the *h*-stem noun *t̰baēšah-* 'hatred' (Vd 18.61 *mazišta t̰baēsaŋha t̰baēšaiieiti* 'hates with the greatest hatred'). The basis for the latter sort of creation must have been the perceived relationship *raocaiia-* 'to lighten, to make light' : *raocah-* n. 'light', *rāšaiia-* 'to injure' : *rašah-* n. 'injury', etc.

Since all the securely attested Avestan denominatives in *-aiia-* can be ex-

plained via a resegmentation and reinterpretation of inherited *-*áya*-forms, did Avestan inherit any denominatives in *-*a-yá-*? The answer to this question depends on the diachronic explanation of the small group of YAv. denominatives in -*iia*- such as *baēšaziia*- (Bartholomae's type *β*). A replacement of -*aiia*- (< *-*a-yá*-) by -*iia*- [-*iya*-] could have occurred here on the analogy of denominatives from non-vocalic stems at the stage when postconsonantal *-*yá*- > -*iia*- [-*iya*-]. This development took place at a late date, possibly under the influence of a W.Iranian dialect such as OP, in the course of the oral transmission of the Avesta (Hoffmann and Narten 1989: 41–2). However, there is only one attested YAv. denominative based on a non-vocalic stem which in fact shows a suffix -*iia*- (+*viiāxmaniiete* 'claims, contests' Yt 8. 15; *viiāxmaniiata* Yt 19. 43 from *viiāxman*- n. 'verbal contest'). All other such denominatives are based on *h*-stems where *-*h-yá*- > Av. -*ŋ́ha*- before postconsonantal *-*yá*- > -*iia*- (Hoffmann and Narten 1989: 54). The frequency of the type in *-*h-yá*- might provide an analogical explanation for *haomanaŋ́ha*-, but the history of *baēšaziia*-, *vāstriia*-, and the obscure *nauuiθiia*- (Yt. 10. 113) remains uncertain. If the explanation suggested above for *frauuaša*- is accepted, this verb points to a very early process of replacement of the thematic vowel by *-*yá*-.

Therefore, it is at least conceivable that the *baēšaziia*- type represents an archaism, and, if so, the prehistory of the Avestan denominatives from thematic stems must be quite different from that of the Vedic class. The Vedic denominative class undoubtedly shows a number of innovations whose genesis and development may be traced within the RV and AV (cf. Tucker 1988), and its evidence cannot automatically be accepted as a direct reflection of the Indo-Iranian situation.

From an Indo-European perspective these findings have some interest as the Avestan situation turns out to be similar in several respects to that of early Greek, where Homeric denominatives in -*éō* frequently show '*o*' vocalism, and are identical from a formal point of view to the inherited IE *-*o*-grade -*éye/o* presents (*φοβέω* 'I frighten' from *φόβος* 'fear'). Early Greek also possesses denominatives from thematic stems where the inherited suffix *-*yé/yó*- replaced the thematic vowel (e.g. *ἀγγέλλω* < **ἀγγελι̯ω* 'I announce' from *ἄγγελος* 'herald'), but from a semantic point of view they differ from the Avestan examples as they are based on adjectives and appellatives (cf. Tucker 1990: 117–21). Further work on other branches of Indo-European is needed to determine whether the replacement of the thematic vowel by the denominative suffix *-*yé/yó*-, which appears to represent an archaic morphological process, may in fact have been inherited. On the other hand,

the reinterpretation of inherited **-éye/o-* presents as denominatives, and the creation of new verbs on this formal model, must represent independent but parallel developments in Avestan and early Greek, both ultimately a consequence of changes in the inherited system of accentuation.

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PART SIX

HISTORY OF INDO-EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS

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41

The Celtic Studies of Lorenzo Hervás in the Context of the Linguistics of his Time

Javier de Hoz

Anna Morpurgo Davies already underlined in her first, and important, contribution to linguistic historiography that Hervás's work needed more attention than it had received (Morpurgo Davies 1975: 616, 618). Since then some work has been done but not in proportion to what the increasing interest in linguistic historiography might lead one to expect.[1] The present small contribution excuses its scantiness as being at least some attempt to respond to Anna's wish.[2]

Hervás's linguistic work is more diverse than is usually thought but here we are interested only in the *Catalogo* and the *Trattato* of 1785, the *Vocabulario poligloto* [*sic*] of 1787, the *Saggio*, also of 1787, and the *Catálogo* of 1800–5 that not only broadens massively the *Catalogo* of 1785 but also implies new studies and further progress, only partly advanced in the intermediate volumes. For, to give a couple of examples among many, he identifies the Goths correctly not as Scythians but among the speakers of Germanic, which he had already done in the *Trattato* (1785*b*: 106, 103, with explicit modification of the *Catalogo*), and he pays considerable attention to Sanskrit (1800–5: ii. 119–36 and 169–96) in contrast to his exclusive attention to the Indo-Aryan modern languages in the first work (1785*a*: 123).[3] In general Hervás was modifying his approaches with new reflections

[1] Mention should be made especially of Coseriu (1975–6; 1976; 1978*a*; 1978*b*); Sarmiento (1990); Tonfoni (1988); Tovar (1986*a*, the first part of a project that the author left unfinished and which Hervás 1991 only partly completes). Coseriu (1978*a*) gives a good sample of the many mistakes that are found in the traditional image of Hervás's work.

[2] There is a description of Hervás's work on Celtic in Tovar (1986*b*). In this paper I do not try to be exhaustive but rather pay attention to the ideas of Hervás on language that determined his Celtic studies. 'Teoria de Hervás sobre la langua celtica' and 'Etimologia de la palabra celta' in Rodríguez de Mora (1971: 77–82) are without value.

[3] In particular Hervás, who was a friend of Paulino de San Bartolomeo and knew the work of the Jesuit Pons, considered Sanskrit to be the 'matrix' of the Indian family (1800–5: ii. 120, 136).

and he was learning at the same time as he was writing, so that sometimes a significant advance on a concrete point can appear between two works published in the same year.

The linguistic knowledge of Hervás has almost always been valued as information about very diverse languages, raw information.[4] It is frequent practice to mention in succession Pallas, Hervás, and Adelung, so underlining what is common to all three works, viz. that they are polyglot collections; but at the same time this simplifies the real content of all of them and especially of Hervás's work.[5] In any case it is true that a very significant aspect of Hervás's work is his interest in assembling trustworthy documentation, especially on those languages that were beyond the normal horizon of an investigator active in Italy. One aspect of his method that may seem very modern, though it partly fits with the normal practice of the time, is the use of informants who might even write small monographs for his use, and who were either speakers of uncommon languages or persons who had obtained information about them, especially Jesuit missionaries. Hervás's information, not merely bibliographical, about the Celtic languages comes basically from Charles O'Connor, the historian grandson of the famous scholar of the same name, with whom he coincided in Rome,[6] and from Vallancey. Furthermore his reading list—I do not give exhaustive references but mere examples[7]—includes Cormac, whom on one occasion he quotes in Irish (1785*b*: 87–8), Lhwyd (1785*b*: xviii), MacPherson (1785*b*: 87), O'Brien (1785*b*: xviii; 1787*b*: 33),[8] the two O'Connors mentioned already (1785*b*: 84; 1787*b*: 51, 203), Pezron (1787*b*: 33),[9] and especially Vallancey (1785*b*: 85, 87; 1787*a*: 85; 1787*b*: 44, 51, 203),[10] with whom he had a wide-ranging correspondence (1785*b*: 85–7, use of a personal communication), who introduced him to the Dublin

[4] Some of the remarkable mistakes in the biography transmitted by F. Adelung have contributed to this notion; see Coseriu (1978*a*).

[5] Tonfoni (1988: 365, 380). The modern evaluation of Hervás depends mostly on Max Müller (Lázaro 1949: 101–2; Coseriu 1978*a*: 4, 44, 56; Sarmiento 1990: 461–2) and is already marred by mistakes repeated ever since then, some going back to J. C. Adelung, who nevertheless valued Hervás highly (1806–17: i. 670–3; and cf. F. Adelung ibid. iv. 106–8 and 269–70). The mistakes of J. C. Adelung apparently come from an 1801 review by F. Adelung in *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden*, 8 (Weimar), 543–4 (not available to me, but see Coseriu 1978*a*: 40, 50–1).

[6] Tovar (1986*b*: 47–8 n. 2, which uses information from P. Diármuid O'Laoghaire, SJ). On O'Connor, see Tourneur (1905: 80–1).

[7] I do not know of any study of Hervás's secondary sources (a first partial attempt in Tonfoni 1988: 379–80). For the primary ones, see e.g. Batllory (1951). For Hervás's information on Celtic in particular, see Tovar (1986*b*: 48–9, 52 ff.).

[8] i.e. John O'Brien (Tourneur 1905: 74).

[9] Tourneur (1905: 199–200).

[10] Tourneur (1905: 74–5).

Academy (1785*b*: 1–4), and to whose work he attaches great importance (e.g. 1785*b*: 98), in general to the detriment of his own thinking on linguistic matters.

On the other hand, one must not despise Hervás's knowledge of theoretical linguistics, though one should not overvalue it either. In the *Catálogo* of 1800 (1800–5: i. 31–72) he gives us a history of linguistics that would deserve a separate study. The major figure that Hervás mentions is undoubtedly Leibniz and it would be necessary to investigate his possible influence, but their attitudes were to some extent very different, as is demonstrated by Hervás's polemic against the idea of an artificial language (Tonfoni 1988: 373, 377).

Alongside the positive value that this knowledge confers, it is necessary to place a series of prejudices that often seriously damage Hervás's work. First, this Jesuit priest depends totally on the Bible in a reading that represents the Catholic orthodoxy of his time, and possibly not in the most advanced version; this explains the enormous influence exerted by the legend of the tower of Babel over his conception of the origin of linguistic diversity and of what he called *lenguas matrices* (see below). Almost as serious as the religious prejudice is the nationalist one, which nevertheless in the case of his Celtic studies could have been indirectly positive in its influence, as we shall see below. Nationalism had played an important role in the development of linguistics from the Renaissance, up to a point for good, often for ill, even reaching the grotesque in cases such as that of Bacanus and so many other similar people. There existed an equally solid tradition which we might call methodical error rather than prejudice, according to which there is an absolute parallelism of historical-ethnological and linguistic information,[11] reducible to the formula that the history of languages is the history of nations (1787*b*: 24 ff.),[12] which in practice subordinates the first to the second;[13] this idea determines the position of Hervás, who came to the study of language as a way of knowing the history of peoples and who again and again underlines this aspect. He insists, for example, on the utility of lexical study for establishing relations between peoples (1787*a*: 9 ff.), and

[11] The idea is normal in the Renaissance and probably goes back to antiquity in an unbroken line; Olender (1989: 19) overvalues Condillac and his epoch from this point of view.

[12] Coseriu (1978*a*: 46–8) reasonably enough tones down some of the criticisms made of Hervás on this score, indicating the authentic linguistic interests that he had developed, but in the last resort it is true that Hervás comes to an interest in language through his interest in the history of man, and that the *Catálogo* of 1800–5 is mostly a history of ancient peoples.

[13] Cf. e.g. John Jamieson, *Hermes Scythicus* (1814), discussed in Morpurgo Davies (1998: 29–30, 55 n. 26).

he correctly sees in the antiquity of certain types of toponym (1787*a*: 14) a way to investigate the prehistory of nations.

A last common prejudice shared by Hervás is that of the differing values of languages or dialects, which nevertheless in his case presents a peculiar complexity. The fundamental value of a language did not depend on the degree of culture of the speakers but on its 'artificio', i.e. its structure, which in turn would not have been transformed after the creation of the language (see below)—from which apparently it may be deduced that God would have given better languages to some peoples than to others. Equally the pronunciations of the different languages have differing values (1785*b*: 145–7), an aspect less important than that of the 'artificio' but by no means negligible since Hervás (see below) believed in the unalterability of the pronunciation employed by the speakers of a given language even if over time they came to adopt a different language altogether.

Other ideas of Hervás's were relatively novel though they had already gained widespread currency in his day, especially the importance attached to concrete information, as has already been mentioned. The idea of the existence of several 'lenguas matrices', which according to Morpurgo Davies (1998: 38) would come directly from J. Scaliger, undoubtedly has this pedigree but it seems to have been standard at the time, at least in Spain (Mayans y Siscar 1737: 94, 108). Possibly one should mention here the belief in different degrees of structural complexity between languages, which is a variant of the idea already mentioned of their different value, and the peculiarity of some languages of primitive peoples, though I do not see clearly whether there is an evolutionary concept here, which one would have to reconcile with an idea explicit in Hervás, viz. that the deep structure of a language never changes.

For Hervás a language is characterized by its pronunciation, vocabulary, and 'artificio', that is to say phonological system, lexicon, and grammatical structure, which seems to be basically its syntax, to judge from Hervás (1800–5: vi. 206–8),[14] though his concept of syntax includes morphology, because as an example of conservation of syntax he mentions the Araucanians, who use 'parole Spagnuole, ch'inflettono all'Araucana' according to information from missionaries (1787*a*: 153).

In the current state of our knowledge of linguistic historiography, at least of mine, it is difficult to evaluate the degree of originality of certain ideas. Possible original developments are Hervás's scheme of linguistic evo-

[14] Cf. Lázaro (1949: 107), and in general 105–10 for precedents and contemporary ideas similar to Hervás's tripartite division, though I do not regard as proven the relation with Aristotelian concepts of matter and form in their Aquinas-derived version.

lution, the nuance that he adds to the common idea that mere similarities between words cannot serve to demonstrate language relationship because, in view of the scanty number of sounds used in languages, coincidences are inevitable (with this he seems to prefigure a critical contemporary line of thought opposed to multilateral comparison), and in the same vein his belief that a widely distributed typological feature is of no use for proving language relationship (1800–5: vi. 233).

Hervás's more original ideas on the evolution of languages refer to the different levels on which evolution can proceed and to the resistance to change of certain elements, which makes him a predecessor of substrate studies (Coseriu 1978*b*). For Hervás, in effect the survival of pronunciation habits is such that they can be considered eternal and certainly remain after a language shift (1785*b*: 129, 163): what differentiates the Galician–Portuguese pronunciation from the Castilian one, in his view, is the Celtic substrate (1800–5: vi. 184, 212). Morphology, without being as persistent, is more so than the lexicon (1785*b*: 162), so that only change of vocabulary and syntax is possible, without change in pronunciation, or else change of vocabulary alone (1787*a*: 152 ff., 153). He is sure of the invariable character of languages (1800–5: vi. 231), which is undoubtedly related to his belief in the divine origin of each one such, created as they were in the confusion of Babel (Lázaro 1949: 70–1, 103–4). In so far as he admits linguistic change, he thinks that it is determined by the proper structure of the language (1785*b*: 163 ff).

Hervás's method, like so many aspects of his work, is a curious amalgam of good judgement and modernity with aprioristic judgements and irrationality. The use of informants was normal at the time, as I have already said, but in Hervás it is more than an equivalent to bibliography and it heralds the modern use of linguistic informants. Concerning the problem of sufficiently significant coincidences, he adopts the criterion, not new but correct, that only the basic lexicon must be considered (1800–5: vi. 207, 233–4). Nevertheless, all too often particular analysis is absent from his classifications and he provides mere references to the *Vocabulario* and the *Saggio* (1800–5: vi. 207), where we find the information but without analysis.

All these ideas, presuppositions, and prejudices naturally play a role in the image of the Celtic languages that Hervás gives us.[15] An essential

[15] For lack of space I shall leave aside the most concrete aspects of Hervás's Celtic studies: the ancient lexicon (1800–5: v. 282), the numerals (1786: 126–7), the toponymy (1800–5: vi. 289, 297; 1787*a*), the ethnic names (1787*b*: 33–6), the theonyms (1800–5: vi. 325), lexicography in general (1800–5: vi. 344), the Celtic words with correspondences in

point is that the Celtic language is a 'lengua matriz' (1785*a*: 11; 1800–5: vi. 191), an affirmation whereby Hervás takes up a position explicitly and happily opposed to a very common idea at the time, that of a specific Celto-Germanic kinship; but simultaneously he distances himself from another more valuable common idea, that of the Scythian or Celto-Scythian languages, which was in part a forerunner of the concept of Proto-Indo-European. Another significant aspect of the definition that Hervás gives us of the Celtic language is his polemical denial of the theory according to which 'cántabro', i.e. Basque, belongs to the same group as Celtic. Hervás is conscious that this is a widespread opinion and that there are important authorities among its defenders, which partly explains the attention that he devotes to the topic, but probably the deepest reason for this interest is different. The Basque language was, according to Hervás, the language of the original Spanish people introduced by the descendants of Tubal into Italy, the south of France, and Spain, and it had left important traces in the toponymy of all these regions besides exercising an important influence on Latin and surviving in the Basque territory of France and Spain. Hervás's nationalism cannot countenance the notion that Basque should not be a 'lengua matriz' and simultaneously the ancient language of the whole of Spain; therefore he could not admit that the Basque and Celtic languages might belong to the same family.

The interesting thing is that Hervás tries to defend the independence and unity of the Celtic languages with linguistic criteria that are in part perfectly valid, especially the negative criteria that he uses to deny supposed relations between the Celtic languages and others. Thus he classifies correspondences between Semitic and Celtic languages as what we would nowadays call typological, not genetic, correspondences (1800–5: vi. 233).

There is an implicit problem in the notion of a Celtic 'lengua matriz' that Hervás does not raise clearly: precisely the matter of identifying this 'lengua matriz' and determining whether it is a lost language. Hervás calls 'Celtic language' the ancient tongue spoken in its different regions (e.g. 1800–5: vi. 222–3) and labels as dialects the modern ones (e.g. Armorican or Breton: 1800–5: vi. 224); but when he mentions examples he does not clarify on what ground he considers a word to be (common) Celtic, especially when he is contrasting it with words of actual 'dialects' such as Irish or Breton. The case of the polyglot vocabulary, a list of 63 words in numerous languages in which the Celtic form (1787*a*: 165 ff.) is represented by five varieties

other languages (1785*b*: 114), and the collected versions of the Lord's Prayer (1787*b*: 204–7). In addition, Hervás believed that the division of time into weeks was primitive and was introduced into Europe by the Celts.

(Celtic, Breton, Welsh, Irish, and Gaelic), is particularly remarkable. The analysis of the 'Celtic' examples certainly leads us neither to reconstructed forms nor to the ancient Celtic terms mentioned in the classical sources; often they are forms of one of the insular languages chosen by criteria that sometimes can be guessed and at other times escape us. For example, the word 'arm' is represented, apart from another isolated form, by the vicissitudes of the Latin borrowing *bracchium*, Irish *brac*, Welsh *braich*, Breton *brec'h*, a reported *breah*, and Celtic *brach* that must be the same Irish word already mentioned but in another orthographic variant; it seems that Hervás has chosen the simpler vowel form, but for the final consonant he has been guided by the coincidence of most of the languages, including Irish, against the Irish alternative *brac* that he considers secondary. To obtain solid conclusions on this question, of course, a detailed analysis of all 63 words would be necessary, taking into consideration the sources that were used by Hervás, which demands more time and space than I have available at present.

In any case, we should not expect Hervás's practice to be totally coherent; expressions like 'Celtico, o Bretono' (1786: 127) indicate that any dialect could be used as representative of the Celtic language, and on the other hand he never clarifies whether he thinks that in antiquity the original matrix had already given place to different dialects or not, though he relies on considerable ethnic diversification since he makes the Gauls come to France across Europe from the south of Russia, and the Celts of Spain, the Irish, and the Picts, whom he considers Celts, to their respective settlements in three different maritime emigrations, all of them arriving via Spain. On the other hand, affirmations such as 'los dialectos de esta [the Celtic language] se conservan solamente en las islas Británicas, y en algunos paises de la Bretaña francesa; y parece que el más puro debe ser el irlandés' (1800–5: vi. 229) perhaps indicate maybe that the matrix language remained a coherent unit down to a late date and that Irish was still close to it.

Hervás's list of Celtic languages is already correct in 1787 (1787*b*: 85) and his classification is in a certain way a precursor of the classic pair Q-languages/P-languages, but he includes Cornish with Irish, though he thinks that it comes from a Breton emigration (1787*b*: 203).

This inventory and classification of the Celtic languages differs from Hervás's original conception, whereby he admitted neither Irish and its dialects nor the language of the Picts to be Celtic; on the latter he is later less insistent because the lack of evidence did not allow it to be adduced in concrete cases, but he gives its Celtic character as certain (1787*a*: 18; 1787*b*: 47).

Hervás's ideas on Irish are a strange mixture of wisdom and crude mistakes. Initially he thought that the language was ancient in the island and had remained isolated there (1785*b*: 83), its origin was oriental (1785*b*: 83–4), and it came to Ireland through Spain (1785*b*: 87). The abundance of synonyms in its lexicon was evidence of a complex history (1785*b*: 84, 90, examples on p. 84 and at 1787*a*: 91). The population of the island must have had a Phoenician origin (1785*b*: 85, 88–9, 90, following Vallancey; on p. 87 he explicitly considers it to be non-Celtic); that would explain why many Irish words were related to others in Semitic languages (1785*b*: tables XIV–XVII and XX before p. 104).[16]

Yet not much later Hervás recognizes the Celtic character of Irish (1787*a*: 16–8), indicating the occurrence of Celtic toponymy on the island, though he continues to rely on a strong Phoenician influence (1787*a*: 25–6; also 1787*b*: 203), an idea that he defends sometimes with caution (1787*b*: 84–5), while on other occasions he states it without qualification (1787*b*: 33). His comparative study of the Irish lexicon (1787*a*: 85–99) is related to these questions. In it he indicates agreements with Latin that he thinks could be explained by influence in both directions (1787*a*: 85), though we shall see that he tends to give priority to Celtic over Latin. It is important to realize that when he affirms the presence of Phoenician vocabulary in Irish, in spite of his mistakes he tries to provide linguistic support, and since he believes that Maltese and the Berber dialects are descendants of Phoenician, he can rely on a rich lexicon to establish his wrong comparisons.

Hervás's image of the Celtic migrations appears relatively developed in the *Trattato* (1785*b*: §131), including the settlement of the British islands (1785*b*: 89–90), that in Ireland and Scotland would have come from Spain (1787*b*: 44–53), but Hervás widened his ideas considerably in the *Catálogo* (vols. i and iv) and made them more precise. In general, though there is no lack of contradictions, Hervás posits an original territory to the north of the Black Sea (though certainly his whole theory implies that the Celts arrived there from Babel), where the language was formed, and a process of double emigration, by land as far as Gaul and by sea in successive Mediterranean emigrations, all of the Celts arriving in the Iberian Peninsula, from where on two occasions they continued up to the British Isles.

On the other hand, it is curious that Hervás's new concept of Irish, after moderating the Phoenician excesses due to Vallancey's influence, and his better knowledge of the East and especially of Sanskrit, lead him to defend

16 In the dedication of the work to the Academy of Dublin (1785*b*: 1–4, esp. 3) he insists on the relationship of Irish and Punic and on the importance of Vallancey's ideas; as indicated above, it was Vallancey who had introduced him to the Academy.

the oriental character of the primitive Celts (1800–5: vi. 49, 135, 344), with a theory that to some extent is related to that of contemporary scholars who underline correspondences between Celtic and Indo-Iranian in order to defend an oriental origin of Proto-Celtic, in a zone in which it could interchange isoglosses with the other family at its moment of development.

In general Hervás's affirmations seem to imply that the matrix language is 'pure', probably identical to what God formed in Babel, and that the transformations are successive instances of degeneration, but he does not clarify whether the Celtic matrix still existed when the Greeks and Romans knew the people, nor, on the assumption that it did exist, whether Irish, as the purer Celtic dialect, can be considered to be the same as this matrix. On the other hand, he does not seem to have supposed that if there is no direct evidence for a matrix language, it can be reconstructed by comparison,[17] which is probably the touchstone by which to recognize the existence of comparative linguistics, even without the need for specific applications such as we find in Bopp and Rask.

In fact the idea of original separation of the matrix languages, born as totally different tongues and not related, runs into problems when correspondences are detected between different matrix languages. Hervás admits that correspondences not attributable to chance can exist between languages that are definitely separate, but he does not explain clearly how this is possible. On the one hand, he seems to think that the languages created in Babel are independent of the previous situation, but simultaneously he admits on occasion the survival of 'primitive words' used already before the Flood, e.g. 'month', Hebrew *meni*, for which he quotes correspondences in many languages, among them (1787*a*: 150) Irish *mias*, Breton *my*, Celtic *my*, whereas on other occasions he dates words to the time when the tower was constructed (1785*b*: 113, 120–3; see also the numerals mentioned in 1786: 20).

Hervás does not explain how the words older than Babel have been transmitted, but apparently he thinks that their presence in diverse languages does not involve borrowing. In fact he has a theory of the primitive vocabulary based on the idea that at the beginning of the world there was a need for only a few words (1787*a*: 146), originally monosyllabic (1787*a*: 149).

It is possible that Hervás also believed that in the first moments of the dispersion there could already have been borrowings from a few languages into others. But besides these special cases he attaches enormous importance to lexical borrowings (1785*b*: *passim*, especially 82–3), to which he attributes all the correspondences that he perceives between languages

[17] Nor did Sir William Jones, with his 'which perhaps no longer exists', in a context that reflects common ideas at the time.

of different matrices, and when it is a question of historically and geographically close languages he does not doubt that all the correspondences between them are borrowings, which determines his notes on correspondences between Celtic and other Indo-European languages (1785*b*: 106 §131 with tables XXXIV–XXXVII before p. 113; 1800–5: vi. 251–2, 291). The essential question of how to recognize the origin of a borrowing is answered by Hervás with an appeal to etymology, and judging by his examples he has some general linguistic ideas for the identification of the authentic original form. For example, if in one of the languages the word can be analysed into elements with their own linguistic value, then that one will be the donor language; this will also be true of the language that presents the simplest or briefest form of the word in question. The criteria, where given, are very unequal, and in general Hervás does not justify his selection of the original word. In fact, in the case of Celtic he is in the habit of giving priority to 'Cantabrian' over Celtic and to Celtic over Latin, which seems to indicate that he depends upon historical, not linguistic, criteria,[18] i.e. upon his peculiar reconstruction of the settlement of Europe. He develops the definitive version in volumes iii–vi of the *Catálogo* (1804–5), and it implies, as indicated above, a settlement of Italy, the south of France, and the Iberian Peninsula by 'Cantabrians' led by Tubal, a later occupation of France and of parts of Italy and the Iberian Peninsula by Celts, and finally the formation of Latin in Italy based on 'Cantabrian', Celtic, and Greek elements.

It is interesting to see the role that the Celtic languages play in the Basque-Iberism of Hervás if we compare him with other previous, contemporary, and even later followers of that theory. Basque-Iberism is the theory that identifies the Iberian language with an ancient form of Basque and that normally considers this language to have been spoken in antiquity throughout the Iberian Peninsula. The theory was generally though not unanimously accepted in Spain from the Renaissance onwards, and Hervás defended it fervently; but his Basque-Iberism, still radical in 1785, appears toned down from 1787 onwards by his consciousness of the importance of Celtic (1787*a*: 17; 1787*b*: 41–53; 1800–5: vi. 284, 292). The importance that Hervás attaches to Celtic as an element widely represented in the linguistic baggage of ancient Spain foreshadows Humboldt, whose more original and correct contribution in his famous *Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens vermittelst der vaskischen Sprache*, published in Berlin in 1821, consists precisely in the role he assigns to the Celtic component. The importance of Humboldt's work, generally unknown in

[18] The deformed image that he gives of the relationship between the Germanic and Celtic lexica (1805: 292–7) makes clear the priority that he assigns to his historical prejudices.

Celtic historiography[19] and overshadowed by the popularity of his theory, seemingly contradictory, on Basque as the ancient language of the entire Iberian Peninsula, rests on the identification of the names in *-briga* as a very precise fossil, to the geographical distribution of which he attaches great importance (§§22–3), on the utilization of criteria of phonetic typology to differentiate languages (§24), on the systematic character of his comparisons with toponyms from outside the Iberian Peninsula, on the renunciation of any attempt at an exhaustive treatment of the material, recognizing that to try to identify the language in all cases would be a vain undertaking, and finally on the attempt to give more realistic historical justifications than Hervás, especially of the co-presence of two such different toponymic strata (§§40–1). But neither Hervás nor Humboldt exercised any influence on this matter, whereas Basque-Iberism remained for more than a century an undisputed doctrine, in spite of its falsehood, which appears clearly if the information given by ancient writers on the linguistic situation of Spain is considered attentively and critically, as was done, for example, by Mayans y Siscar.[20]

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[19] Tourneur (1905) mentions neither him nor Hervás.
[20] Mayans y Siscar (1737: 9–12, §§13–14; 15–21, §§21–34).

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42

Johannes Schmidt's Academic Career and his Letters to August Schleicher

Klaus Strunk

'The great Johannes Schmidt', as Anna Morpurgo Davies called him (1998: 267, 278 n. 60), employing an epithet he had gained long before, occupies an important place in the history of Indo-European studies in the last three or four decades of the nineteenth century. His reputation is founded on several influential publications, among them particularly some that are still of exceptional importance today: firstly, *Die Verwantschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1872), in which he set his wave theory on the subdivision of the Indo-European languages against the genetic-tree theory postulated by his academic teacher August Schleicher; secondly, *Die Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra* (1889), in which he ingeniously identified morphological and syntactical indications for a category of Proto-Indo-European collectives and their more recent continuants in the historical Indo-European languages. It is not necessary to enumerate a great number of further important works by Schmidt, such as *Kritik der Sonantentheorie* (1895), which greatly enlivened and enriched the linguistic discourse of the time.

The main stages in Schmidt's academic career are equally impressive. He completed grammar school in Stettin (Szczecin) with an outstanding final examination. After studying classical philology with F. Ritschl in Bonn for two years, he felt drawn to linguistics, which is why, in 1862, he went to Jena in order to study so-called 'glottics' with August Schleicher. It was in this phase that he published his first shorter works. In 1864 he took his Ph.D. degree in Jena with the thesis *Die Wurzel AK im Indogermanischen*, which was published in 1865, but for which he later expressed little enthusiasm (Kretschmer 1902: viii). Owing to Schleicher's influence, he had hitherto mainly occupied himself with Slavic, Lithuanian, and German; after his doctorate he turned to a closer study of Sanskrit. This was one of the reasons why, after a brief spell in his second home, Stettin, he went to Berlin at the end of 1865. There he continued his studies and came into contact with

the Indologist A. Weber. But his wish to undergo the *Habilitation* at the University of Berlin was not fulfilled. In Leipzig (with G. Curtius) and in Jena there were other applicants who had to be granted priority for such a procedure, so Schmidt turned to the faculty in Bonn. There, he was given the opportunity to present himself for the degree in 1868. It was also in Bonn that he was made an extraordinary professor of comparative linguistics in 1873 (Schwyzer 1933: 159–60), and in the autumn of the same year he was offered the position of professor of comparative linguistics and Sanskrit at the University of Graz in Austria. Three years later, in 1876, Schmidt received a call to the chair of comparative linguistics in Berlin, which had been established in 1872. It had first been held by the Celtologist H. Ebel and had fallen vacant upon his death. Thus the same faculty that in 1868 had refused his *Habilitation* now opened its ranks to Schmidt—no doubt because of the qualifications that had by that time become apparent to all.

During the following two decades Schmidt, who in 1884 was also made a regular member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, pursued his subject in such a characteristic manner that it occasionally later gave rise to talk of a Berlin school of Indo-European studies. In several respects this differed from the Leipzig school of the neo-grammarians. The typical features of the Berlin orientation of Indo-European studies, which owe their origins to Schmidt, not only included a methodological rigour that was comparable to that of the Leipzig school, but also a philologically oriented consideration of the grammar, history, and prehistory of each individual language. As early as 1869, the first year of Schmidt's lecturership in Bonn, famous philologists such as H. Jacobi, Diels, v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Robert, and de Boor had been among his audience (Schwyzer 1933: 159 n. 2). Indo-Europeanists of this next generation who were more or less J. Schmidt's students—including W. Schulze (Schlerath 2000: 455), P. Kretschmer, and F. Solmsen—continued the aforementioned characteristics of the Berlin school in their works. Schulze explicitly attributed the procedure in his *Quaestiones Epicae*, which was of a philological rather than linguistic nature, to the influence of his academic masters J. Schmidt and A. Kiessling (Schulze 1892: vi).

The above overview, comprising merely the most important known facts of Schmidt's career in comparative linguistics, is not meant to convey the impression that this scholar made his way without any notable difficulties.

After his *Habilitation* at the University of Bonn in 1868, he sought a promotion to the position of extraordinary professor in 1871; this was not granted for the subject of Indo-European studies until 1873 and not

without substantial differences of opinion within the faculty. It had been controversial whether the applicant was philologically sufficiently qualified, particularly for Sanskrit; furthermore, it had been debated whether the discipline to be represented by the chair (i.e. comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages) was possibly too narrow, not actually constituting a discipline but rather a method; and finally, it was not clear whether such a discipline was desirable for the faculty at all (Schwyzer 1933: 159–60).[1]

At this point, mention should be made of some original documents written by Schmidt himself that seem to have remained unknown hitherto. These consist of a substantial number of relatively well-preserved autograph letters that he wrote to his academic teacher A. Schleicher in Jena in the years 1865–8. For a long time they were kept in a steel cabinet in the principal's office at the Department of General Linguistics and Indo-European Studies at Munich University, and they belong to the archive of this university. The letters contain early hypotheses and plans of the author, narrate his efforts to gain further training in linguistics, dwell on experiences and encounters, bear witness to hopes, disappointments, and self-doubts, and finally, apart from containing passages dealing with academic questions, they include some that are concerned with key political events of the time and other material.

This collection of letters is thus a source of numerous details about the early scientific and academic development of Schmidt in his contemporary environment. Facts and personal details are presented from his own point of view, along with occasional impressions that well-known scholars of the time made on the young Schmidt. Many of these letters in addition bear short notes written by their recipient Schleicher regarding his replies, which, to judge by the notes, seem to have been quite regularly and promptly dispatched. These notes of Schleicher's, obviously meant as props for his own memory, range from the mere mention of the date of the reply to indications regarding its contents. The last two of these letters of Schmidt's that, according to his memorandum of 12 October 1868, Schleicher replied to were addressed to him from Bonn on 2 and 10 October. Schmidt's

[1] Supplemented at pp. 163–8. The supplement contains the printed statements of opinion and votes of the members of the faculty involved, in the main important representatives of their respective disciplines, from the files of the University of Bonn. Impressive are the arguments of the proponents and their open-mindedness towards a discipline new to the faculty. The statements by the sceptics are also interesting, however, as they exhibit surprising parallels with some of the objections raised currently, 130 years later, against comparative Indo-European linguistics.

following letter of 16 October, again from Bonn, remained without such a comment by its recipient, who was possibly already suffering from impaired health. Schleicher died on 6 December 1868, and Schmidt commemorated him in a moving obituary soon afterwards (Schmidt 1869).

It is unclear how this collection of Schmidt's letters came to Munich. Schleicher's short notes seem to indicate that they were part of his legacy. This gives rise to the question whether it was Ferdinand Sommer who took them with him, intending to make use of them later on, when he took over the Munich chair for Indo-European Studies on 1 April 1926. Before that, Sommer had been successor to B. Delbrück in Jena from 1913 to 1924 (Adrom 2001: 17.). And the steel cabinet mentioned above (p. 579) also contains, along with the original letters of Schmidt and other material, Sommer's manuscripts, published posthumously (Sommer 1977). However, before moving to Munich, Sommer had been professor in Bonn from 1924 to 1926 (Schwyzer 1933: 162; Adrom 2001: 17). This fact is not really compatible with the assumption that Sommer transferred the letters to Munich. He would then have had to take them from Jena to Munich via Bonn, which is not very probable. Irrespective of this, there are two further letters in the Munich collection that seem to scotch the notion that Sommer was the one to transfer the collection as it is today to Munich.

The first of these is again from Schmidt, but he did not write it until 19 November 1891; it was sent from Berlin to his former student 'Herrn Privatdozenten Dr. Wilh. Schulze', in Greifswald. In this letter, Schmidt mentions a conversation at a social gathering that he had had with Friedrich Althoff, *Hochschuldezernent* (person responsible for the universities in the Prussian Ministry of Education) from 1882 to 1907. During this conversation it had been mentioned that there was a plan to install an extraordinary professorship for Indo-European studies at the University of Bonn. In order to be eligible and thus recommendable for this position, Schulze would, however, finally have to complete his long-overdue book. This probably referred to Schulze's *Quaestiones Epicae*, published in 1892. The scheme outlined by Schmidt in his letter was, however, not implemented. In 1892 Schulze received a call to an extraordinary professorship of classical philology at Marburg University, and in 1902 he succeeded Schmidt in the chair of Indo-European studies at Berlin, after the latter's death in 1901 (Schlerath 2000: 456–7). The extraordinary professorship reinstalled at Bonn belatedly, more than twenty years after Schmidt had left, was taken over in 1897 by Felix Solmsen, who had gained his *Habilitation* for comparative linguistics there in 1893/4 (Schwyzer 1933: 160).

The second letter which stands apart from the series of early letters by Schmidt to Schleicher is dated 24 January 1875. Still exceptionally well preserved and legible, it was written by the famous Indologist and linguist Friedrich Max Müller to an addressee who as yet remains unknown. The letter is in German and its contents seem to point to an elderly recipient in Germany whom Müller calls 'Freund'. At the outset, Müller talks about his return to Oxford after the Christmas holidays, which he had spent with relatives, and then expresses his happiness about an earlier visit to Oxford by the addressee and his wife. This visit was probably paid in connection with a conference Müller mentions, an event which had made a good impression in England: 'und das verdanken wir hauptsächlich dem deutschen Contingent', Müller says. He goes on to express his regret at learning of the difficulties concerning the edition of 'Hema*k*andra' (Hemacandra)[2] prepared by Dr (Richard) Pischel, whom he considered to be very capable. Müller indicates that he might be able to assist Pischel in securing the edition of his work in England or in India.

It seems obvious that the collection of letters reached Munich in its present state, in which case the complete collection, including the letters written by Schmidt in 1891 and by Müller in 1875 to other addressees, cannot have been part of Schleicher's legacy. This also rules out Jena as the former depository at least of the whole collection and Sommer as the person who had transferred it to Munich (a possibility already considered unlikely above, p. 580). If speculations are at all in place here, there is in fact one other possibility that presents itself: Schmidt's letters to Schleicher may have been returned to their author after Schleicher's death and kept in Berlin from 1876 onwards (cf. above, p. 578). After Schmidt had died, they could have passed into the hands of Schulze, his student and successor in the Berlin chair. Subsequently, Schulze may have added the letter that Schmidt sent to himself in 1891 (cf. above, p. 580).[3] It seems possible that the collection remained in the linguistic seminar at Berlin University after Schulze's death in 1935. Then it could have been Wilhelm Wissmann who brought them to Munich with the intention of editing them. Wissmann was a student of Schulze's and after the Second World War was initially professor of Indo-European studies at Berlin—then situated in the Soviet sector of the city and called 'Humboldt University'—before becoming Sommer's

[2] An Indian grammarian of the 12th cent. AD and author of a Prākrit grammar (ed. R. Pischel, 2 vols., Halle, 1877–80) and a Prākrit dictionary (ed. R. Pischel, Bombay, 1880).

[3] This leaves open the question as to how the letter from F. M. Müller of 1875 came to be part of the collection. Schmidt, at the time 31 years old and professor in Graz (cf. above, p. 578), can hardly have been the addressee to whom Müller expressed his wish that he might retain his youthful appearance.

successor as professor of general linguistics and Indo-European studies at Munich in 1953.

It remains to be considered whether an edition of the collection of letters and particularly its core part, those from Schmidt to Schleicher together with the latter's notes from 1865 to 1868, should be undertaken, thereby making these writings accessible to the academic public. As indicated above, the documents as a whole would provide various details on Schmidt's condition at the time, on his communication with Schleicher in the latter's last stage of life, on early linguistic reflections of the author, and on his varied efforts to reach the academic qualification of a *Habilitation*. Suffice it here to end this contribution by giving some selected examples from a few of the letters.

In his letter from Stettin of 4 October 1865 to Schleicher, answered by the latter on 20 October, Schmidt begins by explaining that he had not written for some time in order to be able to transmit more certain information on his 'militaria'. He was sure it would please Schleicher to learn that he (Schmidt) had escaped the grip of the Prussian military dictatorship ('den klauen der preuss. militärdictatur entgangen bin'), owing to the fact that his proneness to catarrh and his weak chest had induced the doctor to declare him unfit for military service. He hoped for a similar deferment in future as well; else he would find ways and means of bringing it about, if necessary.

On 12 July 1866, nine days after Prussia's victory over Austria in the battle of Königgrätz, Schmidt writes from Berlin expressing the view that recently Schleicher's opinion of Prussia must surely have changed somewhat in favour of 'our' (Prussian) efficiency. It had previously been unthinkable that one would be able to overthrow the Austrian military state ('den oesterreichischen militärstat über den haufen zu werfen') in merely ten days. But he believed there was still a great storm on the horizon; if, however, one refused to be intimidated by France, everything would turn out for the best. For Schmidt there would soon be a further main occupation in the form of military drill, and he had already signed up voluntarily for the muster. This letter bears no comment of Schleicher's concerning his reply, but on the following letter from Schmidt of 7 September 1866 Schleicher noted that he had answered both letters together on 16 September. On 21 October Schmidt appears relieved that Schleicher's silence, which he believed to have been caused by his (Schmidt's) enthusiasm of 12 July concerning Prussia's victory, had come to an end; he declares himself resolved never again to include 'politica' in his correspondence with Schleicher.

On 13 December 1865 Schmidt gives an account of his search for a suitable topic for his *Habilitation* thesis. He says he is constantly gathering material on vowel changes and so-called root determinatives, but that no end to this appears in sight. His ideas about sound shifts also in 'non-German' languages, for which he adduces examples such as Old Indic *bāhú-* : Gk. πῆχυς, Old Indic *bahú-* : Gk. παχύς, Old Indic *budh* : Greek πυθ etc., presumably also required extensive gathering. Finally, he asks Schleicher, if possible, to mention suitable other topics that might be quicker to deal with.

Schleicher's notes state that he answered this letter on 17 January 1866. In his following letter of 8 February Schmidt again—probably in connection with Schleicher's reply—returns to his assumption of an extra-Germanic sound shift and concedes that G. Curtius and W. Corssen completely rejected such an idea. Schleicher makes a note that in this context particularly 'Grassmann, Zeitschr. XII' (i.e. the law postulated by H. Grassmann in *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 12 (1863), 81–138) must be taken into consideration. Furthermore, in accordance with Schmidt's request of 13 December 1865, he now mentions four additional topics for a *Habilitation* thesis from the area of Slavic and Baltic.

In several letters of 1868 Schmidt relates his efforts to undergo his *Habilitation* in Berlin (cf. above, p. 578) and describes the reactions of the faculty there. In these letters, as in those that refer to the *Habilitation* he finally achieved at Bonn in the same year, the title and subject matter of the submitted thesis are not mentioned. It was probably a part or a preliminary version of his later work *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus*, the first part of which was printed in 1871, the second in 1875.[4] Some remarks in a letter of 16 October 1868 also corroborate this assumption: he says he is not planning to publish the *Habilitation* thesis just yet, as he wants to include more on vowel changes first.

There is one letter, dated 10 March 1868, that is particularly illuminating. It resumes the thread of some earlier letters and reports on the decision-making stage of the Berlin *Habilitation* procedure that seems to have been depressing for Schmidt. Müllenhoff (a famous scholar of older German) had apparently evaluated his thesis in a very negative way, whereas Weber (the Indologist) had delivered a very positive opinion. The dean Kirchhoff (a well-known classical philologist) had spoken to him about the widely differing opinions. Schmidt feared that there would be a negative decision

[4] It does not seem plausible to assume instead that during Schleicher's remaining lifetime Schmidt may have alluded by letter to a *Habilitation* thesis that anticipated his later work *Die Verwantschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen* (1872), which constitutes the counter-model to Schleicher's own genetic-tree theory.

by the faculty—which in fact did happen, according to Schmidt's letter of 24 March 1868—because of the greater support that Müllenhoff enjoyed there. It had taken Schmidt three days to regain his composure sufficiently to resolve to approach several professors of the faculty in order to learn their opinions. The result of these talks was complete hopelessness. His thesis was charged with not being specialized enough. Theodor Mommsen explained to him in great detail that what had been allowed to Bopp was not to be granted to his successors, viz. the freedom to deal with more than one language. The only linguists that were needed were those completely familiar with one language in all its intricacies and who restricted themselves to this language. Mommsen then advised Schmidt to submit a further thesis dealing specifically with Slavic. As Schmidt declares to have heard from other informants, an expert opinion was then to be obtained from Franz Miklosich. The following lines in Schmidt's letter bear witness to his despair, his feeling of being in a hopeless situation, and his wounded sense of academic honour. His request for a prompt answer from Schleicher gives the impression of a cry for help.

Schleicher's note on this letter reads: 'Erhalten u. sofort beantw.'. His prompt reaction seems to have contained words of encouragement, for in Schmidt's next letter, dated 13 March 1868, he says that Schleicher's request had made him come to his senses ('zur besinnung gebracht') and that he feels ashamed of his despondency. Despite expecting to be refused in Berlin, he states he is now determined to 'push through' ('durchzusetzen') a *Habilitation* 'mit aller anstrengung'.

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Major Publications on Philology and Linguistics by Anna Morpurgo Davies

COMPILED BY TORSTEN MEISSNER

I. Books and Separate Publications

[1] *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1963).

[2] (with J. D. Hawkins and G. Neumann) *Hittite Hieroglyphs and Luwian: New Evidence for the Connection* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973).

[3] *La linguistica dell'Ottocento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996); revised and expanded version of [7].

[3a] *Nineteenth Century Linguistics* (London: Longman, 1997); revised version of [3] = *History of Linguistics*, ed. by G. Lepschy, vol. iv.

II. Volumes Edited

[4] (with W. Meid) *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics Offered to L. R. Palmer* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft, 1976).

[5] (with Y. Duhoux) *Linear B: A 1984 Survey* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Cabay, 1985; repr. 1988).

III. Substantial Parts of Books

[6] 'Language Classification in the Nineteenth Century', in T. Sebeok (ed.), *Historiography of Linguistics* (2 vols.; Current Trends in Linguistics, 13; The Hague: Mouton, 1975), i. 607–716.

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IV. Articles and Chapters

1958

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1960

[9] ‘*Κτίλος* (Pind. Pyth. II 17)’, *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*, 2: 30–40 + pl. 1.

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